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When a 25 don't

Thursday, Tovember 1, 1917.

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

## STATEMENT OF PEILLIP TOLF (Continued)

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Folf, just commence your testimony at the point where you left off yesterday afternoon and go ahead.

Yr. Folf. I had just mentioned John Simon. Before I go any further, before this part is forgotten here---

"Ir. Johnson (Interposing). Reep the paper tefore you, and then you won't forget it, and go shead with your connected story where you left off yesteria; afternoon, and if you have schething in the paper, take that up later. Then your story will be corrected.

Ur. Wolf. All right, sir.

Tow, as I stated before, the laying off of ren, discriminating against men by the romany, cutting wages, had on teen going/for a week or two after the first strike in October until the time we were starting now, and left about four or five hundred men--- left in the Association. The balance of the men had been laid off and the rest of them that hadn't been run away from the plant feered to come to the meetings of this association and were appreciably suspended. They feared to come down there, because if they were seen there they were among the next to be laid off.

So when this Wr. Herrin left the employ of the company

Simon as Afreasurer. John Simon was laid off with a number of other ripe fitters, and at the meeting the toys took it up and said the committee should go and see why it was they laid Simon off and kept on men that had been hired after Simon had been fired, the same course that they had taken on other cases.

So they went there to see Vr. Fox. They didn't do any better tusiness with him that time then they did other times. They simply laid him off and that was the end of it. So Simon went back himself once or twice to see if he couldn't get back.

So it was decided among the committee -- it was arranged to meet these cutside men. That committee got together.

Mr. Cooper. That committee do you mean?

Vr. Wolf. I mean the committee that was meeting the A. F. L. officials.

Tr. Cooper. You mean the committee of the organization in the plant?

of the A. F. L. They got together, but the A. F. L. man weren't there. These can got together and advised that we should take some steps to at least get Sinon back in there, as all the men in the plant were very anxious to get him back. They felt that the company had dug into all the followers, and now was going to dig into the officers of this association, and it wouldn't be very long before there wouldn't be any organization left. So what they wanted to do--- the intention of this committee was to try to hold down trouble

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there until they could get further along organized with the A. F. L. men. So they instructed me to call Yr. Bucker up and have him come down into the plant to see me. This is bille. This was on Sunday morning, and I was to inform "r. Bucker that it would be advisable for him to get together with Mr. Fox, and Mr. Simon would call at the office that particular Sunday morning about ten or eleven o'clock--- get together with Mr. Simon and make some arrangements to get Simon back to work, tecause trouble was trewing, and unless he done that, I didn't know what night happen:

Those were my instructions from this committee.

So when I went to work on Sunday morning at 7 o'clock --- I believe it was probably 7.30 or 8 o'clock--- I called up Mr. Rucker, I think his home, and told him when he came through the plant to be sure and stop at the engine room, that I wanted to see him. And Mr. Rucker did come down through there and I informed Mr. Rucker that Sixon was going to come to the office that sorning and if Mr. Fox wasn't in town it would be a good idea for him to get up there and see Simon and make some arrangement to get Simon back on the job, because if he didn't I feared the men would take some steps.

Mr. Foss. This was when?

Yr. Tolf. This was on Sunday worning. This was about --- I think it was about two weeks before the strike.

Mr. Foss. About the lat of April?

Mr. Wolf. Vell, around in that neighborhood some place. I am not positive. It was one week or two weeks before the strike. It was in that neighborhood but I can't just recall the day and date.

So Wr. Sucker and I spoke there quite awhile, and finally he walked out of the engine room. Now it was my duty on that position to lock after the deep well pumps that set way down in the yard, way down in the remote part of the plant. My position was to lock after these wells, these deep well pumps that get the water cut of the ground, brought it to a hot well and distributed it out through the plant, and look after the cordenser system and the cooler system, and of course assist in the engine room.

I make my rounds about every hour, sometimes two hours, sometimes every 45 minutes, according to the way things are running. I made around about 25 or 30 minutes after I'r. Bucker had left the engine room, and as I went down into the yard, Abbe ther, - say about 200 feet from one of these motor wells houses that T had to go -- the Alton-Southern has a roundhouse there in the plant of the Alumnum Ore Company--I saw I'r. Rucker over there going towards that roundhouse as I left the engine room. There is a whole lots of railroad tracks there; it is sort of a yard there for the switching. They have got a lot of tracks running in there and a lot of cars there. I went around those cars, and when I came to one of those motor well houses and orened the door and went in, Mr. Fucker was in there; Mr. Rucker told ne--- I was surirlsed to see him there. Of course T though, "Well, he is just inspecting the works. He gets around every place, and

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I went in and ricked up my oil can and started to oiling my pump, and, "Wolf", he said, "Non lister. I told you once before that we didn't want the American Federation of Labor in here, " and he said "There is no necessity of them coming here. "fox" he says "I've got the goods on you; I know that you have been trying --- been preparing to --- been having neetings with some of the A. F. L. representatives," and he says "I know that you are trying to install the American Federation of Labor in this plant. I've got the goods on you Folf; I know every move that you have made in the past four months". He says, "I get the news" he says, "I know every corner you turn," he says, "The detective agencies supply we with then ty of news. I can even get the news out of your own bedchamber if I want it. So there is no use for you to demy anything more, Wolf; I've got the goods plain on you, and you might as well addit it". "Tell", I says, "I don't deny it, and since you know of it, what of it? There is nothing wrong in it. If your detective agencies have been reporting the truth, they haven't found me going any flace or Sting engthing that was not right, did they?" ayo, I can't say that they lid, with the exception of trying to install the American Federation of Labor in here. Mos. " he says, "I'll tell you what I'll do for you" he says, "It seems as though you have got things your way with the men; you are able in a way to saine he says. "I'll make you a little offer that will be profitable to you," he says. "I'll give you 185 a south if you use your influence to keep the American Tederation of Labor out of here.

There was an cil can that I had sat down there, with a long spout on it, about that long (indicating); about that big around, and holds half a gallon of oil. It was full, and I reached around and picked that up and I said, "Mr. Rucker, now I want to tell you something. If you wasn't on your own plant I would wrap this can around your neck. I consider that an insult. So far as my selling out the boys is concerned, you are wrong; there is nothing doing. I am not in the selling business. I ar here to make a living and make it right, and as far as it comes to selling these boys is concerned, I am off of that. That's the end of that conversation with you and I, Ir. Bucker\*, and I walked out and left Wr. Bucker standing there.

And I want to say for the benefit of the committee that there was no \$10,000 proposition offered right then and there, and I know nothing of it and heard nothing of it until some time later in Mr. Fox's office. I do know that John Siaon sent to the office that norming.

Mr. Socger. Were you with him?

Mr. Folf. To, sir; Sigon told me he had ment there.

Mr. Foss. What time did he go; do you know?

Mr. Folf. He went there along about 12 c'clock, I think.

Mr. Foss. Til this conversation that you speak of occur in the oil room?

Mr. Tolf. It occurred between 7.30 and 8 c'clock, I think, when Mr. Eucker was at the plant. I set him in the

engine room, and it was about 25 or 30 minutes later in the oil house. That would make it probably between 8 and 9 ofclock sometime.

Mr. Foss. Who left the engine room first, you or he?

Mr. Wolf. Mr. Fucker.

Mr. Foss. He went out?

Mr. Tolf. He went out, and I went out about 37 minutes after, making my rounds. As a general rule I made a round immediately on going to work. I go around through everything; through all the work. That was my oli job, my position, to look after and see that everything was all right. As a general rule it took me about 45 minutes, if everything was running nicely, or an hour, I speld make another round.

Fr. Foss. How long did it take you to make the round?

Wr. Wolf. Scaetines, if everything has all right,

I could make the round in 10 minutes, or 15 minutes.

Vr. Foss. How rany wells did you have to go to?

Vr. Wolf. Fall, there was two motor talls and three air wells to look after, beside the cooling towers, six or seven cooling towers—— eight cooling towers to look after.

I would go along and look at the bearings, watch the eater systems. Three or four hig tanks on the roof there had to be vert full of mater and the machine pumps to look after. In they is or

20 minutes to make the round, if there is any trouble; but if everything is all right I could make it in 10 minutes.

Mr. Cooper. Go ahead with shat you were telling.

Tr. Wolf. Simon informed me that evening when I came home from work that he had been over there. You I can't just recall whether they had -- Simon said Tr. Fox had rade an offer; had offered him a position as foreman in the new plant, and Simon refused. Now I can't recall whether he told him to come back again, or whether he told him that he would put him back to work. We ertheless Simon went to work within a day or two. Simon ment to work and was the only man out of all the new that had been left out of that plant that had ever got back in there, to my own knowledge.

Mr. Cooper. That did he go to norw at?

cally the same work he had left, only they had taken him outof the building and he was looking after the evaporators
under a man named Charlie Cellers. Then he went back he
was placed under Etzkorn. Etzkorn was the general pipe
foreman; Sellers was sort of Ander-foreman who had charge of
certain departments, and Minkorn had charge of all departments--- sort of a general foreman over the pipe department and Sellers was the stramboss, as we would call him,
under certain departments. Sinch formerly worked for
Sellers--worked in Sellers' gang in these departments; but
when he went lack this time he was jut lifted under Stakorn
in another department.

Mr. Cooper. Did Simon give any reason for not accepting the offer to be foreman in that new plant?

Tr. Folf. Well, I suppose he did--- just didn't want the job; I suppose he felt like he wasn't capable of handling that kind of a job. It may be so.

Mr. Cooper. Well, go ahead.

Mr. Tolf. Then I think about a seek went by and they laid off some sheet metal workers, quite a number of them, and some more men were laid off.

Pr. Cooper. Did they belong to this organization, or had they belonged to it?

Mr. Tolf. Yes, sir. The men thought it was time to do something, and there was a recting called for Monday evening, and on this particular Monday night--- this wasn't called by the association but was practically called by the men in the plant. It appears as though some of those that had taken the places of others were beginning to get worried about their jobs too.

plant, Tauss, that could come there came there, because it was in the Wagle Hall, and the hall was crowded. I would judge there was at least a thousand non there or nore, and at that meeting Charlie Lehman presided. He was the chairman. They heard grieveness at that meeting. There was two girls care there during the meeting and asked permission to get the floor, and that meeting and asked permission to the

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floor, and they stated that they had been working in the restaurant.

Wr. Johnson. Tho were they?

Mr. Folf. Ida Steckler was one girl's name, and Myrtle Wilson. They were members of the witresses and cooks' organization. It is an organization composed of bartenders, waiters, saitresses and cooks in East St. Louis. They had been sorbing in the restaurant.

Mr. Johnson. Of the Aluminum Ore plant?

Mr. Volf. Of the Aluminum Ore plant, in the restaurant. They were employing all union waitresses at the time, is my understanding. However these two girls were left out; they were informed that the expenses of the plant were to be out down--- of the restaurant--- were to be out four; that it cost too auch to operate the restaurant and that they here going to but it down and install posts other kind of a plan of operating the restaurant. They were operating at that tipe under the cafeteria system. So the other girls that still remained there informed these girls --- so the girls stated --- that the other girls had taken their jositions. Moneyer, the girlf got up there on the floor, after she got the floor, and told that she was let out there and that someone else had been hired who was not a member of the organization, and she also wanted to state how these gen were being treated in that restaurant she came there to in She stated that were were fed bread there that was three or four days' old, bread that was four and five days old was served in that restaurant to the employees of the Aluminum Ore plant.

She said that meat was trought in there full of maggets—them little worms that gets on meat when it gets stale—dirty, old, and she said it was all crusty; that they had took scrubbing brushes and washed that meat off and served it to the employees of the Aluminum Ore plant; and the other girls also said that they was lest out there and that those conditions in the restaurant did prevail.

However, the men heard all the different grievances from different men, you know, and they instructed George Morris, who acted as secretary at that meeting, to put all these grievances on paper, the best he knew how, and selected a committee of. I think, seven men--- five nen--- and instructed George Morris and myself to go with this committee to see Mr. Fox the next morning and notify Mr. Fox that unless he lived up to his agreement of October the lither-- that is when the settlement of the first strike was--- unless he lived up to his agreement and upon proper application or those men the hear had off, give them the preference, that there would be trouble there, and that we expected an enswer within 24 hours and expected Mr. Yow to sign these papers.

so the next morning Ur. Morris stayed up all night and prepared this paper, this document that was presented to er. Fox the next rorning. I met Mr. Morris and we net the rest of the committee, and we went up to see Mr. Fox, and when we got up to Mr. Fox's crince, we got upstairs to the office, and we are escorted to his crince, and he

said, "Good morning" to everybody, and "Glad to see you", and wanted to know hat he could do for us.

Tell, we told him that there wasn't very much to talk about; that we had everything on paper and that we only expected him to live up to his verbal agreement that he agreed to ac, and everything was embodized in that paper; and all we expected of him to do was to sign that, and we would be back the next morning to get that paper.

Mr. Cooper. No you know first stenographer wrote that?

Mr. Tolr. Why, I can't recall. I don't hardly remember who did write it, but I right be able to find out tomorrow.

Mr. Johnson. Find out, if you can, and give us the name of the stenographer.

Mr. Folf. All right, sir. I can get a cory of that paper ir you want it.

Mr. Johnson. Mes, get a copy of it.

fr. Tolr. All right, sir.

So we told "r. Fox---

"r. Johnson (interposing). In getting the copy, though, we would like to have, also, the name or the stenographer.

Mr. Wolf. All right, sir.

of Tr. Fox was--- we told him strengthing was embodied in those papers, and we expected him to sign them and thereafter to live up to those agreements. "Tell" he says, "It

is not necessary to run away like that; what do you vant?"

"Well", I says, "I was elected as spokesman" I said, "it's

all in that paper, "r. Fox." Well, Ur. Fox he went down

the line with it and he says, "Let's look at it and see

what it is." To he wanted me to read it and I says, "There

it is on your desk; you read it".

Mr. Johnson. The distated it?

Tr. Foli. George Forris.

"r. Johnson. What is his occupation?

"r. Wolr. He is a steamritter.

"r. Johnson. What age man is her

Tr. Folf. He is a man about 32 years old.

r. Johnson. You can get the name of the stenographer sho grote it for him, con your

"r. Tolf. I think so, yes, sir.

Fo he want down the line with that there and as the rirst sentance was read off to Mr. Mox, the first grievance, he approved of it. The thought it was right they should do such things and line up to that there, and if this wasn't lived up to he said he didn't know anything of it; if his under-riveran there had been doing these things he didn't know anything or it.

Fo I reminded nim---

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Fr. Conjer (interposing). The do you mean by funderforements. Their Ruckers

vr. Tolr. We, different foremen all throughout the plant. There are a number of foremen there. It is a big place and the administration runs: superitenient, assistant

superintendent, master mechanic, general plant foreman, assistant general plant foreman, night superintendent, night
plant foreman. Then they have foremen like the ready press
department and the digesters and evaporator buildings--- that
is, one general foremen over the three buildings. Then has an assistant and he has a foremen in each building on
each shirt,--- under-potenta, we always call them.

Mr. Moss. The foremen that are in finnediate charge of the men? Those are the foremen you are upsalting of?

force --- what we call the orrice force, the way erintendents and the assistant superintendents, master meanings, general plant foremen, assistant general plant foremen. The rest or them I don't think ever got to the orrice very far.

Mr. Fox practically accused these nem of doing this, if it had been done; and if it had been done he knew nothing of it.

Mr. Johnson. Tr. Sucker has submitted what jurports to be a copy of the paper setting out your gridevances. I wish you rould look at it and see if that is correct or incorrect (handing letter deted October Sl, ISBN, signed by P. M. Rucker with copy of gridevances attochem thereto, to Tioness).

mr. Tolr. This is supposed to be a copy?

Mr. Johnson. It has been desirered by the commissions by Mr. Rucker as a popy.

Ur. Choper. Tame you the original, or do you know

where it is?

Mr. Tolf. I think I can get ahold of it.

Mr. Johnson. You will let the committee have the original?

Wr. Volf. The original or a copy just the same as the original. I don't think is exactly—— the heading here or this I don't think is right. I can't recall just—— I this don't think/is "Aluminum Ore angloyees' Protective Association" was at the head or that, and those names—— I don't remater Ur. rox, "General Manager of Aluminum Ore Company". That part or it I think is about right.

Mr. Haker. You less the original with Mr. Fox, dian's you?

Mr. Wolf. Yes, but they might have added that to it.

Mr. Johnson. Fell, if I recall Mr. Mox's testimony,

he said that he gave the original hask to you people with the

suggestion that the mere of the committee be signed to it, and

said you took it away and never brought it hask any more; and

that they retained thes copy of it, and what I want to know

is

of you/whether or not this is a copy. You cannot state

without having the other before you---

"Ir. Telf (interposing). I wouldn't say anything about this. I don't think it enterted that top part, "Aluminum Ore suployees" Protective Association". Those names I wouldn't that it did or didn't, but the rest : will admit to is a copy of it so far as ; have real part of this here.

"r. Johnson. "You had better read it before you make the statement. If you can get the original and bring it here,

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then we can compare this with the original, to see that they are exactly alike. If you fail to get the original, then we will ask you to read this and state whether or not it is a cory of the paper that you submitted to "r. Fox. So you can give that paper back to the stenographer and we will await your bringing in the original.

Tr. Foss. Fere there any ocries made or the original? Was it in duplicate?

"r. Tolf. Yes, there were copies made of it.

Tr. Foss. How many; do you brow?

Wr. Wolf. Well, there was two or three copies made or it.

"Ir. Refer. perore you pass to scretning else, who has charge or all the records now and proceedings and minutes of the Aluminum Ore Employees' Protective Association?

"r. Tolf. George M. "Orris.

Mr. Moorer. Is he still working for the Company?

er. Feli. Pe, sir.

Pr. Hongar. Was he discharged?

or. Wolf. Well, he is just like the rest of us; left after strike out at the sace.

Mr. Johnson. So instead or your bringing a copy of this paper union has just been shown to you--- I mean the original or the paper that has just been submitted to you--- me sould ask you to have Mr. Morris core around and bring that.

er. Foir. I will try and get hold or nim at dinnertime.

"r. Joanson. All right.

Wr. Telr. So I will go on with the story. As Mr.

Fox ment over this agreement he agreed to do and live up to everything that was on that paper.

Mr. Johnson. Did he say anything about not understanding it?

rully, every line or that; took every sentence and explained things that he pretended—— or if he didn't understand we made him understand.

Mr. Johnson. He did ask some explanation or it?

Mr. Toli. Yes, on some things; and some things he

tried to explain to in there, and we got together on this here,
and when that committee got through with this here everything

mintee was well satisfied on both sides, so far as the committee was concerned and Mr. Fox.

Mr. Foss. Tit he make any changes in the statement at all--- Yr. Fox?

alterations in that studement. He offered at that time to live up and agree to live up and grant everyoning that was on that paper, and he demanded it back and I said, "Mr. Fox, we were instructed to leave this paper with you 24 hours and call for it. One of us is up call for it, or scheone. It is to be left with you 24 hours, and you sign it and we will be back for it. "Tell", he said, "Boys, everything is all right, now, isn't it?" Ind I said, "Tell, yes, everything is all right, but we will some back wither that paper tomorrow corning".

"r. Johnson. The Le tell you that le wools sign it if that connictee hould sign it?

Wr. Tolf. Te suit it would be ready the maxt morning.

Mr. Johnson Did he say he mould sign it if the com-

wr. Folf. I'll get to that later. So Mr. Fox said everything would be all right now, and said, "We are all satisfied, are mer" "Yes". "I am glad or that. The document will be waiting for you tororrow morning at my office. It is not necessary that you all come back. It is not necessary" he says, "because I know, Mr. Wolf, that some or you fellows are working nights and don't want to be torn from their work at the plant. It breaks up the day and", he says, "just let one man come back are get it. How will that be?" I said to the committee, "It is satisfactory to me if it is to you boys." "Way, sure; it's all right with me". To i said, "who will come back after it?" So they left it to Yr. Fox to come back after the document. "Way", he says,

"let that fellow there some back"--- one of the men that had been laid off.

"r. Johnson. The was that?

Vr. Tolr. Emile Pusso.

Yr. Foss. For many were there in that cormittee?

"r. Tolr. Seven. Five on the corrected, and Morris was instructed to go with them. I was instructed to go as spokeson, and Morris was secretary or that consistee.

For the next day has meanesday. Pusso hert back arter the document. If name't see Place until that night or the meeting, Teanesday right. Then I sent up to the resting on Teinesday night the hall was ordated, in the rapid Publaing,

right, I thick it is the adjoining building here. There I crought in my report that everything had been approved by "Ir. Fox and that smile Fuse had went back that day to get the papers, and I presumed that he had had the papers, and—well, I guess I got a little bit ahead or the story. I manted to tell about that \$10,000 business in Mr. Foxes office. I forgot that, so in there is no objection I sail go back to that part of it.

Mr. Joanson. Go ahead.

Pr. Foir. I couldn't recall how it came about, but Pr. Fox in that office called me a crock.

Mr. Joanson. Upon which occasion?

er. Welr. I just said I don't recall now it came about --- how the discussion came about, but at any rate Mr. sow called me a crock.

Mr. Moss. Was it at the time this committee was theref

or. Tolr. It the time this committee was there.

er. Moss. The deven men while presenting this state-

teld him, I said, Myr. Fex, I think you augat to applicate for that. I don't know of any occasion myself inere I am a crook. I don't know of any occasion myself inere I am a crook. I don't know that I ever best you but of anything or anything allows. "Well," he says, "fou direct to sell these membruts. "Well", I cold "that's the first I heard of it. I limit know anything shout it. Thet's hear some more about it."
I said, "In other fords, I think you are a limit." "Well" he says"you did. The offered to sell than out to "r. Sugar sunary corning so n in the cil house, down in one of the motor

e 2 1

well houses. You ordered to squash this whole business for #10,000. And I said, "You are a Tod-darred liar, and if you say it again I'll breakyour jaws."

Mr. Foster. Mr. Chairman, I object to that language going into the record.

Mr. Cooper. I am in favor of having that go in just exactly that ay; because if it is the truth it cught to go in.

Mr. Foster. You think it cught tor

Mr. Corper. Yes, it score just the attitude of the man at that time and his feelings. I think that is the way, to just it in the record.

"r. Johnson. If the witness here using that language here I could see very serious objection to it, but if he is simply repeating weat occurred at another place, I really don't see the objection to it.

"r. Foster. rell, it don't seem to re--- it right be expressed differently.

Tr. Johnson. It would show the language he used upon that operation. It goes to show those who will read the record the feelings or the wan of the time and also the character or the ran. It goes to show the things.

or, roster. I know, but it occurs to me that to should not load up the record with a lot or caths.

"r. cooper. Fr. Chairman, this is not caths originating in this occurt room.

Fr. Joanson. That is the distinction I was making.

Mr. Moorer. It is a narrative of just events.

yr. rester. All right.

Mr. Cooper. I thing it ought to remain in the record as past events.

Mr. Johnson. It is unicrtunate that they have to go in, but I believe that, just as Mr. Cooper puts it, it is a nargative or that took place at another place than this, and I think that should go in.

ir. roster. All right, I just wanted--- that is my individual origina.

it shows the feelings and also the character of the can. If Or. Foster mitharaws the objection, the stempgrammer mill let the language remain in, and the mithess will proceed.

Mr. Cooper. Tell just exactly what took place.

rar as I can remember. I told Mr. Fox, War. Fox, who told you that? Mr. Fox, I tell you, if it wasn't for your age--you are an older man than I am and I have always respected age--- I sould surely whip you and throw you but of that window." Mr. Fox said, Wyr. Mucher told me that, and I said, Myr. Fox, you send and bring yr. sucker up here before me. I want to face him. Pring him up here right now before this cormittee. I want to race Mr. Futher. That is a lie, and unless you bring Mr. Sucker up here before me, I will consider that you are the liar."

one lines that morning in that clilies. He midn't say that wr. Hucker was not as the flant, but he saw he sometime to do

that. It was all orr, he said, "You done it and that's the said, "You done it and that's the said,"

end of it." And of course I got pretty mad--- such things as that there when a man knows he is not guilty, sometimes gets his blood pretty hot, and I started after "r. rox again and he moved his chair back around the desk, and some of the boysgot me by the arm and told me I had better cool down a little bit and keep julet. I feel, as some or the committee did, at the time, that the object of bringing that up at that time was for the furpose of turning the ren away from their leader. The company wanted to show that committee, in my estimation, that their leader was trying to sell them because--- I didn't get this in the record yesterday. It was an oversight of my own. In reading this important paper it was brought back to me.

Was sent to the office by the organization, the Protective Association, with a invitation to Mr. Hucker and Mr. Hox and Mr. Pudisil and Mr. Sauters to attend a meeting of the Protective Association, if they wasted the floor to speak to their employees they could have it. But I can say that none of them never did core down there, and at that time was the time when Mr. Hucker discouraged me on trying to install a sick fund in that protective association, and he told me at that time they didn't sant any Mind or an organization or any Mind of any size wanted any Mind of an organization in their plant. They didn't care shat it was, and that they surely was hard and strong against the Protective Association surely was hard and strong against the Protective Asso-

siation and didn't want it.

Then 'r. Rucker called re to his office, as I related yesterday, he wanted the Association and wanted the sich fund at that time.

Mr. Cooper. He reversed himself?

we were preparing to go into the American pederation or Labor. At first we weren't going into the American Federation of Labor; then he didn't want it. Then when he found that we had already found out our Association wasn't strong enough and had no strength we were going to the Federation or Labor, where there was strength, where we would get financial and moral support, then he wanted the Association; but he didn't want the Association to brookle mantedthem. The manted to impress on me that he wanted the Association, and that I should go shead and work up this sick find that we had been trying to work and that he was willing to help me.

Now for two reasons & Telieve that was done. One was that he wanted to catch me in a trap, as he did when he offered we the figs. If he still only get me to accept one time, one listle thing, without the men knowing it, he would have a chance to come tot and say to the men, "Look here, here Wolf accepted this here. He didn't tell you fellows nowhing about that. He is getting money on the side." In that way 't would have been an easy way to show fold up. But Tolf at all times was on the guard of

that. I didn't want any money from she company. It is not in me. I don't care for any money from any company. I want that money I can tork for, what roney I work for in a good, clean, legitimate way, and thir it want any other.

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For Wr. Hudger, then he was ted that Association. As I said before, he didn't want the men to know that the Company was wrapped up in it, for one reason was he wanted to trap me. For another reason was, they wanted this Association to stand away from the Arerican Federation of Labor long enough until they had a fet none followers cut and them just us officers, and that scala be the end of it all and no A. F. J. and no Federation or Association in there.

Those are the two reasons I give for "f. Sucker reversing himself on the Association and also for ordering re "25; and that is the reason, I think they brought in the TD,000 proposition, master turn public sentiment and the sen and the committee against the leader. They, in my estimation, after the trike was called, did their very best to turn public sentiment, and they did turn it against the Aluminum Ore Company Strikers, especially against their leaders.

Fig. go on them with the strike. So after I brought in my report this seeting---

Yr. (Coper forterposing). About when was that; do you remember?

vr. Folf. That was "ednesday night following Yonday Might... Wormany sight was the recting where they drew up these papers

and agreed that unless he stoom by that they sould go on strike Tednesday Might.

Mr. Cooper. Now wait. And when you read that off to him on that Monday---

Mr. Wolf (interposing). On that Tuesday, following Monday.

Mr. Scoper. You say that Mr. Box agreed that those demands were all right and he would consent?

wr. Tolf. He consented and said he sould have them signed next morning for that one can that he had picked nimself out of the committee to some back and get that document.

Mr. Scoper. That was Bussof

Tr. Tolf. Pusso.

Tr. Cooper. Then Tednesday you went to a seeting?

Mr. Tolf. Then Tednesday night when we went to this meeting I brought in my report and told the men at that meeting that enerything was all right, as far as I knew that Busse had the documents. They were to be signed and Tguessed they were, and that everything looked pretty fair and all right. And after I brought in my report Busse was a little late coming to the meeting. Pusse came in to bring back the documents, and he said that he went there at 10 o'clock on Tednesday morning.

Fr. Cooper. Tent Uneref

Tr. John. To the oringe to get those jagers.

Mr. porper. To Mr. Fex's office?

Mr. Folf. Ten, sir; and he said Tr. Fox told him

that there were some things in there mint had to be altered, that wash's right; and he said, "Well, "I. Fox", he said, "you know you agreed to those things Testerday, and I ain't got the power to change any of that there. In fact, the committee hash't got the power. "It, "he says, "I guess hard"

I'll get them like they are; signed fret the say they are."

Well', he said, "you come tack at I thereok".

er. coorer. On what day, Temmeslay?

Mr. Wolf. On Teanesday. So Pusso went back at 2 c'eleck.

ar. unoper. For you are telling what 'r. Russo told at the meeting?

vr. Tolr. Told at the meeting, yes, sir. Then Busso ment tack at 2 o'corox he was handed the popers, and huseo gaid that br. Fox said these he don't dend to have enything at all to so ith these papers, and he don't sign then, and he showed the papers there that they demen t signed. So after some discussion there was a notice state that we strike the plant.

Tr. donger. For "r. Fox sain that he asked you people to stin them, and you say that Mr. FTE said that if you would come back on Tednesday he hould have them stigmed; he manted to look them over, and so forth, and he tould sign them.

Mr. Tolr. So far as I far remember--- in fact, I know myself that there wasn't one soft in by presence about the positive signing those papers.

or, decrer. Not one acrd and about the committee significations papers.

Mr. Wolf. Mr. Mox stated he would have it signed next rorning for us.

Mr. Cooper. You assumed that because he said, "conmittee" and it was a consistee or this Association, that that
would be curricient:

"r. welr. Well, it was a consistee or all or the men or the plant, not paracolarly the Association.

Mr. Choper. A committee selected at a meeting of the men or the plant:

Wr. Wolr. The men that comin attend. Those that merch't working at that time, I night say, was at that meeting. The hall was crossed.

Tr. Cooper. Ind this connictee ment increasin to

Tr. Wolf. Tes, sir.

er. cooper. Inditalked with him and mid this con-

Wr. WCLI. Yes, sir.

er. Cooper. "ell nonthen, onen Mr. Pissa rade the statement at the meeting, what happened:

"IT. Wolf. Well, there has a little discussion there.

One can got up and said that he thrught that the company

was ignoring them—— did ignore them—— and that it was

time they take steps. We had actived "r. Fox that unless

as signaturis there would be trouble; there touch be a

strike. So another man got up and expressed his claim,

and after a curren or them expressed their opinions, why

sometray got up to make a motion that they carry out their threams are strike the plant as they had agreed to do on Monany night before that.

stand about preparing it for the signature or the committee.

and I guess if I'r. Fox had askedthe committee they would have willingly signed it, in my estimation. I don't see any reason in the world that would stop the correlatee from signing that. I suppose the men would all have signed it. I feel catisfied they would.

or. Toyer. Tould you have signed it if he had asked your

er. Foir. I certainly would, if he had signed it; because a drn't think there is enything in there that sould have hurt any nan by signing his name if he had on the committee.

Tr. Topper. Then was the strike called?

this discussion that was joing on I was called out of the room, during last of it. I didn't near all of it, and don't know everything that was said, and I was there then the motion was made to carry out the threats, and it adm't take mery long until the can was on the road from to the plant.

HE the lay out to the plant I informed one empireer, Have formed, to only up the onter empirees, we his women and

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we didn't want the engine wen to walk out and leave all the engines on, because it probably might cause a loss or live. It is a dangerous proposition, and the engineer that I worked with was to go on that might at 11 o'clock. I met him at the gate and told him to go in and report to the engineer for only and the sattonboard man to see that every man went in; and I told him he could held the condenser mon over. That is the man I was to relieve. He could held him over and they could get instructions from the chief engineer.

the felt satisfied that the plant would have to stop, because ) Iner the men nouldn't go in if they knew a strike was on.

them. However, there were some men on the inside, and a lot or oner stayed in , and lots or them came out. The news arread like wildfire that there was a strike on, and the switchboard men went in and relieved their men, and they came out. And one or the engineers went in and told Henton, the onier engineer, that there was a strike on non, "And do you mant us to get other men in here and take charge or this, or say in until temorrow morning until the electrical load drops off and you can out the boilers off? The will stay with you mail you can prepare yourself to handle it".

fr. Johnson. The said that?

or. Four. The enginees told the chief enganeer that, as he told me the next morning he wid. His instructions

mere from me to do that.

Immediately after eleven o'clock, about tem or fifteen minutes, a man by the name of Fartlett, that had been a switchhoard operator on the shift I was to work on, came out to the office and said "r. Fox manted to see me at the check office. Rell, I was down at the corner of Missouri and 35th Ctreet, probably two blocks away, and he said that Mr. For hanted to see re. Fore of the boys care down there and told me, so I with the rest of the committee walked up to this check office and we said we was ready to meet i'r. Fex. but "r. Fex didn't core out, and we told the watchman, "Mou can tell "r. Fox me are ready to meet him. If he mants to be met, we are ready to sit down and talk it over. " Fut Mr. Fox didn't come out. However, about 10 o'clock the economicar man come out and said he was discharged. They said they didn't need them. At 2 c'olock a saitontoard man was discharged.

and said he was discharged. Some of the ren care out and told me that "r. Fox had rent through the different departments and said there has no trouble only that he fired Told and Told can't ork there no none and thatis the end of it; the clant will run on just the same and there is no sprike at all, no strike at all; for the sen just to remain at mork.

of the next coming oner some of the sen--- some nore of the men owne out there. To had very fee wen stayed in. I don't think none than 3 % or the new stayed in altogether.

From about proceedly 2,000, sen that worked there, 200 stayed

: 3 s

there. Of course naturally they all come to the plant in the normings and we stayed around the plant there a little while--- A want to say this, that immediately after the strike the night before, immediately after 11 occlock, the police patrol care out there. There was a sergeant and three or four ordicers, and I immediately---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). From what police force mere they?

Mr. Telf. The Mast St. Leuis golice force. 1 went to the sergeant and told him trut this was a reaserul stribe; we didn't expect any trouble to begur. That where there here so sony men you never con tell but what . somebody might drift off and get a little bit too much shishey and once last and went to stort once trouble. Te weren't forcing amphosy to other out of the plant; only then a man came up there to go to sort and didn't know anything about the asetirg are hadned been there, so told him in as nice a way as re on the that there was a strike on there, and asked nim to join us. That was our mission there, and very fer did to in. "ost of them that stayed in were men that was in the plant from 3 to 11 o'carch shirt. I told , the officer that we expected as to do his duty out there, and if he found my drunken her or anyoddy oreaving any kind of thouble we expected not to sprest them, or we exsected Air---

or. Johnson (intermosting). There those cristers not begond their jurisdictions

Tr. Well. We, sir; they were at the floodings Ore

Company. The Azuminum Ore Company, if I understand it, is partly in the city and partly but of the city.

Mr. Johnson. Yes, I recall now.

around there about thirty minutes with the police patrol.

Finally he called me and said, "Folf, I don't see that there is going to be any trouble here; it is not necessary to hold these men all here. I'll leave a coule of men here with you, and if there is anything brawing the just call me uland me will have grenty of men out here. I don't think there will be any trouble and it is not necessary to hold all these can here, and they ought to be out on their beats." The thing looked very aftet. There was no trouble. Everybody seemed to be satisfied, and I said, "Go thead." So he drew all of his officers but two and left. Two officers stayed, stayed all night, and Anext morning there was another bunch of officers care out there, five or six, and stayed around awhile and finally they left.

The next morning about 9 o'clock from rarched from the Aluminum Ore plant to the city Hall. At the City Hall I think Alexander Flannigan spoke.

Mr. Tolf. That was on the day of the month was that?

Mr. Tolf. That was on the day ofter the strike.

The strike was on the 18th. It must have been on the 19th,

I guess, of firil. It was the following rorning. The

men went to the City Hall, marched to the City Hall, just

as they had done in the previous strike, only with a new

leader. To marched to the City Hall. To carried flags.

Some of the men blught flags ut these little stores whong

680 the road; some of them were riding bicycles.

Mr. Cooper. What kind of flags?

We got to the City Hall the Mayor addressed us first, made the first address, and I think Alexander Flannigan made an address and John Seymour. If J am not mistaken he rade an address that morning. I made a short address myself, and I urged the men to organize into their various organizations affiliated with the puerious Federation of Labor. Intil I can say they had a ceeting that night and began to organize.

The carpenters, the business agent of the carpenters, Mr. Johns, was called upon. He was at the meeting and the carpenters got together with Mr. Johns and went off to the carpenter's hall and organized a carpenter's local, or joined the other local, I don't remember which.

The froncorkers, the structural from sorkers, were taken off with and organizer from St. Louis that see over here on that occasion, and he took them, I believe, to the Wagle building, and he organized that local of fronzervers there.

and he took his men away into the steamfitters' hall and organized the steamfitters. And the machinists, and so on down the line, each craft.

The laborers has left to the Western Federation of Mines, Vills and Grelter Ven. They took over the laboring men, the man that has no craft, that is not a mechanic.

lett, they secided that after Mr. Rudisell mad said---

the master mechanic of the Alurinum Ore Company--- had said on a previous occasion that his company had made \$187,000,000 clear profit above all expenses last year, the men felt like they ought to have an increase in pay.

"r. Cooper. The told you that?

Mr. Folf. The men, all of the men.

Mr. Cooper. Where ifd you get the figure of profit?

Mr. Tolf. Rudisell had told some of the machinists, and the machinists of course in turn had told it at the meetings. However, Mr. Fox had told the men when they had the first agreement, the first verbal agreement, at this little theatre here --- he was asked by the chairman, or he asked the chairman, "Tell, you see to satisfied that I have granted you everything?" Mark Tilliams was chairman, and he said, MMr. Fox, we will be satisfied providing the price of bacon and flour don't go any higher; but if bacon and flour and the cost of living goes higher, we surely expect a little more money." 'r. Fox said, "Poys, if the cost of living goes up you can expect the Flurinum Ore Company to give you more money. You may not have to ask for it." So we felt that that time had some, so we asked for a little increase in wages and the right to organize, and was ready to go back to work, and within a day or so after the strike everything was ready.

Vr. Johnson. How long had you been out then?

Vr. Tolf. Just a course of days, We come out that

night and the next morning. To sent down there that night again to organize, and within a day or two we was ready to go back to work. In fact, we were ready that night on these demands, as T. Fox was ready to meet us, but he wasn't ready to meet us.

So after we got down to the City Hall we agreed to affiliate correless with the marious organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Tr. Cooper: You say "Te were ready to go back on these denands." You make the demands in thet written document?

Ur. Tolf: Yes, until that night. On that night, until the next morning, when we had agreed to join the imerican Federation of labor, and we felt so mented to go back under next conditions. To wanted to go back and we wanted to organize with the horn fide labor organization, belong to it, and we felt that we ought to have a little inpresse in pay.

FO a committee was established from all these little smalts, and we had a head quarters at the Labor Tample.

Tr. Johnson: Right there, the ester organization does not our the Letor Temple, does it?

"r. Tolf: Tell now, I don't think they do, but I acalon't say anything about it. I don't bnow. I lediare there are a labor organization built that temple, but whether they still our the glass or not I san't say.

Tr. Frinson: Tell if you limit know, go shead.

"In. Tolf: Te went to the Tabor Temple Ton soft of
a lead pertor == all, selfar at to there in the ear. Te had

the hall at 26th and Louisiana Boulevard. After we had a few meetings down at the City Hall we felt that we were imposing on that place, and felt that it was closer to the plant, so we went back to the old place where we had our meetings in before, at the last strike, this little theatre, 26th and Louisiana Boulevard. We held one or two meetings in there. Then on Sunday morning the Committee was to meet—a committee meeting. We met at that particular hall this Sunday morning, and John Simon was one of the committee—the same Simon that is referred to in this story previous—was a little bit late coming to the meeting. John was riding a bicycle down 27th Street, and he met Joe Friesz and Lloyd Friesz.

Mr. Cooper (interposing:) Is this what he told you at that time, or are you telling of your own knowledge?

Mr. volf: This will show later on where Friesz--where I saw Friesz. This shows just where he ret him. I'll get into it later.

Mr. Cooper: You are telling who he met?

Mr. Folf: He told who he met, and they followed him to this place.

Mr. Cooper: As he told you when he got to the meeting?

Mr. Tolf: Yes. They passed Simon at about 27th and

Bellevue. Simon was coming down 27th Street and they were

going in the other direction. They turned the machine around

and they followed Simon, and they followed him right to where

he was going, right up to this little hall, what was about two

blocks away, this little theatre where the committee was meeting

on the insidexx was in session. Well, while we were in

there-- there is a door on the side-- we heard some loud hollering, and as I looked out that door I saw this fellow Mark Williams, who had been the chairman of the first strike, come running down there, and blood was streaming down off his face and neck and head, and his eye all puffed out like that there (indicating), and he said "For Christ's sake, boys, run out there, the Friesz boys are out there killing a man."

Mr. Cooper: Who were the Friesz boys?

Mr. Wolf: The Friesz boys-- one of them-- both of them are foremen at the Aluminum Ore Company plant and stayed in during the strike. Everybody rushed out of the hall. Some of them rushed out towards the front door, and when I rushed out where this Williams was, I saw Joe Friesz with two big guns and Lloyd Friesz with one gun, standing there, probably a hundred feet from where I was at.

Mr. Johnson: By "gun" do you mean rifle or ristol?

Mr. Wolf: Pistol. revolver-- blue steel revolvers,

big, long ones. And Joe says to me "Don't you move. If you

do, I'll drop you." And I just said "Put your guns up there,

if you know where you're at. You had better put your guns

down, "mad. And I continued to walk up to them, walked right

straight up to them, and when I got right close to him he

shoved it into my stomach, one of his guns, and says "I told

you to stop." I says "I stopped." By that time the gang

began to get around there. We found out later-- Simontold

us the story as I related, that he had been followed by those

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two fellows, and when he got off his bicycle in front of this place there they attacked him and Empared him down and was whirping him, and Filliams was stamming on the corner. Filliams interfered and come to gimon's assistance. This man Joe Priesz is a mighty big man. He is a big man a shole lot bigger than I am, and I guess bigger than this gentleman (indicating Mr. Foss). Louis Friesz is a small man but a pretty husky sort of a fellow and a good fighter. So I told themthe gang got around there and some of them manted to get hold of them, and I says "Boys, stand ber mos and don't start anything like this. There is going to be no trouble. Remember when we started this strike we sali there would be no fights", and I was successful enough in holding the toys off of them. You converify that by Mr. Johns, the basiness agent of the carpenters or Marion Leake, organizer for the Festern rederation of Mine, Milk and gmelter Men. They were there and saw it all. I urged that the Friesz boys get in meir machine and get away . from there. Some of the boys were greatly warm, and I had a pretty hard time holding them off of those fellows, but I did succeed in getting them away from them without being touched.

Then Simon related his story, as I have told before, about the way they followed him ami have he had got whipped. I want to say right there--

Mr. Cooper (interposing:) Fait aminute. Remember what you were going to say. I want to say right there-- you were having that meeting on the inside of this little theatre?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And you looked out and saw Williams bleeding?

Mr. Volf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Coming up after this assault. Then after that had all settled down, and you got back into the hall, then Gimon told his story; is that it?

Mr. wolf: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Well, he didn't tell it before you saw Filliams?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir. Simon was out there and they was beating Simon, you see.

Mr. Cooper: But what I was getting at was, you told the Simon incident as though Simon told it first.

Mr. Wolf: Fell, I got a little confused in that.

Mr. Cooper: So you were in the hall?

Mr. Wolf: We were in the hall, and the first we knew of it was when I saw-- I suppose the rest of the men saw it too-- Williams when he run past the side door with blood streaming down off of him, and I can remember his big eye. Williams told us he had teen hit in the eye and the back of the head with a gun or scrething, he thought it was a gun, in the fight with these two boys.

Mr. Foss: Then you said something about Mark Williams.

Mr. Wolf: I just wanted to relate how he got into it.

Mr. Cooper: And it was after this williams incident, and after you saw these two brothers with the revolvers and you had all gotten back into the hall, and then Simon told

## his story?

Mr. Folf: How it happened; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now what was it Simon said after he got back in the hall?

Mr. wolf: He said he was coming down 27th Street and he passed an automobile which contained Joe and Louis Friesz, and he said that when he got over and got off of his bicycle in front of this place he had no knowledge of them following him, but when he got off here they attacked him right there.

Mr. Cooper: Well, then, go on. That happened after that?

Er. Foster: I wanted to ask in this connection, are these two young men in the employ of the Aluxinum Company now?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

ur. Foster: Were they before the strike?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Kr. Foster: were they before the injunction issued by the United States Court?

Mr. Wolf: yes, sir; they have been there for a long time.

Mr. Foster: Did they act in the capacity of United States deputy marshals during the time this injunction was in operation?

Mr. molf: Well, I couldn't positively say whether they did or not.

Mr. Foster: You don't know positively whether they were sworn in as deputy United States marshals and in the employ of the company?

Mr. wolf: My story might bring something out later on that.

Mr. Foster: Well, if it does I would be glad to have you do that.

Mr. wolf: You might call my attention to it.

I want to say that we went to John Seymour's residence, Mr. Simon and myself, and two or three more of the com mittee, after that -- remember we went back into the hall, and after the meeting session was out, we went to Mr. Seymour, the attorney's residence, got Mr. seymour, and went down and got Mr. Healey, I think was the Justice of the Peace, and had warrants sworn out. The warrants were delivered to a constable by the name of Edwards. Edwards went to the plant and didn,t get the Friesz boys. Simon told me laterwell, we notified our attorney then that the men had never been arrested, after several days or weeks, and our attorney advised us to go to Edwards and get the war rants off of him and deliver them to Ransome Payne, chief of police, and that Ransome Payne would get the men. So Simon told me that Edwards explained to him that he went there and served the warrants, but he wasn,t permitted to take the men away.

Mr. Johnson: The get inhis way to prevent him?

Mr. Welf: Well, he didn't say that. I can't say

who prevented it. That was as far as Simon told me. When

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I asked him about the warrant he said he was going to give them to Ransome Payne, and Ransome Payne could serve the warrants and get the men: However, up to this time, the men, to my knowledge, have never been arrested.

Mr. Foss: Do you know whether they were personally served at that time or not?

Mr. Folf: I only know--

Mr. Foss (interposing:) Or were the warrants just left in the office?

Mr. Folf: I only know what Simon told me. That is all I can say. I know the men live not very far from my house, just a couple of blocks. They live in the city limits and I have seen them downtown. They go back and forth to work.

Mr. Cooper: You mean the Friesz Brothers?

Mr. Folf: The Friesz Brothers.

Mr. Cooper: Have you ever heard of their being arrested?

Mr. Wolf: Never.

Mr. Cooper: You have never heard of any trial or hear-ing?

Mr. Feif: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You have never been called as a witness yourself, or know of any other person called by the courts to prosecute those men?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir; in so far as I know they have never been arrested, either by the constable or by the policemen.

Mr. Raker: what is the Justice's name that issued the warrant?

Mr. Wolf: Healey.

# Mr. Raker: what is his first name, do you know?

A Voice: Frank J. Healey.

Wr. Johnson: What was the constable's name who went out there and said he served the warrant and didn't get them?

Mr. Wolf: Biwards. I understand Edwards went out of office immediately after that, or shortly after that,

Mr. Cooper: Do you know whether the warrants were ever delivered to any other officer?

Mr. wolf: No, I donot. So our strike proceeded on, and we tried every may imaginable to get a conference or a hearing or a meeting with the management of the Aluminum Ore Company, Mr. Fex. As Mr. Ferr stated yesterday, we tried through the Department of Labor to get a conference with Mr. Fox.

Mr. Cooper: You mean Secretary wilson, in Washington?
Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: The Department of Labor there?

Mr. Folf: Yes. and we couldn't get any -- he wouldn't have anything to dojus; wouldn't meet with the men or wouldn't meet with any representative of the bona fide labor organizations. They did serure an injunction.

Mr.Cooper: Do you know whether anybody came out here representing the Department of Labor in Washington, or was

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sent here?

Mr. Wolf: Why, his name is Gill, Pat Gill.

Mr. Johnson: Whose name is Pat Gill?

Mr. Wolf: This man that was sent out from the Department of Labor.

Mr. Raker: He lives out here in St. Louis, doesn.t

Mr. Folf: That is the gentleman that was out here five or six weeks.

Mr. Raker: Ex-Congressman Gill?

Mr. Wolf: Yes; that's the man. He used to be a Congressman-- whatever department he is with. I think it is the Department of Labor.

Mr. Cooper: At any rate he came here?

Mr. Wolf: He came here for the purpose of trying to bring the company and the men together. He tried to make some kind of a settlement. He tried his best to stop this, to settle the trouble.

Mr. Folf: Well, I don't know. I couldn't say what his business is. He was Congressman at one time.

And there was a man here by the name of Meyer.

Mr. Johnson: where did he come from?

Mr. Wolf: He came from the same nepartment, but I don't know what his business is or what he done before that. He came here for the same purpose that Gill was here; and I will say that we never did get a conference with the

company. The committee went to see the Mayor and asked the ayor in he couldness make an arrangement to bring the company and the men the success. The layer said that he had tried it, but Mr. Fox said that he was well satisfied with conditions in his glant, and didn't care to meet the men.

Vr. Raker: This is the same condittee you have referred to all the time before?

Mr. Folf: Ferra of them. Some of those sen, you understand -- some of those sen had to go to work, and others were put in their gracus.

They did secure a Federal injunction restraining us from Micheting wall mestraining us from blowing up their plant, corrying lit away, and I don't know what all it did read. I don't know yet why they got it. There was no cause. I dom't know as anyone had been convicted of anything they had shone out there. Mone of our men was arrested.

Mr. Cooper: There you threatening violence of anything of that Mina?

Mr. Wolf: Now we my knowledge, no sir. The men were at all times—— we made it a rule at every meeting we had to notify thesse ren before they left that there should be no violences.

'ir. Cooper: Do you know anything about any throwing of rooks, or manything of that kind?

Mr. Folf: It was introduced in the trial here.
Mr. Cooper: In this hearing, you mean?

Mr. Welf: Not in this hearing, no; not to my knowledge. I don't know that it has.

Mr. Johnson: You refer to the injunction hear-

I'r. Tolf: Yes, sir. It was introduced there, and I was told by some of the boys that Mr. Fox, on entering his plant one night with his machine-- that there was a rock or two throwed at Mr--- at his machine-- and I tried my very test to try to find out who the ren were that three the rocks, but I was unable to find out. So I came to the conclusion that probably the conjuny rut the men out there

to create something. If I understand it right, in order to get an injunction there must be some violence.

Mr. Cooper: You think that was what they call a "plant"?

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Yr. Folf: I feel that the company had planted that. It was also shown where on Bond avenue there was one or two houses where the men were working in the plant, and at a late hour at night there was rocks thrown in their houses, in through the sindos, and one lady I recember testified that a rock-- or one man did-- that a rock was thrown in his bed room, and it lit between him and his wife, or him and his baby, or something of that effect. A brick or rock lit in the bed, and the front window was broke and there were lots of rocks laying around there. I tried arong our boys to find out who done it. I sas never able to find out, and I feel satisfied myself that if any of our boys had done that, they sould have surely acknowledged it to me. I went among them frequently, and said "Now if you done that, tell me. I just wart to know for curiosity's sake." And I was never able to find out. The toys was instructed not to carry on any violence, because I don't think it is right. I don't think it is right to destroy property.

Mr. Cooper: Violence like that would work right against the interests of the labor people themselves?

Wr. wolf: Al would like to say right in connection with this here that if we wanted to create any viclence, that there were window lights along Missouri Avenue there at

one building that is about three or four hundred feet long, and the whole one side of it is pretty near all window lights. A man can reach it from the sidewalk, and there are lots of electric light globes around there. I want to say that there wasn't one of those window lights broke out during that whole strike. There wasn't any of our men, to my knowledge, done anything like that.

Mr. Johnson: The occupied the house to which you refer, that had so many mindow lights?

Fr. Folf: It belonged to the Aluminum Ore Tompany.

I want to show that if the men wanted to create violence

they could have thosed bricks through those windows.

Mr. Cooper: Of that long plant?

Mr. Telf: Of this long building that stood right there at the sidewalk, like this thing stands here (indicating.) I could reach up like that and touch all the window lights along there. There were lots of electric light globes along there, and lots of men there all the time on picket duty, and to my knowledge there wasnut none of those window lights broken, and there wasnut anything infoduced in that trial, to my knowledge, that showed where there was any of them broken. The rock throwing, I telieve, was the only violence that I know of— that I can recall, and I can't recall of any of our men— in fact, I know there wasnut any of our men arrested for violence during that strike. That I mear was men out on strike. There was none arrested.

Mr. Cooper: So, as I understand your testimony, it was your telief, at least, that this was a plant—that is what we call a plant—by somebody who was interested—a "frame-up", as they call it sometimes—to secure an injunction?

Wr. Folf: I do; yes, sir. It was stated in one of the papers here, through this statementm somehow or other, that Yr. Fox had given, in the Journal of East St.

Louis, that the strike was of German origin, and that the Paiser's somey was behind wolf, and that they were very unpatrictic, and all/that stuff.

I want to say that we were ready to go to work, as far as the men were concerned -- ready to cooperate with the company officials and operate that plant if the Government needed the stuff. We stood ready at all times; were ready to go back to work under any fair conditions, but the company showed no favor -- didn't want to have anything to do with it. I will say that during our trial there was a race riot in Best St. Louis, which you know of. On the night of the first race riot I was at the City Hall.

Mr. Johnson: That was May 28th?

Mr. wolf: That was the first race riot?

Mr. Johnson: Of May 28th?

Mr. Wolf: Yes. I was at the City Hall, and after the meeting was out I went to the Geary saloon, across the street from the City Hall, with John Simon, George Morris and Jake Hoffman. We were sitting in a booth there and took a glass of beer, and finally to heard some hollering.

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and when we went outside and stood out there I seen the gang going south on Main Street, and I says to the boys, I seid \*I sonder if any of our strikers are in that gang? I hope they ain't." So Johnny cimon suggested, he said, \*Let.s go down there, and if we find any of the boys, let\*s try to send them home. By that time we walked down to ercearay, and the gang had come tack, and le dispersed there to go arong the gang and see if we could find any of our men. Te did go among the gang there, I guess thanty or thirty minutes, and finally I found Simon again. "Tell, Johnny, I says, "I guess it don't look like there is anybody here I know. If there is any of the boys in that gang, I don't know them. I don't remember the faces, but it looks to me as if the boys must be pretty well thinned out-- those that I know. " He says "I didn't find any either." while we were there, as the cars came by they would jerk the trolley off and run inside and beat these niggers. I sew it done two or three times, and finally a car cars around there, cams north-- mame from this way (indicating), on Collinsville Avenue north, and as it got there by the corner of Frequency and Collinsville avenue there was sever or eight niggers on that car. All the white people jumped off, you know, and the niggers themselves got scared in there, and some of the officers sent in there and--

or. Johnson (interposing:) Folice officers:

Ur. Folf: Yes, sir; police officers-- got on that

car and ent in there and began secreting the niggers, and

rect on the step, on the back end of the car, and the crowd was all gathering around there, and I tried to talk to the crowd. I says, "Say boys, I don't be leve I could do this", and "let's out this out for a little while. The officers have got charge of these niggers and they will take them on and errest them." And somelody rulled my fact out from under me and I slid down, and after they got through walking over me I decided it was time for me to go now. So I went home. I left right then and there and sent up and caught a cer and sent home. That's all I saw or that riot.

Fr. Foss: That was on the night of way 28th, after the meeting, was it?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir. I aculd like to say further that that was on a Monday night. On Thesasy, I think, the saloons were closed, that afternoon-- closed up-- ordered closed. We had a meeting billed for Wednessay night, and our injunction trial proceedings was going on in this building here, and they had went on Tuesday morning and it was completed, and Tednesday morning the Judge was to hand down his decision, and the men were very anxious to know what it was going to be, and we had billed a secting at the Labor Temple, at the Carpenters' Hall, the Carpenters' Labor Temple, for Wednesday night.

We inesday afternoon the Mayor called me up- the chief or police called me up, rather- and he said there would be no meeting there. I told him why, there had been one billed.

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"Well", he says, "We are not going to allow any meeting—allow no public meetings at all no place. He says "The theatres are closed and"—had been closed one night—or the salcons are closed", is what he said, "and there won't be any meeting up there."

Mr. Cooper: You mean he said the saloons are olosed or the theatres are closed?

Mr. Wolf: The salcons.

Mr. Cooper: Not the theatres?

Mr. Wolf: I think the theatres were not closed at that time. I know they werenot closed, but they were closed at the second riot.

had better go down and see the Mayor and the Chief of Police.

I went down and seen the Chief of Police and he said "No,
they couldn't allow any meetings, and wouldn't allow any meetings, and wouldn't allow any meetings.

So I felt that it would be detrimental to the city
to not hold that meeting, and of nourse it would be detaring
ental to the strikers. I felt that we ought to have that
meeting, so I asked to see the Mayor, and Mike malen made
arrangements for me-- Mike Whalen is the present City Clerk-made arrangements for us to meet the Mayor-- the consistee.

The pointed out to the Mayor that there would probably be a
thousand or twelve hundred people come down that night to
attend that meeting, and as the saloons were closed, if we
couldn't get those men in off of the streets, if we couldn't
have that meeting, if the half was kept closed and guarded

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by soldiers or police, and the men turned away, they would naturally promenade up and down Collinsville Avenue, and it would put that many people on the streets, and naturally if a nigger stuck his head out of a hole some place, they would be just like a bunch of dogs after a rat. Somebody would holler and yell, and we wouldn't have no control over those people at all. I pointed out to him, I felt safe and satisfied that if those people come down town and went into that hall, that we should talk to them. We could have our little speaking and talk to ther and explain to them, and ask them to go home in a peaceful manner, and I assured him and almost guaranteed him that we could get those people to go home.

Well, the Mayor refused to grant us permission to have the meeting, and I felt that the Major was wrong, and so did the rest of the committee, at we decided that if the people came down the hall would be open, and if they went into the hall we would make addresses and urge that the people go home and not create any violence. We would explain to them that it was wrong to teat these negroes up; that it wasn't right; that it was inhuman, and they were taking the wrong steps and everything else. Judge Thomas, Judge C. B. Thomas, was billed to speak at that meeting, and explain, as he was our attorney, the fifs and fands, and the points we had gained and lost in that injunction suit.

So the Mayor had promised me that there would be no meeting, and the Chief of Tolice promised me that if it took

all the soldiers in town to be stationed up there, there would be no meeting. However, as the night came on, as evening case on, the doors of the hall were opened.

Mr. Johnson: What day of the month was this?

Mr. Wolf: This was Monday night -- Monday night was
the rioting, and that was the following Wednesday night.

Mr. Johnson: In May?

Mr. Wolf: In May. I say the doors were open and the pacple came down. There was no soldiers around to stop them from going in that hall. There wesn't anytody drugged them in there; notody entired them to go in; there was notody in there to tell them to stay out, no soldiers or officers, and naturally there was a crowd of men, women and negroes care to that meeting. I will venture to say there were protectly fifteen or twenty negroes in that weeting that night, upstairs -- niggers that belonged to our different organizations. Mr. Thomas was the first man to speak, and he told of the proceedings of the injunction, the points that we had gained and that we had lost, and he urged that the country was in a great crisis at the present time, and that we were having trouble in the city, and he urged that everyhody go home peacefully and not let a bad impression go cut upon the Aluminum Ore strikers. He didn't believe the Aluminum Cre strikers were ascrest the rioters down there, he didn'think they had anything to do with it, and dian t want them mixed up with it.

After Mr. Thomas got through speaking, Paul J. Smith,

general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, spoke, and he urged practically the same thing, and after. Mr. Smith got through I said a few words myself, and I urged that probably it wasn't safe for the colored men to go out of that hall with the gang of people like that there, and they had better wait until the rest of the men were out, and some of the boys should volunteer to escort those colored men home; and I didn't have a bit of trouble in ... getting plenty of volunteers. I will say that Marion Leake, general organizer for the Western Mines Mills and Smelter men, took two colored men and walked to Lansdonne with them in the rain-+ took them under his parasol and took them home, and a number of the strikers. The golored boys waited until the white men had gone on home. There wasnot a bit of trouble at all. Everybody went right cut of the hall and dispersed and went on home, and after they did go home the colored men and the boys that went to see them home safely, went out with the colored men, and I didn't hear of any trouble. A lot of the boys came the next morning and said "Well, we got them niggers home all right last night and didn't get ther hurt."

In regard to the last riot, I want to say that I was working at Wood River --

Mr. Cooper (interposing:) Wood River, Illinois?

Mr. Wolf: I judge it is about 18 or 20 miles

north of here. I was working for the standard Oil Company.

I started to work on the norning after the night that Sam

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Corpedge had been shot--

Mr. Folf: I went to work that morning.

Mr. Johnson: That was the day of the riot?

Mr. Tolf: That was the day of the riot. That morning I got on the car-- I hnew nothing of Corredge being shot or anything of it, and that morning I caught a car at 5 o'clock, at 27th and State, and when I bought a morning paper of course I read the news of Coppedge and Wodley being shot. I charged cars at Illinois and Collinsville evenue, got off the car and went to work-- caught a car and went on to work, and worked all day and care back that night, and I met a man there on the car and he said "Did you hear anything about East St. Louis?" I said I heard there was some rioting last night, yes." The man got off the car and said "There was 21 niggers killed on Collinsville Avenue. I said "I guess I'll have an awful time getting hore, then. " So the cars were late. They left up there-should leave up there about 4:20, and we didn t get away from there till 5 o.clock. I got in here around about six o'clock, changed cars at Collinsville and Missouri Avenue, took the Cleveland avenue car and went home and stayed there. The next worning I took the same route to work and done it all that week, and done it for two weeks, until I left up there and came back here to work.

Now I guess that's the end of my story.

Mr. Johnson: Did you want to say scrething about a

newspaper article?

I believe I corrected that -- it states Mr. Folf:

here--

That are you reading from, Mr. Cooper (interposing:)

and that date?

Mr. Folf: This is the sorning paper, November 1st,

1917, St. Louis Republic.

Mr. Cooper: That page?

Mr. Tolf: Page 5. It says/here:

## RAPS OFFICIALS IN RIOTS QUIZ

Says Negro Hatred Was Fostered When Blacks Were Hired in Preference to Whites.

In order that the American Federation of Labor might not "light in the Aluminum Ore Company's plant the company offered money for the organization of the Employes' Protective Association, according to testimony of Fhilip Wolf before the Congressional Race Riot Investigating Committee yesterday.

The offer was made by R. F. Rucker general manager for the company, wolf said. Rucker insisted that Wolf hurry the organization, and told him it would take time and money, but the campany would take care of the latter, Wolf testified.

He told of the misunderstandings between the company and its men, in October, 1916, when the men walked out. Soon after that time, he said, the Protective Association was formed, with himself as chairman of the Board of Trustees.

While the organization was being perfected he said Rucker called him into the office and urged him, as a man who "had the others by the soos," to put he federation. He insisted that the order embody a sick benefit clause, but cautoned Wolf not to let the men know the company was for it.

Later, Wolf said, he learned that Rucker and the master mechanic at the plant wanted to get rid of him because he was making the men feel disastified with their condition.

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This says here that I was offered money to organize that—for the organization of the employes. Protective association. Now in my statement yesterday, unless I am badly mistaken, I stated that Mr. Rucker wanted that sick fund, but this morning by stating to you that the sick fund had already been started by the employes, and he wanted it pushed on, where he reversed his condition—that is, where I told about him reversing his position in the different organizations—straightened that part of it up all right.

You understand that now, do you?

Mr. Raker: He did offer you \$25 a month?

Mr. Tolf: He did offer me \$25 a month to keep the

American Federation of Labor out of there.

Mr. Cooper: But you didnot testify anything about that yesterday?

Mr. Welf: No, I hadn't got to that.

Mr. Cooper: You didn't say a word about that yester-day?

Mr. Folf: No, I hadnot got that far in my story.

But this state I had gotten-- in the light I read this-and Mr. Rucker had offered me money to organize this here.

It was organized before any money proposition was ever offered, and then he had stated to me when I took the invitation up there, that he didnot want this association or any
other organization, and this proposition of him offering
he was offered when I was called to his office by himself,
when he made this offer, after he reversed his position on
this association.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Wolf, Mr. Rucker made a very severe attack upon you here.

Mr. Welf: He must have, according to the Journal paper. I hope they give me the same sized print when they put my denial in that they did when they put the charge in against me: It's not likely they will, because during all the strike last summer, when Mr. Fox made a statement, it came out like a big house, and when Wolf issued a statement it was like a little dog-house.

Mr. Cooper: I don't know anything about that, whether they printed it in the same sized type and gave it the same publicity or not, but where one man attacks another man's character, and a newspaper takes occasion to print it in large type and give it the right publicity, it ought to be just to the other san and print his statement and give it the same publicity. That is the true function of the press. Otherwise a man that is poor and hasn't any influence in the way of advertising and so forth, doesn't stand any chance whatever in the press of this country, if that discrimination is practiced that you have just indicated. I denothrow anything about it, of course. I haven't seen that -- either of those, but I am sure that is the attitude of this committee on that proposition. All men ought to be treated alive, especially a man whose character is attacked ought to have the same opportunity to windicate it as his assailant has to attack it.

Now, Mr. wolf, Mr. Rucker said that you came to

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him, and asked him, in effect, for \$10,000, for which sum. it was understood -- or he said that you would -- keep the American Federation of Labor from organizing your plant. what do you say as to the truth of that statement of Mr. Rucker?

Yr. Wolf: I can only say that Yr. Rucker surely told a lie. It is not true.

Mr. Cooper: How long-- what is your age, Mr.

Mr. Wolf: '29 the 23rd of last June.

Mr. Cooper: Have you at any time or place submitted any proposition to Mr. Rucher or to any other person which meant that for money to be given to you or to any other person for you, you would betray your fellow workmen?

Mr. Wolf: I certainly did not, at no time make an offer make an offer to anybody of any kind for any amount of money, big or little to sell out my fellow men; at any time did I or at any time will I. If I had my say-so, Mr. Cooper, and a man was caught selling out a body of workingmen, the death renalty wouldnot be good enough for him.

Mr. Cooper: workingmen, especially those who work for small wages, or comparatively small wages, are obliged, are they not, from the very nature of their situation, to leave the management of negotiations to some committee in their behalf, to some committee or agent? They can't all go themselves?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Cooper: And if the san show they select to.

represent their interests, and in whom they have confidence, betrays them, he commits an unpardenable sin, don't he?

Mr. Wolf: well, I should think he would, in my estimation he surely would.

Mr. Cooper: There couldn't be mything much baser, more contemptible than that, could there?

Mr. Welf: Not in my estimation, no. I think that is the dirtiest, rottenest, stinkingest thing that a man can do. I think there is no punishment in the world too great for a man that would betray and sell out his fellow men.

Mr. Cooper: The wriesz Brothers, you say, were foremen in that plant. How do you spell that name?

Mr. Wolf: F-r-1-e-s-z.

Mr. Cooper: They were foremen in that plant?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Under-foremen?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir; under-foremen.

Mr. Cooper: In charge, each, of about how many men?

Mr. Wolf: well, I would judge that Joe Friesz has probably charge of fifty men.

Mr. Cooper: And the other about hos many?

Mr. Wolf: About the same.

Mr. Cooper: About now long have they been in charge of that number of men?

Mr. Wolf: Well, about three or four years, I guessabout that length of time. Mr. Cooper: Prior to this time? prior to now?

Mr. +olf: Yes, prior to now.

Mr. Cooper: That would bring it back to 1912 or

Mr. Folf: Something in there; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: They continued to be in the employ of the company during the strike?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

yr. Cooper. And are in the employ of the company at the present time?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now when you were meeting down here in this meeting that you call the "little theatre", how many of your associates were at that meeting?

Mr. Folf: Fell, probably 20. In the neighborhood of 20.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know why these two men with these revolvers beat up Wark wikliams?

Mr. Folf: I guess because he came to the assistance of Simon when they were beating Simon.

Mr. Ocoper: And where did they beat Simon?

Yr. Folf: Just outside of the theatre, on the sidewalk of the theatre.

Mr. Cooper: Right near where they committed the assault on Williams?

Mr. Wolf: Well, Simon said-- or Williams said,
rather-- that when Simon got off his bicycle the two of them
jumped on him and tegan to beat him, and Williams said he

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felt it his duty to assist Simon, because it was a two to one fight, and Williams ran over there and tried to assist Simon, and when he, I guess, started with one, the other closed in/on him.

Mr. Cooper: They best him over the head with these revolvers?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir. He had a big gash in his head, blood running down over his back and shirt and face here.

And he got hit in the eye. His eye was all swelled up and black and blue.

Mr. Cooper: The swere out the warrant for the arrest of those brothers?

Mr. Wolf: John Simon.

Mr. Cooper: Charged them with what, do you remember?

Mr. Wolf: I am not positive, but I think assault and battery.

Mr. Cooper: Did they charge them with carrying wearons, deadly wearons, or don't you know?

Mr. Wolf: I didn't read the warrants. I don't remember. I was there when the warrant was sworn out, but I can't recall that. In fact, I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: You don't remember the technical terms that were used in it?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Raker: You say that those men were hit with these revolvers?

Mr. Wolf: Wark williams stated that he was hit with

## a revolver.

Mr. Raker: gell, they werenet charged with assault with a deadly wearon with intent to commit nurder?

pr. Wolf: I can t say they was. I thought the charge was assault and battery, but I dom't remember. In fact, I didn't see the warrant -- didn't read it.

Mr. Cooper: And up to this time, so far as you know, these men have never been arrested?

Mr. Wolf: They have never been arrested to my Pnow-ledge.

Mr. Cooper: Before what justice was that sworn out?
Mr. Wolf: Justice Healey.

Mr. Johnson: Judge Healey issued the warrant and put it into the hands of the constable?

Mr. Wolf: Yes. Well, Simon deliwered it to the constable himself-- delivered the warrant.

Wr. Cooper: Now this statement of grievances was typewritten where? Do you recerber where it was typewritten?

Mr. Wolf: I just can't put my mimd together where it was that morning.

Mr. Cooper: Who was it you sati would remember?
Mr. Wolf: George B. Morris.

Mr. Cooper: There does he work?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I will have to find out where he works now. I don't know. I will try to find out at dinner time as such as I can about that.

Mr. Johnson: And have him come here?

Mr. Wolf: I'll do all I can to have him come.
Mr. Johnson: Well, if you don't succeed, the Committee will.

Mr. Cooper: Have you told everything now that you remember about what occurred on the 2nd of July that you saw?

Mr. Wolf: The 2nd of July -- that was the last race riot?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Mr. Welf: About that race riot, I didn,t say any of As I stated, I came from work at six o'clock in the evening, changed cars down here at Missouri and Collinsville Avenue, and went home. I did see the flames from home, but that is as muchas I saw. There was a report that some boy come riding by on a horse out there in  $\pi y$  neighborhood, and he said that there was about fifty or sixty or seventy-five negroes two or three blocks from my place, from my home, coming that way, and of course everylody came out of their houses there and naturally they thought that the white men were having a big time downtown, and the nigger was going to have his fun out here. So in my neighborhood Otto Winner and Martin Painter, a groceryman across the street from me, and myself and two or three more of the neighbors, of course got our guns out, and if the niggers was coming our way we intended to protect ourselves. But later on we found that they wereniggers that were making their escape, going out of town. They passed on by a few blocks from my house, from my place, and I never saw them at all. But I

heard later on, the report came that they were niggers making a getaway from town, going out past the Aluminum Ore Company.

Mr. Cooper: So, as a matter of fact, you never saw any negroes assaulted and beaten or billed on that day, and you saw no white man either assaulted or billed?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir; the only thing I saw coming in on the car, I saw that soldiers were stationed around St. Clair Avenue, and all along down the line soldiers were standing.

Mr. Cooper: You saw no acts of violence?

Mr. Folf: No, not that day. There wasn't anything going on, I guess, when I went through, or else the crowd was some place else. I didn't see any.

Mr. Foster: Yr. Wolf, were you advised before this strike occurred at the Aluminum works, not to call it, by any representative of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Who was that?

Mr. Folf: I was advised by Harry Ferr and several cthers of the representatives. I want to say right there that I didnot call the strike.

Mr. Foster: Well, I mean before the strike was called. I didn't mean to say before you called it. If I did, I want to modify it.

Mr. Folf: I want to make that plain, that I don't think I could call a strike myself. I never heard tell of one man being able to call a strike.

Mr. Foster: Before the strike took place, were the nen advised not to have a strike?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir; and I also took steps— the whole committee was advised, that met with these representatives, and we took steps to keep the trouble down. I called Mr. Rucker that morning. That was my instructtions from the Committee to call him to try to get him to straighten up and put Simon back to work before the men did take some action.

Yr. Foster: They took the action themselves?
Yr. Volf: Why, sure.

Mr. Foster: Were you a member of a trade union when this strike was called?

Mr. Wolf: I was not.

Mr. Foster: And are you a member now of any trade union?

Mr. Wolf: Immediately after the strike I joined the firemen's organization, portable and stationary firemen's organization, affiliated with the American wederation of Labor. But I believe it has been a couple of months since I have been down there, and I haven,t paid my dues and I may be expelled by this time.

Mr. Fester: So you don't know that you area merter now?

Mr. Wolf: I can't say that I am at this time expelled, and I can't say that I am not. But I will say this, if I am expelled I am going right tack in, and if not I am going to pay up my dues at the first meeting.

Mr. Foster: That was the reason given for not-- that the men cught not to call a strike at the time they did?

Mr. Welf: Well, the American Federation of Labor-the principe, I believe, is to get away from strikes. The
lest method to resort to is a strike by the American Federation of Labor. If there is any possible chance to get
around it in any way, snape or form, they don't want any
strike.

Mr. Foster: Do you believe in that principle of not wanting a strike forced until all other means have failed?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And that the men are right at the point where, in their judgment, conditions are such, either as to pay or working conditions, that they can't accomplish what they want except by striking?

Mr. Wolf: I believe, then, if they can't accomplish it, it is time to strike.

Mr. Foster: FutAtill every other means has been exhausted?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Foster: And you don't remember about these priesz men, that they were deputy marshals during that injunction?

Mr. Folf: No, I can't say that they were.

Mr. Foster: You don't know that they were not?
You simply don't know anything about it?

Mr. Welf: I simply don't know.

Mr. Foster: I believe that's all.

Mr. Foss: How long have you lived here, Mr. Wolf?

Mr. Wolf: About seven years.

Mr. Foss: Thom have you worked for during that time?

Mr. Wolf: I worked for the Aluminum Ore Company most of the time.

Mr. Foss: How many years?

Mr. Wolf: About six years.

Mr. Foss: Since then you have been sorbing for some one else?

Mr. Wolf: I was out for three months during the strike. I worked two weeks for the Standard Oil Company at Wood River, and since that time I have been worked at the Valley Steel Porge works.

Mr. Foss: While you were at the Aluminum Ore Company, did you receive any increases in wages?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, I did.

Mr. Foss: What were you getting when you first went in?

Mr. Polf: Well, I worked there as an oiler for \$2.25 a day, twelve hours.

Mr. Foss: Then you left, what were you getting?

Mr. Wolf: \$3.75.

Mr. Foss: You said you worked 12 hours a day?

Mr. Welf: For \$2.25; yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: That were your duties?

Mr. Johnson: How many hours did you work for \$3.75?

Mr. Wolf: Bight hours.

Yr. Foss: That were your duties? You spoke of going around these different wells about every hour.

Mr. Folf: That is when I left there. I was in the power-house, 'he engine room. Then I first went there I was an oiler in one of the departments.

Mr. Foss: What were you doing in the engine room?

Just watching the engines?

Mr. Tolf: Yes. I worked around a certain part of the engine room that I had to look after.

Mr. Poss: And you had firemen under you?

Mr. Folf: No firemen. No one under me; no one working for me.

Mr. Foss: There did you work before you went to the Alunimum Company?

Mr. Wolf: I worked in the coal mines.

Mr. Foss: Thereabouts?

Mr. Folf: At St. Louis and O'Fallon, about six miles over here.

Mr. Foss: How long did you work there?

Mr. Wolf: Oh, several years, four or five years.

Mr. Foss: For the same concern?

Mr. Wolf: wes, sir; for the same concern about five years.

Mr. Johnson: what character of work did you do?

Mr. Wolf: Coal mining.

Mr. Foss: were you a newber of any organization there?

Mr. Folf: The United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Foss: Did they have any trouble while you were

there, strike or anything?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir; not that I ! now of.

Mr. Foss: where sere you previous to that time? Hoos did you work for?

Mr. Wolf: I worked for the Belleville Stove and Range Company, in Belleville.

Mr. Foss: How long did you work for them?

Mr. Wolf: Just a short time.

Mr. Foss: -hen was that? What year?

Mr. Wolf: I can t recall that. It has been a good while ago. That was probably some of the first work I done.

Mr. Foss: You went to work when you were quite young?

Yr. Wolf: Yes; when I was thirteen or fourteen years old.

Yr. Foss: New yru spoke of the time when you went to see Mr. Fox with the committee. You said that he picked out a man to come and get the paper the next day?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: what sas his name?

Mr. Wolf: gmile Busso.

Mr. Foss: And the man did come the next morning?

Mr. Folf: So he stated in his report.

Mr. Poss: He stated that Mr. Fox told him to come at

## two O'clock?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: And he came at that time?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: well, did he get the paper?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, he got the paper.

Mr. Foss: At two o'clock?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did he present it at the meting that night,

## at the Temple?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Poss: That was done with the paper that night?

Mr. Wolf: It was hanied to the Committee, I think.

Mr. Foss: Back to Morris, you think?

Mr. Wolf: I think so.

Mr. Foss: You think he has the original?

Mr. Folf: I think so.

Mr. Foss: You think he has it today?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Yr. Foss: what about this tenevolent association;
is it still in operation?

Mr. Wolf: Why, I don't think so. I don't know of anybody that attends any meetings or anybody that comes around to find, anything about the meetings.

Mr. Foss: when did it go out of existence?

Yr. Wolf: when the men went to the American Federation of Labor they just simply didn't come down to the meetings. There wasn't anybody came down there any more, and it just simply drifted off.

Mr. Foss: How was it maintained?

Mr. Wolf: Well, through a small dues per month.

Mr. Foss: How much?

Mr. Folf: 25 cents a month.

Mr. Foss: Well, how long was it in operation, all told?

Mr. Folf: Well, from about November until may after the strike begun. They had meetings after the strike was in existence. They had several meetings.

Mr. Foss: The expenses of these meetings were paid out of the dues, I suppose?

Mr. Folf: Out of the treasury.

Mr. Foss: Has the final report been made and the matters closed up?

Mr. Wolf: I think so.

Mr. Foss: Who was the treasurer?

Mr. Wolf: John Simon.

Mr. Foss: Did you ever hear of the Englishman that went to Mr. Fox and told him that he would get that agreement signed by the Committee, that has been mentioned here?

Mr. Folf: An Englishman that said he would get it signed?

Mr. Foss: Yes.

Mr. Tolf: Well, there was a man by the name of Partlett, as I stated before, whom I heard came out and stated that Vr. Fox wanted to see us, and he is an Englishman. He comes from the engine-room, and when the boys come and told

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me, we went up there to the check office and I don't recall ever seeing this Englishman.

Mr. Foss: Well, Mr. Fox stated here that an Englishman came to him and said he would get the agreement signed, and the reason Mr. Fox wouldn't sign it was because your committee or some one representing your committee had refused to sign the agreement. He thought it ought to be signed in duplicate.

Mr. Wolf: Well, it appears awful funny to me that Mr. Fox should wait until the last straw was broke to have the committee sign that. Thy didn't Mr. Fox-- did he give you any reasons or state any reasons why he didn't ask the committee to sign it when they were all there? Doesn't it appear peculiar to you?

Mr. Foss: Suppose he wanted to look it over and you left it with him?

Mr. Wolf: Fell, he felt satisfied to sign it and hand it back that morning, and the committee wouldn't accept it. He said "I'll sign it and hand it to you now." They said "Our instructions is not to do that. Let it go for 24 hours. You might look it over again."

Mr. Foss: Now you went to the meeting, May 28th, at the city hall?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: How many went down from the Labor Temple?

Mr. Wolf: Fell, I couldn't just tell you. There was only two or three of us fellows that went there, I think John Simon and George Morris and myself.

Mr. Foss: Didn t you march down in a body, some of you?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I didn,t. I heard that the Central Trades and Labor Union -- they had intended to march from their hall, but I left the Labor Temple, the Carpenters! Labor Temple, with two or three, I don't remember which, and did go over there to the meeting.

Mr. Foss: Did you see any bodies of men marching down the street?

Mr. Wolf: I didn,t see any, no. I was a little late getting there.

Mr. Foss: You said at different times at your meetings you cautioned your men against injuring in any way the negroes?

Mr. Wolf: After the riot. Before that we were cautioning them against creating any violence around the plant or with any of the strike breakers.

Mr. Foss: Well, do you think there was any feeling on the part of your men against the negroes? Any reason why you should caution them?

Mr. Folf: No, I don t think so.

Mr. Foss: Do you think this strike in any way stirred up feeling against the negroes?

Mr. Wolf: This Aluminum Ore Strike? Well, if I thought so-- I don't think so, no.

Mr. Foss: In other words, you don't think there was any antagonism between the two races growing out of the Aluminum Ore strike?

Mr. Wolf: Well, it don't appear to me that way, because if it was, I don't think our men would have protested the negro and escorted him home on that particular night. You remember, as I stated before--

Mr. Foss (interposing:) But those were negroes who were organized.

Mr. Wolf: Some of them were Southern negroes. Some of them were old-timers.

Mr. Johnson: were they unionized?

Mr. Folf: They belonged to the organization; yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: That was the feeling against the negroes who didn't belong to the organization?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I don't think it was. I never heard anyone express any feeling toward any of the negroes, and if there had been, it appears to me they would have started trouble in that hall that night, and it looks like there would have been more of them in that rioting down there.

That wiet. It appears to me that if there had been a feeling among the Aluminum Ore strikers, that at this present time, after this riot, there would have been some indictments against some of the men. I don't know of any of the men being indicted. I don't know of any of them that ever worked at the Aluminum Ore.

Mr. Foss: Right after this meeting of May 28th, it seems that somebody started to beating up the negroes that night?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Now who was 1t?

Mr. Folf: Well, as I had heard later on, it was a couple of soldier boys had started it, and I can say that while we were going among the crowd there, that there was a girl about 16 or 17 years old, that appeared to be leading the gang.

Mr. Foss: A girl?

Mr. Folf: A girl about 16 or 17 years old.

Mr. Johnson: what was her name?

Mr. Folf: I don't know her name.

Mr. Foss: Leading the gang?

Mr. Wolf: It seemed like when there was a nigger got off the car or come around the corner some place, she would holler, and she would run and the whole gang would run with her.

Mr. Johnson: Run from him or run after him?

Mr. Wolf: Run after the nigger. The girl would start after the nigger and say "Here's a nigger; let's get him", and they would start out to run. Then at times I seem a couple of soldier boys-- quite a number of soldiers there.

They had no weapons on them. I guess they were on furlough.

Yr. Foss: They had no guns?

Mr. Wolf: No guns that I saw.

Mr. Cooper: were they in uniform?

Mr. Folf: They were in uniform; yes, sir. I guess they probably had some hours off. I can't state whether they were from the camp at 19th and Illinois Avenue, or whether they were from St. Louis, or where they were from.

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## I don't mos that.

Wr. Cooper: Well, I suppose they right have been in some of these training camps, couldn't them?

Mr. Folf: It could be so. ..

Mr. Cooper: Or were they established at that time?

Mr. Folf: I don't know. The officers camps, I guess, were. There were some stationed at ISTA and Illinois Avenue.

Mr. Cooper: Well, you say you saw with girl leading them, a large crowd?

Mr. Folf: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Chasing the negroes?

Mr. wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: whereabouts?

Mr. volf: Down here on Collinsville and Proadway!.

Mr. Ross Cooper: Did you see anything also at that time?

Wr. Wolf: Well, that is about all I could see down there. They would run around and beat up a nimer and leave him laying on the street.

Mr. Cooper: what did they beat him wittin sticks and stones?

Mr. Wolf: Semetimes a club and sometimes they would kick him. I do know that the crowd had dragged one negro up and had laid him across the track, the street car track, and had motioned for the conductor to some on. They kept hollering to him \*Come on, come on, and out off him head

and feet.

Mr. Johnson: Did the car come on?

Mr. Folf: No, the car didn't come.

Mr. Cooper: How is you account for this tremendous: feeling against the negro at this time? That was the cause of it? Thy should it exist?

Mr. Folf: Tell, it is a natural feeling among men, especially working men, that the negro came in here, and he naturally took work here that belonged to the white man. We feel like when we like in this compunity, the community that we like in, that the work in that community should be given to the reople that like in that community; and if anyone comes in or any group of men come in and finally push us out, we don't feel that is right. I want to say right there that the men at the Aluminum Ore Company, from as much as I can get out of the rimors, that their feeling was to try to get to the megro and organize him, if it could be done. In that way we might be able to have the negro step out with us and he himself would help us win our strike.

Mr. Cooper: That was the feeling on the part of the men at the Aluminum Ore Tempany?

Hr. Wolf: As sum as I could pick up.

Mr. Cooper: Otherwise you were in favor of organizing the negro?

Mr. Folf: I sure was. I feel yet like that is the proper thing.

Mr. Cooper: But gru say there was a feeling, and

you think the cause of it was that the negroes were coming in here and taking these jobs that were formerly filled by white labor?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You telieve that was the cause of this feeling against the negroes?

Yr. Wolf: I do.

Mr. Cooper: How long had that been running on?

Mr. Well, it appears as though it had been running on for juite a while. I noticed it at the Aluminum works after the strike, after the first strike until the second strike. They had put in nagers wherever they could, and I understood that it had been done at the packing plants.

Mr. Johnson: We will toke a recess until one thirty.

(whereupon, at 12:30 O'clock p.m., the Committee racessed.)

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## AFTER RECESS.

The Committee reassembled at 1:30 o'clock p.m.

Mr. Johnson: The Committee will come to order.

STATEMENT OF PHILIP WOLF (continued).

Mr. Foss: I want to ask you about the time when you and Yr. Rucker had that conversation. What time do you get to the plant usually?

Mr. Wolf: Between 15 minutes to seven and seven o'clock.

Mr. Foss: And you said he came into the engine room?

Mr. Folf: I stated that I called him up at his house after 7 o'clock some time.

Mr. Fosa: Mr. Rucker?

Mr. Folf: Yes.

Mr. Fess: What did you say to him?

Mr. Folf: I told him that when he made his rounds through the plant to be sure and stop in the engine-room; I ranted to speak to him.

!'r. Foss: And he storped at the engine room about
what time?

Mr. Folf: May be a half an hour or an hour later.

Mr. Foss: Between half past seven and eight c'clock?

Mr. Folf: I guess about that time. I don't just recall the exact amount of time, but it was some time after that.

Mr. Foss: And shat day was this, do you remember?

Mr. Wolf: I can,t give you the date, but it was either one week or two weeks before the last strike.

Mr. Foss: Was that on Monday or Tuesday?

Mr. Folf: On Sinday morning.

Wr. Foss: How long aid you talk with him that time there in the engine-room?

Mr. Wolf: About ten minutes.

Mr. Foss: Then he went out?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did he say he would meet you anywhere?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir. I can f point out that since you speak of it I remember that during that conversation Mr. Rucker had asked me to meet him at the Planters' Hotel in St. Louis. You happen to remind me of that now. During that conversation in the engine room Mr. Rucker asked me to meet him in the Planters' Hotel in St. Louis, or the Jefferson Hotel, or any place that I santed to meet him. I told him I didn, tears to meet him any place.

Mr. Raker: what day was that?

Mr. Foss: That see on Sunday prior to the strike?

Mr. Wolf: Bither one Sunday or two Sundays, I don't recall which, before the strike.

Mr. Foss: And after that you went out to make your rounds of the wells?

Mr. Folf: Yes, to look after my work.

Mr. Foss: How many wells were there?

Mr. Wolf: Two motor wells.

Mr. Foss: That did you go to first?

Mr. Wolf: The last one, I think, was No. 1. There is air wells, where air forces the water out of the ground, and then there is two motor wells. They have alitle house sround them about as big as that square in there (eight feet); a little motor in there, and you have to oil these rumps in sort of like an augur, you know. It turns and forces the water up, and it has got to be oiled, and when I came there he was in there.

Mr. Foss: He was in there, and how long after he left you in the engine room?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I would judge about twenty minutes-fifteen or thirty minutes-- something like that. I went
right on aroundlooking after my work.

Mr. Foss: When you went out of the engine room, where did you go first?

Mr. welf: I went out of the engine room—well, I to the say I left here (indicating); walked up this way, to the cooling towers, went probably 150 feet. Then you start back over the railroad track from on angle, about a 45 degree angle; then it is probably—well, say a block and a half to the motor wells. The roundhouse that I spoke of, where I saw Mr. Rucker going towards, sets back over in this way (indicating). As I went out and walked down here past these cars, Mr. Rucker was going towards that roundhouse, and the motor well set over in there. Then I went back of the cars I expected he went to the roundhouse. I didn't

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know where he was going. The back fence leads from the roundhouse -- the roundhouse is here (indicating) -- leads around here this way.

Mr. Foss: Do you know that he saw you?

Wr. Folf: Well, I can't say that I do know whether he saw me or not.

Mr. Foss: Rut you saw him?

Mr. Folf: I saw him.

Mr. Fess: How far away was he from you?

Mr. Wolf: Well, about a block and a half-- a block or a block and a half.

Mr. Foss: And he was going towards the roundhouse? Mr. Welf: Yes, sir. I will describe it here for ' you. This is supposed to be the fence (illustrating). The engine room sets over here. I came out here like this, and here is the cooling towers, and came over here this way to the motor wells. This is all railroad tracks in here; cars settingkmaninamin here (indicating). The roundhouse sets over here, and I saw him coming from over in here this way, going towards the roundhouse. Undoubtedly he passed it and went around behind the cars, and was in the notor house when I got there. I never seen him go in. Then I got over here I never paid much attention to him. There is a big long catch basin where these wells all empty into, and there is a screen there where the overflow is going over to the big hot well, and I generally come and look after that and see there is no wood, or sometimes dirt or gravel and stuff gets on there. I generally looked after that

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in my rounds.

yr. Foss: You usually go by a regular course, do you?

ir. Tolf: I did, yes.

Mr. Foss: You did at that time?

that. Then they rake their rounds, it is sort of a rule they rake one route. They will make the round that way, and they generally take a route where they can take its everything— the principal parts of everything, so they don't miss anything that would cause any trouble or any danger.

Mr. Foss: Well, did you have any charge in your route on that particular day?

Mr. Tolf: I did not.

ir. Foss: And you found him there, in the notor-house?

Mr. Folf: The motor-wells; yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Red you ever seen him in there before?

Mr. Tolf: I had never met him there befors.

Mr. Foss: You were surprised to see him there?

Wr. Tolf: wes, sir.

Mr. Poss: Tas aryone around there, on the outside at the time? Distinct see a globy?

in. Toke: Thining see a ybody; no, sir.

Mr. Foss: And he opened in the conversation with you, and he, or and you?

Mr. Wolf: No, he opened the conversation.

Mr. Foss: what aid he say?

Mr. Folf: Why, he said -- I don't just remember how he started, but I remember that he stated that he had the goods on me; that I was trying to install the American Federation of Labor in there, and there was no use for me to deny it; that he had detective agencies that tall him every move I had made in the last four months. He said "I can tell you every corner that you have turned", and he says "You know these agencies will get the news for me." He says "I can get news out of your bed-maxonamber, if I want it."

Mr. Foss: That did you say?

Mr. Tolf: Well, I said "Now that you know it, there is no use for me to deny it, and you haven t seem me, or your agents haven't reported where they have seen me going any place where I shouldn't be going, or done anything that I shouldn't be doing. They naven't caught me in any bad place." "No", he says, "they haven't. Only", he said, "You have been seeting with the American Federation of Labor representatives and want to install it." He said "You consider this thing and", he says, "it will be worth something to you. Te don't want it in here. As I told you before, I will— if you will go anead and use your influence to been the American Federation of Labor cut of this plant, whether you succeed or not, I will give you \$25 a month, and I will give it to you in your pay envelope, or I will hand it to you personally."

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Mr. Foss: How long were you in there together?

Mr. Folf: Ch, I should judge about between five and ten minutes.

Mr. Foss: Not longer than that?

Mr. Wolf: I don't think so.

Mr. Foss: Then who went out first?

Wr. Folf: I went cut first. I got that oil can there and told him if he wasn't on the company's property I would rap him over the neckwith it, and told him it was an insult. Then that was over I set my gun down and walked cut.

Mr. Foss: Were there any other things there beside the oil can?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I don't think there was. I think that was about all we kept in there. We didn't keep a know between the two houses to sweep them out, but I don't know whether it was in that house or the other one. But as a general rule we kept an oil can in each house and the broom in one of them, and carried the broom from one house to the other.

Mr. Poss: And you gratted the oil can?

Mr. Welf: It was the handlest. I thought I had better have it anyway, because he was bigger than I at.

Mr. Foss: Well, did he follow you out?

Mr. Wolf: Tell, I don't know which way he dent, if he did. I walked on out and went on to attend to my business. I want to make it clear that whenever Mr. Eucker told me any of this stuff I didn't hold it as a secret. I

always told this stuff in the meeting.

Mr. Foss: Isrediately afterwards?

Er. Folf: At our first meeting. I went out and told the boys. I sent up to the engine room and told then right off the reel, right then and there. And I told the boys at the meeting. I didnot hold anything secret.

Mr. Foss: Well, when was the next time you saw Mr. Publer?

Mr. Wolf: The next time I saw Mr. Rucker was after the strike.

Tr. Foss: You didn't see him between that time and the strike?

Mr. Tolf: I den't think I did, not to speak to.

I saw his go through the plant, but didn't see him to

speak to. I saw his go through, but I didn't see him to

speak to. That is, I lidn't speak to him. I seen him

go through once or thice, not note than that, to my know
ledge. I saw him after the strike on one pay-day coming
out there.

9 Tr. Foss: Mid you talk with him then?

Fr. Tolf: Tell, he done rost of the talking. He had me just out.

Tr. Foss: Th, he dia?

fr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

lim. Foss: Tell, what were you doing? Thy should he just you but?

Mr. Folf: A few days after the strike, on the 18th-- the 23rd was ray-day, and the men were to be raid aff at the check office. There is three or four doors, and they took the men into one door and gaid them here and run them around out through the other door on the mitside; brought them around and brought them in here and Let them come cut this way (illustrating), and as the men vert on around through there and received their checks they went ground through there, and some of the verious Torezen were standing around on the outside and coaxing the ren to come into work. So a nan by the name of Tom Emery rode a motorcycle over to by house early in the mirring-- 7:30 or 8 c'clock-- and told me what they were Sting, and said "You had better come over and see if you cam, t stop that. They will entire and coax a lot of ren in there. \* I went over there and thought I had better investigate the proposition first before I went ahead, and I got to the head of the live, and walked in there to get my check, and while I was maiting, maiting on some one else, Territe Sauters was standing at the end of the scuth side potr -- the inside door, inside the plant -- I said to him "Egod corning!, Sauters." "Good corning, Tolf." "Charlie, At lid you mind if I walked around there and see what is gring on?" "Thy, that's all right, Tolf", he says "come IT. " So I called up there to the door, and Mr. Bucker was in the little office where they were raying off, and he rule out froed stely and he grathed se by the arm and says "That are you doing in here, Wolf? Get out of here.

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get out of here mick." And he notioned to a fellow that was an officer there of some kind, a watchman, and told him to "Put that man out right away." That fellow grabbed me and started to jush me around there, and I shook him off of me, and told him to be nighty careful who he was handling; I hadn't done nothing. I had permission from Mr. Sauters to go there, and if I hadn't had the permission I wouldn't have went there. And Mr. Bucker sa'd "what are you doing here?" I said "I come after my pay. " "Well, get your soney and get cut." I said "Give ne by check, and I'll get cut." So they gave me the check and I got cut, and I asked the men if they wouldn't step over to the other side of the street there; I had a little talk to make to them, and I told them they would entice men to come tack to the plant, and they could just as well pay in the open sindow where the men wouldn't have to go through the check office. They could pay them at the mindow on the side. I went over to see Rudisell, and asked him, and he says "Well, he would see Vr. Fox and see if they couldn't do it." "Tell", I said "I believe if I was you roys I wouldnot accept my check until they do pay through that sindow." So Rudisell immediately gave orders -- I think it was i'r. Rudisell, because he came cut right away and followed me, and he says "Wolf, we'll ray through axe that fromt sinds right away. " So they laid out of that front sindow.

Then along about dinner time I went downtown and

some fellow on a motorcycle care down and told me that Yr. Fox had come out there and said that he wouldn't pay any more out of that window; that he was running that plant and notody else, and if the men didn't want to take their roney on the inside window they would get no money. Then my brother harpened to be standing there, so I was told by the rest of the nen-- a lot of the men told me that Mr. Fox said, "Boys, I aim,t got nothing against you, but I think that damn leader of yours ain't no good. " And my brother said to him "Mr. Fox, I don't think you know just exactly who you are talking to. That fellow is a brother of nine and I dos't mant to be insulted." "Oh, zell", he said, "he is a pretty good Find of afellow but just lost his head." "Well", he said "I ain't going to .. take this some with we get it through the outside window. And Mr. Fox then gave orders to pay the rest of the men on the cutside window.

Mr. Foss: How any brothers have you in the employ of the company?

Mr. Tolf: Two brothers.

Mr. Foss: Have you any brothers-in-law?

Wr. Tolf: Yes, sir; one of the Frieszes that I sloke of this norming is a brother-in-law.

Mr. Foss: A brother-in-les of yours?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Any others, have you any other brothersin-lex in the employ of the Company?

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Yr. Wolf: Yes, sir; a man by the name of Gerald

Peal, who was working there.

Mr. Foss: Is he still working there?

Mr. Wolf: I have two brothers in law still working there.

Mr. Foss: Any other relatives there?

Wr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: I want to ask him a question that I foggot to ask awhile ago. You stated, I believe, that a representative of the American Federation of Labor advised the men against strikes and that they talked to you about it.

yr. Wolf: Advised the conmittee that were with them.

Mr. Foster: Against striking?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And was that the whole committee?

Mr. Wolf: That was the committee -- that committee was separate from the committee that went to the plant to see Mr. Fox.

Mr. Foster: Well, what conmittee was it, then, that they advised against strikes?

Mr. Tolf: Well, the committee from the American Federation of Labor, the labor leaders -- the committee that had been meeting them.

Mr. Foster: The condittee of the American Federation of Labor advised who now?

Mr. Wolf: Had advised the committee of men from the plant.

Mr. Foster: How many were on that committee from the plant?

Mr. Wolf: Oh, I guess there was somewhere between ten and fifteen men.

Mr. Foster: How many from the connittee of the American Federation of Labor?

. Mr. Wolf: well, there were various business agents.

I guess there were probably in that neighborhood-- the same amount.

Mr. Foster: This committee from the employes of the Aluminum Ore Company, which had this advice and talked with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, did your committee then convey that advice or talk it over with the men of the Aluminum Ore Company?

Mr. Wolf: Well, yes; some of them.

Mr. Foster: You talked it over with them? You didn't announce it to all of them?

Mr. Wolf: No, only all in the hall, to my knowledge. I had heard that it was brought up the night of the strike, that it would be better to hold the strike off until we were organized. It was brought up, as several of the men told me, while I was outside. I stated before that during the discussion up there I had been called outside for a short time.

Mr. Foster: And that they advised you -- I mean your

committee -- when I say you I don't mean you individually all the time -- they advised the committee of which you were a menter not to have this strike at the Aluminum Cre Company at that time?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And that you did not -- your committee did not communicate to the employes of the Aluminum Cre Company that such advice had been received from the committee of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. Welf: Well, I stated that I did not to the body of the men, but I did to some individuals, and I stated that I had heard from some of them that during the time I was out of the room it had been discussed.

Mr. Foster: And that they had refused -- that theh they had thought it not sise to accept the advice of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. Wolf: They had thought that by waiting ax any longer to strike, the company would scon discharge the men who were at the head of it, and then they would be left.

Mr. Foster: And that was the reason you didn't think it wise to accept such advice at that time?

Mr. Wolf: Fell, I didn t hardly have a chance to put that advice on the floor-- to put that to the body.

Yr. Foster: T want to as' you this: You stated the two young ladies cane to that meeting from the restaurant force?

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Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And as I understood you-- if I am not right, you correct me-- these two young ladies were mambers of a union here in East vSt. Louis?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Were the other femployes of the restaurent members of this union else?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir, some of them. I believe the chef was about the only one that wasn't there-- I mean that didn't belong to the union. One of the chefs-- I heard that one of the chefs did belong.

Mr. Foster: But these young ledies did belong?
MR. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Fost-r: And so there was no discrimination on that account in this lessening, against these young ladies, these two?

Mr. Wolf: Fell, they discharged these two girls.

Mr. Foster: I understand they discharged the 1.80. as I understand, but they were all members; so that ther assn't a discrimination in discharging these two who name to the meeting, because they were merbers of any union?

Mr. Wolf: Well, my own point of view on that is that they wanted to break up that union, that part that was unionized. By leaving two out they would place two more in there that didn't belong to the union, and if that worked out it wouldn't be long until the others were eventually worked out.

Mr. Foster: But shat I am getting at is that they didn't discriminate in the plant on account of the two young ladies who attended the meeting and were members of the union; but if there was discrimination made, it sasn't on that account, was it?

Yr. Foif: I dent get that.

Mr. Foster: Well, here they were all members of the union.

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now two young ladies attended the meeting?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: They were discharged?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Foster: It wasn't, then, because they sere nembers of the union that they were discharged, was it?

Mr. Folf: Well, I can't say that it was, but--

Mr. Foster (interposing:) Well, the only discrimation that I could imagine coming from that was because these young ladies might have taken some part in it that they were discharged, unless there was mother cause for it? wouldn't that be the real idea of what might be done? That is, if anybody was getting profinent down there, that they might be discharged from their employment?

Yr. Tolf: Tell, that was the general rule, when anybody got very prominent they left him out if they

thought they could get away with it.

"r. Foster: You think if they were potive in the later union movement down there they were discharged?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

'Ir. Foster: To you know of any others who were discharged that you think were discharged for that reason?

'r. Tolf: Tell, taking it for granted that the reason we couldn't get any more men taken back into the plant— they had laid so many men off, and the men would go back there and make applications again, and they would put new men in wheir places, and taking it for granted it was always the men who took active paris.

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Vr. Foster: It was?

Mr. Wif: Yes.

Vr. Foster: It was the ner who had been active in this Aluminum Protective Association?

Tr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That were discharged?

"r. Tolf: Yes, sir. They didn't get right up to the officers, but they took the strongest followers at first. It agreers as thought they wented to get the--

"r. Techer (Interposing:) How was that?

I'm. wolf: They didn't go into the active officers at first, but they got the strongest followers.

Mr. Foster: They took the individual members; is that it?

Mr. Wolf: Mes, sir. Mr. Postar: And they were discissed from the service-- you mean they were discis ed when you say "take them "? You mean they sere disrissed?

Mr. Wolf: Yes; they didn't openly fire them, discharge them, but what they call in a roundabout way of reducing the force-- layoffs.

Mr. Foster: That was the reason that they gave for discharging these men?

Wr. Folf: Yes.

Yr. Foster: That they laid ther off because they were reducing the force?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Foster: Well, did they reduce the force?

Mr. Wolf: Well, they would reduce it some, and
then they would build it up again.

Yr. Foster: Tell, was there any reason why they would do that, to your knowledge?

Mr. Folf: Tell, they can give so many excuses, you know.

Mr. Foster: -ell, but I thought may be there was something in the working of the glant, for instance, of that ore, the receiving of the ore, or some reason why that would be done.

Mr. Folf: No, they always got plenty of ore, to my knowledge, and were always wanting more, but they could at any time out off 200 men and it wouldn't afflect the operation of the plant, to my knowledge. They could out off men on construction mork. They could leave the construction lay for a routh.

Mr. Poster: That was the reason?

Mr. Welf: They could reduce on "safety-first" work; men that were probably looking after stairways, putting in stairways where they had in former times had ladders.

They could take those men off of that and let that work lay for a time.

Mr. Foster: But not in the direct operation of the plant, producing ore?

Mr. Folf: No; they didn't cut the men directly off of the operation of the plant. They got at it in a round-about way.

Mr. Foster: well, they didn't take these men always from the construction department, did they, that tere discharged?

Mr. Folf: well, most of the time.

Mr. Foster: Most of the time those men who were laid off were from the construction department?

Wr. Wolf: Yes. And understand me, the mechanics—there isn,t so many of the operating department. The operating department is what was working the eight-hour shifts, and the mechanical department—we call it construction and mechanical department. There was a number of mill—wrights who worked for the maintenance of the plant, and there could be men taken from that. There was pipefitters, electricians and general mechanics all around.

Mr. Foster: They weren't so necessary to the operation of the plant?

Mr. Wolf: Not so necessary; no, sir.

Mr. Foster: You say they always took them from that part of the plant?

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Mr. Wolf: Most always.

Mr. Poster: From the construction?

Mr. Folf: Yes. Understand me that most of the operating department at that time were rostly foreigners.

There wasn't so many white men working at that. What I call "white men" is Americans. They were rostly foreigners, Hungarians, Austrians; Germans, Russians, and such as that-Poles.

Ur. Foster: wasn't there any prominent membersthat is, members who were taking an active part in your
organization known as the Aluminum Ore Protective Association-- who were in the operating department?

Mr. Folf: Fell, I was classed in the operating department.

Mr. Foster: well, you said, as I understand, that most of these men were taken out of the construction department.

Yr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster,? I am asking you now that in the operating department were there any men who were prominent—that is, I don't mean to say prominent, but I will say active—in this organization of the Alurinum Protective Association?

Vr. Folf: Yes, 40 nas.

Mr. Foster: How did it come they all escaped, then, and they only took them from the construction department?

Mr. Wolf: In the operating department each man has a place, and when that men is taken off another ran must fill in right away.

Mr. Foster: Yes, I understand that.

Mr. Wolf: well, they could lay men off in the pipe department and say it was cutting the gang; and when they laid men off in the operating department, they would have to have another man there to take his place immediately.

Mr. Foster: Now you say that they were taking men off of this operating department. were they discharged, laid off?

Mr. Wolf: No, they were not. They were able to stay there.

Mr. Foster: Fell then, they were active in this organization, as you say, and they weren't laid off, and they were only laid off in the construction department?

That I don't understand is—whether I can make myself clear—why it was, in your judgment, that no men out of the operating department—or very few—who might be active in this organization, were not laid off?

Mr. Tolf: Tell, I can say that when they laid men off in the mechanical department, there was always a chance for an excuse. Their excuse was that they would cut the force. But when they laid a man off in the operating department they couldn't give any excuse other than

that they had laid him off for neglect of duty, or that they wanted to get rid of him. It would be a more plain case to show they wanted to get rid of him in the plant if they laid him off im the operating department, for the reson that they had to replace that man as soon as he was taken off the job.

Mr. Cooper: You mean that if they laid them off in the operating department, that crippled the department, crippled the business, unless they had a man to take his place?

Mr. wolf: A mer to replace him immediately.

Mr. Cooper: That is, the actual business of the plant would be injured if they took people off in the operating department, unless they immediately supplied the vacancies?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, by taking men off the operating department, unless they replaced them, would reduce the output.

Mr. Foster: And you think, then, they only used the construction department for the purpose of laying off these men who were active im units organization?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I felt like they hadn't got down far enough to take holf of the operating department men.

Mr. Foster: You think they would have come to that later on?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, I feel like they did, because Rudisell wanted to run me mun of the plant, as I stated yesterday. I almost had a fright with Rudisell just outside of the engine room.

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Mr. Foster: Is your brother still there worling?

Mr. Welf: No, sir; my brother is in Lawton, Oklahoma.

Mr. Cooper: I want to ask one question about that Morris. Did you see him this noon?

Mr. Wolf: I met a man down the street here by the name of Allen who told me that Morris was working for the gas company at Lawton, Oklahoma.

Mr. Cooper: He is gone from the city?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know when he went?

Mr. Wolf: No, I don to It is news to me.

Mr. Cooper: Do you think that man you talked with this moon could get a copy of that?

Mr. Wolf: well, I would have gone to his house at noon, but I didn't have time. It was late when we got out of here, but I will go to his house. I will go this evening, and if I don't get here tomorrow I will be here the next day, and I will try to get the original. If not, I will try to see if I haven't got a copy at home.

Raker: Mr. Xhapami What did you say your age was?

Mr. Wolf. 29 years old the 13th of last June.

Mr. Raker: where were you horn?

Mr. Felf: I was born in Alton, Illinois.

Mr. Raber: How long har you lived here in Bast St. Louis?

Mr. Volf: I think about seven years.

Mr. Raber: where did you learn your trade?

Mr. Folf: Thy, what trade do you mean, ergineering?

Mr. Raker: How many trades have you?

Mr. Wolf: Oh, I have worked at lots of different kinds of work.

Mr. Raker: Just name them, the trades. I asked for trades.

Mr. Folf: Coal miner is my business.

Mr. Raker: Fell, how many trades have you?

Mr. Folf: And I have worked around the engine room. Coal miner is the only trade that I can say I have.

Mr. Raker: You are not an engineer by trais?

Mr. Folf: No, I am not a licensed engineer. I never worked as an engineer.

Mr. Raker: You were not norking out there as an engineer?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Faker: That were you working as out there?

Mr. Wolf: I worked as a condensor man, and I worked as an economizer man.

Mr. Raker: You are not a skilled laborer?

Mr. Folf: Not in that line.

Yr. Raker: -ere you working at the Aluminum Plant as a svilled laborer?

Mr. Folf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Just as a common laborar?

Mr. wolf: No, it is a little bit more-- as a power-house employe.

Mr. Refer: well, you know the distinction between skilled labor and common labor?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, it is skilled labor, yes.

Mr. Raker: For hos long?

Mr. Wolf: Oh, three or four years.

Mr. Raker: You worked there seven years at the plant?

Mr. Wolf: /bout six years.

Mr. Raker: You sorked first as a common laborer?

Mr. Wolf: As an oiler, practically the same as

common laborer. I myself souldn,t class it anything more.

Mr. Raker: Then you can say unhesitatingly that skilled for three years you sorked as a roxman laborer, as you have described?

Mr. wolf: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Put you learned no trade?

Mr. Wolf: No. sir.

Mr. Raker: You just picked up the work and were classed as a skilled laterer?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Are you a man of family?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir; I have a wife and two children.

Mr. Raker: How old are your children?

Mr. wolf: One of them will be nine years old, and the other one four.

Mr. Raker: Do you own your hore here in Hast et. Louis?

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Mr. Wolf: I do not.

Mr. Raker: You have been renting it?

Mr. wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Have you anything except that which you earn from your daily labor?

Mr. Wolf: Nothing at all.

Mr. Raker: You have been living practically in the same part of town all the time?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Are you generally familiar with Bast St. Louis?

Mr. Wolf: You mean the streets and the town, or what part of Hast St. Louis? What part of Hast St. Louis do you mean I should be familiar with?

Mr. Raker: Well, any of it.

yr. Wolf: Well, I am not so very well familiar with the town.

Mr. Raker: You don't know the town very well?

Mr. Wolf: Not so very well. I could be lost, I think, in East St. Louis.

Mr. Raber: You have lived here now long now?

Mr. Folf: Six or seven years.

Mr. Raker: You think you could be lost here?

Mr. Wolf: I could, if you take me out into some bad spot-- some part of the town where I have never been.

Mr. Raker: what do you mean by "bad"?

Mr. Wolf: Probably in some part of the town I haven't been in. You could take me to Lansdowne and lose me. I don't think I have ever been in Lansdowne. I might be lost up around the packing houses. I never was un tinere.

Mr. Raker: They are in National City, aren't they?

Mr. Wolf: We call that East St. Louis, as a general
rule. I could be lost up there, I guess. I mon't know as
rule
I have ever been up there.

Yr. Raker: You are acquainted pretty well with the people in East St. Louis?

Mr. Wolf: Quite a lot of people; yes, sir.

wr. Raker: Are you acquainted with the manager and the men that run the warious plants?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I know some of them when I see tham, yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Are you fairly well acquainted with the officers of this city, the police officers?

Mr. Folf: I am acquainted with former mulice chief Ransome Payne and Mayor Mollman, and Michael Whalen, City Clerk; and I guess I would know some more if I was down there to the City Hall a little oftener, and see who all is down there.

Mr. Raker: Is that about all you know of them?

Mr. Wolf: I believe so. I know some of the attorneys
in town and some of the ex-judges; and a good limit of the
business wen I know by sight.

Mr. Raber: You know a good many of the Rusiness men?
Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Wr. Raker: And do you belong to any organization or association of any kind?

Mr. Wolf: I am a rember of the Woodmenn of the forld.

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Mr. Raker: Anything else?

Mr. Folf: And a member of the Portable and Stationary Firemen.

Mr. Raker: Nothing else?

Mr. Folf: Nothing else.

Mr. Raker: Are you acquainted with the negro quarters of East St. Louis?

Mr. Welf: well, I have seen—there used to be a lot of negro shacks and houses where they use to live on the other side of Broadway. I have seen them a good many times. I have seen some negro districts in the neighborhood of where I live. A few blocks from where I live there are a few colored folks live.

Mr. Raker: You pay no attention to where they live?

Mr. Well: Well, yes, I could take you to the houses on Illinois Avenue. Within two blocks of my home there is colored folks living there.

Mr. Raker: Well, you just walked up town and didnot pay any attention to what was going on at all in town? Is that it, during these six years?

Mr. Wolf: No; J kind of watch around a little bit, like every other citizen does.

Mr. Raker: Your eyesight is very good?

Mr. Folf: My eyesight is good; very good. I can see what is going on.

Mr. Raker: Do you know a good many of the men

## at the plant?

Mr. Wolf: At the Aluminum Ore plant?

Mr. Raker: Yes, sir.

Mr. Welf: At this time?

Mr. Raker: At the time you worked there.

Mr. Wolf: Yes; I knew everyboly, I guess. There were very few I didn't know. I would know them by sight and to speak to. I can't recall the names of all of them.

Mr. Raker: I didn't ask that. You think now you could state to the Committee unhesitatingly that you knew the men so well at the Aluminum Ore plant while you were working there, that you could identify them and knew who they were when you saw them?

Mr. Wolf: Not every one f them. There were two thousand ren there, but a great number of them I could. I met them in my daily routine every day there, and I had a chance to get around through the plant there a whole lot. I was sort of an errand man in connection with my job. There was a time when we had a treak-down when they would send me out to look up a millwright, and sometimes amachinist.

Mr. Raker: Find of a handy man at the Aluminum plant?

Mr. Wolf: Sorw of, yes.

Mr. Raker: A man that they looked to to do their a how errands and chores, and they could rely on when they wanted

him, to do any particular things errand?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir; not that at all. I went out

when there was trouble. For instance, a belt would break, a conveyor belt would break, a tank would go bad, or something would happen where they would need millwrights or rachinists to repair these things, and the engineer or the chief engineer would instruct as to go out and look up the millwright foreman, or the millwrights. They had certain men-- millwrights-- they had millwrights that would look after so many buildings. Probably a man that looked after the acid plant and the line house and the boiler room-- three millwrights and their helpers.

Mr. Raker: Then when they found anything going arong in the plant-

wr. Wolf (interposing:) In the engine room or toiler room?

Mr. Raker: No, other places.

yr. Folf: well, somebody else had to look after that.

Wr. Raker: No other place. Just the two places? Wr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: "Instead of getting the foreman or the incharge, menager, they would come and take you from your work and send you around to get the man to have it attended to? Is that what you mean?

Mr. Folf: No, the foreman, my foreman, the engineer and chief engineer were my foremen. Now, for instance, the

conveyor belt broke down. The chief engineer can t run eway from the building, or the engineer can,t get away from the building. May be the steam is low, and he would come to me and they had a whistle where they blowed, and we have a whistle that they blowed to call me, and I come there and I could get away from my job for a little while, and he would tell me "Go and hunt up the millwrights and tell them the ash-conveyor is broke down", or "if you see the boss, tell him, or the millwright foreman." And I went out into the plant and huntel for these fellows.

And in other departments, I want it clear now that in any department where that happens they had somebody for that.

Mr. Raker: Let/s confine ourselves now to you. I will be compelled to be driven far enough from the direct-examination anyhow, and I want to try to keep from it if I can.

Mr. Cooper: Let me say right there, the witness was attempting to show, I think, that his services were confined simply to that one department. If that is so, it ought to go right there, because otherwise you would have to go through all his testimony.

Mr. Raber: All right. Go on.

Mr. Folf: So in those cases when anything would break down they would send me out, and in that way, in passing along one building you would see this fellow, and ask

him "Here you seen the millwright, or have you seen the machinist", or this fellow or that fellow, whoever you might the looking for; and naturally in that way I become acquainted with quite number of men in the plant.

Hr. Raker: And the company had a great deal of confidence in you?

Wr. Wolf: I can't say that they did. I don't know whether they did.

Mr. Reker: They don't pick out every man to do. these things, do they?

Mr. Wolf: There is lots of men had the same proposition before them in other departments.

Hr. Raker: I am taking your department. I am giving you the advantage, trying to give.

Er. Wolf: It was practically my duty to do these things when I was told to. I was working for the chief engineer, and the engineer, and whatever they told me to do. I had to do it. I either sould do that or go home, and there was times that they selected soreone else to go. Somethims they would send the economizer ran, not all the time.

The Raker: There is nothing offensive in your having been selle stail by the company to attend to these things where acquaidly you would become with a great many of the men?

'Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

The Raker: You take it as Find of a credit given to you, that they would select you?

"in, Folf: No, nothing more than my daily work. I

would have been glad if they had selected somebody else, because it got monotonous. It wasn't a very pleasant thing to run out through the different departments, sometimes in the weather.

Mr. Raker. It really was against your desires?

Mr. Wolf: Against my own will.

Mr. Raber: And a thing you really didnot like?

Mr. Wolf: I didnot care about that errand proposition at all. I would have been glad if I had never had to do it.

Mr. Raker: well, did you get fairly familiar with the plant out there in this sork that you were doing?

Mr. Wolf: Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker: You knew practically all the departments?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I knew a good deal of them, yes. I
had worked before going to the engine room. I had worked
in several different departments and knew practically the
principle of operating.

Mr. Raker: You were also familiar with the conditions of the dining room?

Mr. Folf: I had been there several times.

Mr. Raker: with the young ladies waiting on the table, or were they men?

Mr. Wolf: I never did go up there during the day. whenever I went there it was in the evening, and there was no ladies there.

Mr. Raker: You never took any meals there?
Mr. Wolf: I took a few meals there; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, if you took meals there, can't you tell who waited on you?

Mr. Wolf: I waited on myself. That is practically a cafeteria system there. You go and get a tray.

Mr. Raker. Are they men or women in charge of the restaurant?

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Mr. Wolf: Men at the time I was there.

Mr. Raker: Now, was it understood that the women were in charge of it, generally speaking, or men?

Mr. Wolf: Fell, men. Women were used there.

Mr. Raker: where did these two girls come from?

Mr. Wolf: I understand there were o girls used there except waitresses at dinner time.

Mr. Raker: Where did these two girls come from, who claimed they were working out there?

Mr. Wolf: Working in this restaurant during that time?

Mr. Raker: xwxu they xwxu kand to kaxee xeennthewen

Mr. Wolf: Or they wouldn't have been there.

Mr. Raker: Have you any doubt about that?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Raber: How many were employed there, do you know?

Mr. Wolf: No. Four or five.

Mr. Raker: No more?

Mr. Tolf: I don't think there was any more. I don't remember of asking anybody, and was never told the exact amount.

Mr. Raker: Now these two young ladies were at this meeting that you speak of, the night before the strike.

Mr. Folf: Two nights before the strike.

Mr. Raker: Two nights before the strike. They were young ladies that had been working at the Aluminum Plant in the restaurant?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And helped then in getting the reals ready for the men?

Mr. Folf: I don't know just exactly shat their duties were, but I understood their duties was to serve the men as waitresses. I expect the waitress went to wait on the tables.

Wr. waker: You heard their story there that night?
Wr. Wolf: I did.

Mr. Raker: You listened to it?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: It made quite an impression upon the men present?

Mr. Folf: Fell, when the girl told about serving stale bread and stinking meat that they scrubbed up with the scrubing brush, it did.

Mr. Raker: well, that is what they stated, and I am asking you now whether that made any impression upon the sen present.

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir; to my knowledge it did.

Mr. Raker: were any other speeches of that Find made, except the two young ladies, as to the treatment

accorded the sen at the plant?

Mr. wolf: well, I don't recall everything that was said that night.

Mr. Raker: Well, was it stated -- was there a list of raltreatment or mistreatment stated there that night by anyone else save and except these two young ladies, as to what was accorded the men that were sorking in that plant?

Mr. Wolf: Now these men who had grievances--

Mr. Raker: Do you understand my question?

Mr. Tolf: I understand it. I think I understand it, and I am trying to answer it like I understand it.

Mr. Raker: All right.

Mr. Folf: They got up and stated their grievances.

Mr. Raker: what were they?

Mr. Wolf: Tell, such as some had been laid off and some had been their wages had been cut, and whatever the different grievances were.

Mr. Raker: what were they?

Mr. Wolf: I can't recall all of them. That's all I can remember.

Mr. Raker: All you can remember now is that the men claimed they were laid off, and some claimed that their wages were cut?

Mr. Wolf: Some claimed they were discriminated against in some things.

Mr. paker: In what way were they discriminated against?

else?

Mr. Wolf: By being laid off.

Mr. Raker: well, you have told that once. Anything

Mr. Tolf: I can't recall any more.

Hr. Raker: Nos was there any other -- I want to give you a fair chance now to explain -- were there any other grievances laid up against the company as to the treatment of the men or women at the Aluminum plant?

Mr. Folf: Averything that is embodied in that.

Er. Raker: Now listen just a noment, and let me ask

my question. Then you answer it, if you can, and I hope you

will try to-- against the treatment of the men and women

accorded there at the plant.

Mr. Folf: Askyli again, will you?

Mr. Raker: Fas there any other grievances given there that night by any one as to the kind and character of treatment accorded the men and somen working for this company, in addition to what you have said?

Kr. Tolf: Tell, the only answer I could give to
that, I can't recall at the present time whether there was
or not, but by reading that over--

Mr. Raker (interposing:) Fell, if your memory is not clear of just what did occur there that night; or is it very clear as to what did occur?

Mr. Tolf: Tell, probably some things that I couldn't recall.

Mr. Raker: All right.

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Mr. wolf: I want you to understand before we go any further that I am willing to testify and state anything I know. I didn't come up here with the intention of trying to tell you half-- my side of the story. I am ready to tell you everything I know, but if there is something I have forgotten, or something if I should get confused, I don't want to be responsible for saying things that is not true: Remember, I don't want to say anything that is not true.

Hr. Raker: I don't really understand now why you have given that statement. You have given it. Thy did you give that statement?

Mr. Welf: I wanthto point out here that I don't want to make any statements that I don't know what I am talking about, you understand: I don't want to tell things here that I am not positive is a fact.

Mr. Raker: That is what you mean by that? Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Now have you told all you remember of what Commerced there that night? I we referring to the one meeting in the Hall two nights before the strike.

yr. Folf: So far I thick I have, unless I think of some more, and if I do later on I will be willing to tell it— glad to tell it.

Mr. Raker: Now had either of these two young limites told you, or any of the members of that committee, as to the treatment accorded them that they explained there that night, before this time?

yr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: You never heard of it before that meeting?

Mr. Wolf: Wo, sir; I didn't hear it before that meeting.

Mr. Raker: It was entirely brand new?

Mr. Volf: To me.

Mr. Raker: Hed you heard of them telling it to anyone else?

Mr. Welf: I had not.

Mr. Raker: Before that meeting?

Mr. Folf: No, sir.

Mr. Raher: No investigation was ever made by you or your associates on this committee as to the Wind of food furnished the men there at that plant after the time?

Yr. Volf: Not to my knowledge. .

Mr. Raker: Even after the girls mad their statement, nothing was done?

Hr. Welf: It just reminds ne-- I would like to tell that too. As I said before, things may come up and I will think of them. While we were up there Mr. Fox-- I don't knew shether it is embodied there in that paper or not, regarding the restaurant proposition and shout the meat and bread-- Mr. Fox said "I understand that our chef has been grafting, and we are going to make an investigation in the restaurant." Whether they did make any investigation in the restaurant I don't know, but I understand that the same men still has charge of the restaurant.

Mr. Raker. Now to go back to my question, was any investigation ever made as to the condition of the food furnished the men working at the plant by yourself or your associates?

Mr. Wolf: Not by aggelf.

Mr. Raker: Bid you hear any men before this meeting ever complain as to the Mind and character of food furnished them?

Mr. Wolf: Mes, I heard some of the boys say that they wo limit est up there any more.

Mr. Raker: Was that before the strike, now?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: That was the matter?

Mr. Tolf: Tell, a number of them-- several of them told me that they didn, there so eath of there any nore.

They didn't like the front that resiserved them.

"r. Raker. That was the metter?

Mr. Tolf: Tell, they dion't give me any particular reason. They dian't like the food that was served up there, and they intended to bring their oan lunch.

Mr. Raker: Is that the only complaint you have heard?

"r. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Refer: Now is there any other complaint egainst the conditions that the transmert of the men working at the plant - then you have named, at any time? So that it may all go into the resond, in audition to your livest testinony, in audition to that you have said, have

your runner further to give the Committee as to the Find and occuration of treatment accorded the men working at the Alminum Cre Company's plant prior to the strike?

merb-r empirics. If there is anything more, I cen't recall it at the greent time.

Aluminum Tre Engloyes! Protective Association was organized?

To Foll: Shortly after the first strike.

Then was that?

October 17, 1913, and this organization was formed some time real should effect, I think within the next month or six weeks.

The Red Tio were the promotors of this associa-

Em. Holf: You mem who were the first officers?

The Reder: The promotors. You understand what I nearby promoters, don,t you?

Wr. Welf: I can't really say-- well, the man who acted as ometries at the meeting where this was organized, you meen? Mosse men? Morris was secretary, and tark Williams was meeting.

Mr. Reker: There were you?

Mr. Film: I was in the audience.

Was Reder: You helped to organize it?

Mr. Wolf: I was amongst the men.

Mr. Raker: mell, who got the papers ready to organize this association?

Mr. Wolf: Who got the charter? Who went after the charter?

Mr. Raker: Who went after the charter, yes.

Wr. Folf: I was selected to get the charter.

Mr. Paker: The you were one of the original organizers?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Were you present at the meeting of the organizers?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How many were present?

Mr. Wolf: At the organizers of this -- everybody was there-- that is, of the Aluminum Ore Employes.

Mr. Baker: That is what I am talking about and nothing else.

Mr. Wolf: You mean how many men were present when this was organized?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Wolf: well, I would judge 1200.

Mr. Faker: And was a committee appointed from the 12007

Vr. Folf: Yes, sir; a committee was arrointed.

Mr. Raker: Of how many?

Mr. Tolf: There was a committee appointed to draw

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up resolutions.

Mr. Raker: Of how many?

Mr. Wolf: I don't know. I can think of six or eight or ten-- ten, it was.

Mr. Raker You were one of that committee?

Mr. Wolf: I was one of that committee.

Mr. Raker. The dres up the papers of organization-the organization papers?

Mr. Wolf: The resolutions, you mean?

Mr. Raker: The resolutions, yes.

Mr. Wolf: Jake Hoffman, a ran named McDonald, and myself; and I don't recall the other nen's names.

Mr. Raker: what I was trying to develor was-- and
I see you have stated it as a fact-- you were one of the men
present at the meeting that started this organization?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: You were one of the men selected, of the ten, to prepare the resolutions and the necessary papers?

Wr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Faker: To consummate it?

"r. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now when did you get -- did you employ an attorney?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

"r. Seker: Tho was it?

"r. Tolf: Tell, he is in Pelleville. I can't just recall his mana.

Mr. Raker: Did you go to Belleville to see him?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Reker: And he drew up the papers?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Did you form it under State law?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did you have any complete organization under the State law of Illinois?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Fere any dues required of the members?

Mr. Volf: 25 cents a month.

Mr. Raker. Did you get your 25 cents a month from these 1200 men?

Mr. Wolf: Those thei belonged to it paid, yes.

Mr. Raker: How cany did actually join?

Pr. Tolf: I think there was 1600 joined.

Mr. Raker: Of the Aluminum Cre Company only?

Mr. Rolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Reker: No one else joined except those sorking in the Aluminum plant?

Mr. Tolf: That is all.

Wr. Raker: Tho was treasurer?

Mr. Tolf. H. C. Herrin was the first treasurer.

Mr. Raker, And she sas-- what position did you occupy?

Mr. Wolf: Chairman of the tristees.

Yr. Raker: How say trustees were there?

Mr. Tolf: Seven.

Mr. Raker: That there any other somey paid into this fund except the 25 cents per member?

Mr. Wolf: 50 cents for initiation fee, and 25 cents a routh dues.

Mr. Raker: A sonth?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir; 25 cents a month. 50 cents initiation fee, and thereafter 25 cents a month.

Mr. Raker. That was collected right along and paid in, was it?

Mr. Folf: Well, there was some Pert it up to the lest, and some Cidn't pay only one time.

Mr. Baker: That did they do with that soney?

Mr. Welf: Well, it was used to buy due books and buttons and the same thing, I guess, as any other or-

Mr. Raker: Well, what was this particular money of this organization used for?

Mr. Tolf: To maintain the organization.

"r. Reber: frything else?

Mr. Wolf: Well, not anything else that I can remember at the present time.

Mr. Raker: Tell, how was it spent?

ir. Folf: To maintain the organization. To buy the tooks, to buy buttons, like the unions are; hall rent, and sometimes marfare for consistees. I was raid out of that by day's ray for soing to 8 lievible and getting that

charter, and such things as that.

Mr. Rober: Well, what are those things?

"r. Tolf: "Well, I can,t just recall them all at the present time.

Mr. Reker: Did any members receive a salary?

Mr. Tolf: Yes-- that is another thing. The secretary received ten dollars a month.

Mr. Raker: The chairman of the trustees received how much?

Mr. Welf: Nothing.

Mr. Raker: Did anyhody else receive a salary?

Mr. Tolf: I am not positive whether the president received a salary or not, but I think he did.

Mr. Baker: Now you understood that organization thoroughly and well?

Mr. Welf: No, I can't say that I understood everything as well as I probably should, but I understood a good deal of it.

Mr. Raker. Thy didnot you understand 107

Mr. Folf: Well, there are lots of things in the moddmen of the World, in the organization that I belong to, that I don't understand.

Mr. Faker: Well, you were one of the organizers and formers and maintainers of it; and one of the participants in it at all times, weren't you?

Mr. 7 lf: Yes.

Mr. Raker: You knew What it was formed for, its object and jurgese?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Raker: Now what was it formed for!

Mr. Wolf: It was formed for the purpose of holding the men at the Alumirum Cre Compan/ together, the employes, so that they could meet together and discuss conditions.

Yr. Raker. Anything else?

Mr. Tolf: And may be in time the intention was to install a sick fund, where if men would get hurt at the plant or get sick, so that there would be a chance to have some money ahead to pay.

Mr. Raker: You discussed that at the time you or-

Mr. Wolf: It was discussed then.

Mr. Raker: At the time of organization?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Baker: Can you give the Committee the main purpose of the organization of that association?

Mr. Wolf: Well, as much as I can say at the present time, that is it.

Mr. Raker: Just to keep these men together?

Wr. Wolf: Practically to keep the men together.
Was it

Mr. Raker: Whatxix organized, now, by the men themselves at their own volition and suggestion, the men of the plant, who were working there?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You are juite sure of that?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Tasn t there scheone else on the outside who didn't belong to the employes, that instigated the or-

garization of this institution -- association?

Mr. Folf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: You feel quite sure that if anyone had attempted it you would have known it? You would have known that fact?

Mr. Wolf: I think so.

Mr. Raber: Did the members of the Aluminum Ore Company have anything to do with the organization of that association?

Mr. Wolf: Not at that time; no, sir.

Mr. Raker: I'am talking now about the organization of the association. That is plain, isnot it?

Mr. Tolf: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Now I am askine you did any of the members of the Aluminum Ore Company have anything to do with the formation of that association?

Mr. Folf: Not to my Fnowledge. I don't think there was. I don't think they had anything to do with it.

Mr. Raker: Did you consult them in any way?

Mr. Wolf: The Aluminum Ore officials?

Kr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Wolf: No, sir; not about that.

Mr. Raker: You considered that none of their concern?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I never give it a thought at that time. They never asked me anything about it.

Mr. Raker: You must have given this subject some thought or you wouldn't have organized this association.

Mr. Wolf: Naturally I felt that we were justified in organizing.

Mr. Raker: what for? what was the justifica-

Mr. Wolf: Tell now, we have a right to organize at any time, haven twe?

Mr. Haber: Oh, I ar not on the stand. I am trying to seek evidence from yours to this organization, so that it may come in sequence as to the whole coreern. Now just what that was. You had acause to organize; what was the cause? You were one of the organizers.

Mr. Tolf: On previous occasions consistees went to the corpany and asked for an increase in tages, and when they were granted—sometimes they were granted the increase—it would not be long after it until some of those committee—men were left out.

Mr. Cooper: You mean discharged?

yr. Wolf: Not only-- you can't say discharged, but they were-- it was another case of "out the force". They were laid off on account of the short employment, or something

Mr. Raker: Anything elset

Mr. Wolf: And I felt, to a saure syself and the rest of the nen who were on this consistee that made the last settlement with Mr. Fox-- that it would be best to

hold the men together.

Mr. Raker: This was after the organization of the committee. I haven to that yet.

Mr. Tolf: I am trying to point out-

Yr. Raker (interposing:) But I din,t ant you to draw conclusions a year ahead. I am trying to hold down now as to the organization of this institution. That was the purpose now, except what you have named, as to the organization of this institution?

Mr. Felf: The juriese was to protect myself against being laid off again, and all the rest of the men who were on that committee; to organize the men into a body so that we would have some control of the company, some control of the men, so that there would be a charge to get together with the men.

Mr. Raker: Organizing for tetterments of your conditions?

Mr. Wolf. That is the idea.

Mr. Raker: And no other purpose? Is that right?

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Chairman, I subrit that the wit
ress has twice testified that it was not only to keep these

men together, but for sick tenefits, and to get money ahead.

He has testified to that trice.

Mr. Raker: It wouldn't hurt him to do it again.

I have got a purpose in examining this witness on that

line, and if I am not prevented I am going to try and find
out.

was it for the additional surpose to benefit laboring

men?

Mr. Wolf: Why, sure, who worked at that plant.

Mr. Raker: Them Well, why didn, t you tell meso before? You wanted to make conditions better at the plant?

Mr. Wolf: I did.

Mr. Raker: You wanted to make laboring conditions better?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: His hours of later shorter?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr? Raker: Are those part of the purposes for which this Association was organized?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And to see that he was treated right in the employment?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And was not discharged when there was no occasion for the discharge?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And you had all those matters in mind when you organized?

Yr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now so there can be no misunderstanding as to the examination of you, you are not a member of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. Wolf: Now? You meannow?

right?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Wolf: Well, J am not amember direct. I am a member of an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Wolf: Well, I said I couldn't say whether I sas suspended or not.

Mr. Raker: Well, don,t you know that you are?

Mr. Wolf: I can't say that. I don't know that.

Mr. Raker' You haven t raid enough attention to

to find out either one way or the other? Is that

Mr. Wolf: Well, in some respects I guess I will have to admit to it.

Mr. Raker: Now, did you ever take this organization up, or the formation offthis organization or its purposes up with the company out there, the superintendent or assistant superintendent?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir; and I stated it this morning, I was sent with an invitation to Mr. Rucker, or Mr. Fox, Mr. Sauters and Mr. Rudisell. Mr. Rucker received me at that time, and at that time the question of the association came up and I tried to tell Mr. Rucker at that time what the thing was organized for. We intended to install a sick benefit such as that there.

Mr. Raker: That was before this eruption between you and Vr. Rucker?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How long before?

Mr. Folf: That was long after the first of the year.

Mr. Raker: Did there seem to be any feeling against you because of your active participation in the association -- that is, the superintendent or assistant superintendent or foremen of the Aluminum Company?

Mr. Wolf: They didn t show any, no.

Mr. Raker: You were never discharged as a workingman out there?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: You left of your own free, voluntary will?

yr. Folf. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You had the best of feeling to the officers and men out there?

Mr. Folf: When I left there, you mean?

Mr. Rakar: Yes.

Mr. Foif: Well, I felt that it was just a matter of business with them. It was only a matter of business with me. As a personal feeling, I hold no personal feeling against anybody. I never allow business to interfere with my personal affairs.

Mr. Faker: I understand after your talk with Mr. Rucker at the well you say a conversation occurred two gr three days after that between Mr. Simon in regard to

you and in regard to what occurred at the well? Is that right? Or have I got that wrong?

Mr. Wolf: Mr. Simon-- the conversation occurred, you say?

Mr. Raker: In the office, in which the conversation of yourself and Mr. Rucker was referred to.

Mr. Folf: No, that was the time the Committee went up to Mr. Fox,s office. Mr. Simon wasn there.

Wr. Raker: How long was that after this conversation between you and Mr. Rucker?

Mr. Welf: Well, that happened on a Sunday morning, and I think it was a week from the following Wednesday-- a week from the following Monday. As I stated this morning, I couldn't just recall whether it was one week after that or two weeks.

Mr. Raker: well, did you feel that the best of relations was existing between you and Mr. Rucker and Mr. Fox after they had made these offers to you that have been described?

Mr. Welf: Tell, I don't think that they hold anything personally against me, any more than as a business proposition they would have-- I think they don't think a whole lot of me, because I didn't stand on their side.

Mr. Raker: And you haven t anything against them?

Mr. Wolf: No, not as a personal feeling, I don,t.

I mean by that, if I was to meet Mr. Fox and Mr. Rucker

and they would say "How do you do, Wolf ", I would return it. But inasruch as-

Mr. Raker (Interposing:) Then you left there, and so far as you are concerned, the personal feeling was very good between you and Mr. Fox and Mr. Rucker?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: There hadn't been any occasion by which you could have a personal batter feeling against either one of them?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I didn't feel the very best in the way that they had come to me-- that is, Mr. Fox had accused me, and Mr. Rucker had offered me money. I didn't feel very much about that, yet at the same time I considered-- well, it is a business proposition with those fellows, and I felt that it was just in a businesslike way. I don't feel so very friendly towards them. As far as personal affairs are concerned, why, I don't have no hard feelings against them.

Wr. Raker: Did you tell your associates up there at the meeting, two nights before the night of the strike, of this offer of money to you, and other conversations that had occurred between you and the officials?

Mr. Wolf. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You told it before the meeting that night?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the other members told similar experiences of theirs, whatever they were, before the men

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struck that day?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now getting down to the meeting of the 28th, you were over there at that meeting, were you?

Mr. Wolf: That is the Central Trades and Labor Union in the City Hall.

Mr. Raker: Over at the City Hall?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, the 25th of May?

Mr. Raker: Yes. You heard speeches that were made there that night?

Mr. Folf: I heard Mr. Alleger's speech. I heard Mr. Flannagan spoke. I heard him tell some kind of a story, but I was sitting in the back part of the hall and didn't hear very much of his speech. I can't recall anything of it.

Mr. Raker: You can't rese her anything that Mr. Flannagan said?

Mr. Wolf: No, I can't.

Mr. Raker: It was so inconsequential that it just passed your mind?

Mr. Wolf: Tell, I was sitting in the tack part of the hall, and there was laughter between his speech, and I don't recall what he said.

Mr. Raker: Were any women there that night? I mean the night of the 28th.

Mr. Wolf: I don't remember. I don't recall whether there was or not.

Mr. Raker: Was that the night that you came out on

the street and saw them lay a negro on the street car track?

Mr. Folf: That is the night.

Mr. Paker: That is the same night that you saw the young lady heading the crowd, using the language you have described?

Wr. = lf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You came right out of the meeting down to where this occurred?

Mr. Tolf: No, sir; I had joined Norris and John Simon and Jake Hoffman came down out of the meeting hall and went over to Geary's saloon. That is across the street from the City Hall. We sat down in one of those tooths and drank a glass of beer, may be two. I know we were sitting there, and there was a lot of hollering started outside, and we went out there, and as we got outside all the garg was going toward South Main Street, going south on Main Street. They were probably 100 foot past the City Hall on the run-- some walking, some running. Some were yelling and hollering: "Down in the South Had we'll get the niggers."

Mr. Baker: what's that?

Mr. Folf: "We'll go to the South End and get the niggers." And I think John Simon was the man who suggested that he hoped none of our boys was among that gang. One of us did, I can't recall— I can't just exactly recall whether it was myself or John Simon; and it was agreed that we would go down there and see if any of our strikers that we know

was among the gang, and tried to get them to go home. And we did walk down there, down towards Broadway. By that time the crowd had come back, and we dispersed and legan going through the crowd there, and then there was a car came down Collinsville Avenue, and there was some six or seven niggers in the car.

Mr. Raker: You have gone over that once. I didn't intend to have you repeat it. I just wanted to know if you came directly from the building, but you did not? You went to the salcon and then sent down town?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How close were you to this young lady that was leading the mob?

Mr. Welf: Well, once or twice I was about as close as from here to Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Raker: About eight feet.

Mr. Wolf: yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How was she dressed?

Mr. Wolf: She had a cap on and a long coat.

Mr. Raker: What was the color of her hair; do you remember?

Mr. Folf: No, I don't; I don't suppose I would Frow the girl again if I saw her.

Mr. Raker: Did you call to her or speak to her in any may?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Tell her to desist from the work she was doing?

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Mr. Wolf: No. I didn't get close to her.

Mr. Raker: You said eight feet.

Mr. Wolf: She was by where I was standing. There was a number of men between us.

Mr. Raker: Did you call on your friends to ssist you in stopping her leading the riot?

Mr. Wolf: I didn't have anybody there but myself that I bnew.

Mr. Raker: Did you try to get anylody that night to go and apprehend this girl and those following her?

Mr. Wolf: No, I can't say that I did.

Mr. Raker: Why didnot you?

Mr. Wolf: Well, eferything seemed to work so quick that night that you didn't have time to think.

Mr. Raker: You went there that night with the determination of speaking in that hall?

Mr. Wolf: Not that hall, no, sir. I did not.

Mr. Raker: Well, you went down-- you came in that night with the determination of having your meeting and speaking, notwithstanding the orders of the Mayor and the Chief of Police that you should not have a meeting, didn't you?

Mr. Wolf: On this particular night, the 28th?

Mr. Raker: Isnot that the night?

Mr. Wolf: No, that was another night.

"r. Raker: What night was that?

Mr. Wolf: That was two nights after.

Yr. Raker: Fell, this isn't the night, then, that you were going to have the meeting anyhow?

Mr. Tolf: No; the night you are speaking of now is the night of the 28th at the City mall, isn't it?

Mr. Raker: The 28th now.

Mr. Wolf: That have you been referring to?

Mr. Raker: The 28th.

Mr. Wolf: The night of the riot?

Mr. Raker: The 28th; yes.

Mr. Folf: The night of the first riot?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Folf: That isn't the night we had the meeting at the hall where we escorted the colored folks home. That was two nights after.

Mr. Raker: There wasn't anybody in this crowd following this young lady that you recognized at all?

Mr. Ecif: Well, not that I recall; no.

Mr. Raker: Tas there at the time?

Mr. Folf: I can't recall anybody that I knew in that crowd.

Mr. Raker: Was there at that time?

Mr. Wolf: Fo.

Mr. Raker: You did nothing to prevent it or to stop it?

Mr. Folf: Stop the girl? No, I didn't. I did try to stop the groad from going in that street car, as I told you before.

Mr. Raker: I will let the street car go first, but I am getting at the crowd now. X You did nothing to stop that?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now did you meet on the 29th, the next day?

Mr. Wolf: Nothing more than just the committees met the next day.

Mr. Raker: when was it, now, following the first day of the riot, that you met in the hall?

Mr. Wolf: The hall where we escorted the colored folks home? Is that the night you mean?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Wolf: That was two days after that meeting, after that riot.

Mr. Raker. At the same hall?

Mr. Wolf: No, that was at Carpenters' Hall. This metting was held at the City Hall the night of the riot.

Mr. Raker: Now, you have explained on your direct examination about escorting these men home after you had had a meeting.

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Was there anything that occurred in that meeting that would lead you to believe that there would be any Violence committed on anyone?

Mr. Wolf: No, not in the meeting, but I thought that if the nighers showed their faces out at night on the streats where there was crowds -- there was crowds running

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up and down Collinsville Avenue, and auto tracks were going past, going up Collinsville Avenue and then down, loaded with soldiers, and the ambulance was going -- ever once in a while the ambulance would go by, going up Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Raker: That is the second day efter the first riot?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Raker: The evening of the second day?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir. We took it from that undoubtedly somebody was getting hurt, and naturally we figured because the rioting had been on probably there was more of it.

Mr. Raker: There ween, t any rioting on the day of this meeting, was there?

Mr. Welf: No, not that I know of.

Mr. Reker: Well then, there was nothing demonstrating to you or appearing to you that there would be a riot that night, although you have stated that Collinsville Avenue was crowded and trucks were going up and down?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did you see anything that evidenced rioting going on?

Mr. Wolf: No; I stayed around the temple. I didn't go any place to see any of that. I didn't want to get close to it.

Mr. Raker: Now what led you to believe the negroes would be assaulted if they left the hall alone? That had occurred and what would be the inducement to assault negroes?

Mr. Wolf: Rioting that went on the night before.

We were afraid if some of these negroes were turned loose, it might break out again, as things looked kind of threatening. The soldiers were running up and down-- were patrolling the streets-- and every once in a while a truck load of soldiers would go by, the arbulance would go by, and it mig made me feel like as if it was threatening again-- might break out again.

Mr. Raker: The more soldiers, the more it appeared to you that the riot was liable to bread out again.

Is that it?

Mr. Wolf: No, not necessarily. I didn't think that if there was more soldiers there sould be more rioting.

Mr. Raker: what was the cause of the riot? Why should the people riot or attack the negroes? From your testimony so far there hadnot been anything said about the negroes or any reason to riot with them, being familiar with things in East St. Louis, as you are, and a leader of men and of an organization, as you have stated; knowing people as you do and the conditions as you do, just tell the Committee now what was there to cause anyone to attack the negroes, or cause a riot.

Wr. Wolf: Well the general feeling, as has been

described here before; the lawlessness here in this town, and the holdups and the negro coming in here and the white man being shoved out, has all brought feeling against the colored man.

Mr. Raker: Well, did you discuss that with your friends and associates in this organization, about the negro coming here?

Mr. Folf: No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Raker: Did you ever discussed in your association -- in this association of the Aluminum Graphotective Association, of which there were about 1600 members, about the negroes coming to Best St. Louis?

Mr. Wolf: Why, I had heard it discussed that there was lots of negroes taking the places of whites at the Aluminum Company.

Mr. Raker: That was discussed?

Mr. Wolf: It was brought up and mentioned, and that was the end of it.

Mr. Raker: was that discussed in the meeting of the association?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: More than once?

Mr. Folf: I think a couple of times, two or three times it was mentioned.

Mr. Raker: What was the nature of that discussion?

Mr. Folf: It was just mentioned that there is more niggers coming from the South, and the Aluminum Company is taking on more niggers.

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Mr. Raker: Nothing further said?

Mr. Folf: And it was rentioned that it would be a good idea if the company would employ some of the men who live in the torm here that they had previously laid off, instead of giving so many of these homeless niggers jobs who come from the South.

Mr. Raker: Was there anything further said?

Mr. Wolf: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Raker: What sas the remedy you were going to take to bring about a stopping of that condition?

Mr. Wolf: Well, we had never thought of a remedy. The only remedy we thought to stop the niggers coming from the South would be if they don't give them no jobs here.

Mr. Raker: Well, they were already here?

Mr. Wolf: They sere already here.

Mr. Raker: And you discussed the fact that the negroes were here taking the jobs of the members of this Association?

Mr. Wolf: It was merely mentioned. That was about all.

Mr. Raker; That is something more than a mere rention.

Mr. Wolf: Well, we didn't go into a deep discussion of it.

Mr. Raber: Was it a fact, was it true, what was said there?

Mr. Folf: I think so, yes.

Mr. Raker: Did the members of your association feel any ways aggrieved over it, in any wise hurt because of that condition?

Mr. Wolf: I can't tell you their feelings.

Mr. Reker: Well, was it discussed in such a way, or was it evident that there was feeling?

Mr. Welf: It was just merely brought up, and that was all there was to it. It was brought up and a few words said about it, and the juestion was dropped.

Mr. Raker: Did it please your association or did it displease it?

Mr. Folf: It displeased me, but I don't know what the rest of the men thought of it.

Mr. Raker: You don't know?

Mr. Welf: I haven t any idea, only just what they said.

Mr. Raker: You haven, t any idea what your association thought?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I feel like they didn't approve of the colored man taking our jobs.

Mr. Raker: How do you know they didn't approve of it?

Mr. Wolf: I said I feel that way.

Mr. Raker: Well, from their talk and from their actions and from their words and conduct, was it evident to you that they were dissatisfied and much displeased because of the fact of the colored men coming up from the South and taking the jobs of the members of this association?

Mr. Wolf: I stated before, and state it now, that there wasnot but very little said of it-- very little said, not hardly enough to give a man an opinion.

Mr. Raker: Then we so far as you are concerned, you never heard the subject discussed about men coming here and taking the jobs of these men?

Mr. Folf: I did hear it discussed, I said.

Mr. Raker: where?

Mr. Wolf: In the meeting hall.

Mr. Raker: You have told us now about a meeting

hall?

Mr. Wolf: You mem other places?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Wolf: Oh yes; I went with a committee from the Labor Temple, composed of Mr. Verrand Mr. Smith, Mr. Jimerson, Mr. Johns, Mr. F. C. Paul, and I don't rememberation or three more. We went down to visit the Mayor.

Mr. Raker: All right. Nos did that association appoint a committee to do that?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: How was the committee constituted?

Mr. Folf: This was the strike committee.

yr. Raker: Well, somebody must have appointed it.

Mr. Folf: I can't really say who appointed the committee, but when I came down there after dinner I was informed that this committee was going to see the Mayor and asy the Mayor to try to bring Mr. Fox and this strike committee together, and there the question of the negro

coming in here was discussed.

Mr. Raker: With whom?

Mr. Wolf: with the Mayor.

Mr. Rayer: Fell then, the members of this association did discuss the question of the negroes coming here and the inadvisability of them coming here, with the Mayor?

Mr. Wolf: The members of this organization did not discuss it, only in their meeting hall a short time, one or two evenings it was brought up at the meeting.

That is all it was discussed there. This committee was a committee from the strikers— that is, a part of the strike committee and part of the labor leaders here went down there to call on the Mayor to see if we could bring Mr. Fox and the Committe— the strike committee—together.

Mr. Cooper: By labor leaders, you mean Rederation of Labor leaders?

Wr. Wolf: Yes, sir. And in that conference there, the nigger question was discussed.

Mr. Raker: yell, how?

Mr. Folf: well, we asked the Mayor if he couldn't make some arrangement in some way to stop the influx of the nigger.

Mr. Raker: well, what did the negroes have to do on earth with the strike?

Mr. Tolf: Tell, it was just discussed at that conference.

Mr. Raker: Well, I am asking you what did the negroes have to do with the strike, and why should you discuss the fact of the negroes coming here?

Wr. Folf: Well, I don't know as the negroes had so much to do with the strike, but if too many niggers got in this town and they had no place to go and no shelter, it would bring on lewlessness, wouldn't it?
Or it would and did.

Mr. Raker: That is what you went down to discuss with the Mayor, was to see if he could stop and prevent lawlessness in the town?

Yr. Folf: That wasn't the sole reason we went ican there.

Mr. Raker: Did you discuss it with the Mayor your-self?

Mr. Felf: No, I don't believe I did.

Mr. Raker: Who did?

Mr. Wolf: Some of the men.

Mr. Haker: Now you have told us all you remember as to all the discussions in regard to the negro coming here, and his effect upon the lator here and what trouble it might cause, have you? If you have not, state it to the Tornittee, will you?

Mr. Folf: I think I have, as far as I can remember

at the present time.

Mr. Raker: There was no discussion among the men out at the plant at any time as to what effect these negroes would have-- their coming here-- except what you have told us?

Mr. Wolf: That's all.

Mr. Raker: Well, after the 28th and 29th of May, did you folks discuss the negro riots in your association?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Raker: At no time?

Mr. Wolf: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Raker: It wasn't brought up?

Mr. Felf: No.

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Mr. Raker: It had nothing to do with the strike or the effect of it, as you viewed it?

Mr. Wolf: I don't-- oh no.

Mr. Raker: That was an entirely different cause, a different condition, economical, wage and hours; and the race question hadn't anything to do with it?

Mr. Volf: With the strike?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Volf: Not to my Phosledge, no.

Mr. Raker: And you didn,t believe that the number of negroes ocning here had anything to do with your men being turned out at the plant?

Mr. Folf: Well, I-- to my own orinion I felt that the manufacturers were bringing these colored laborers here to flood this market, flood the labor market.

Mr. Raker: For what purpose?

Mr. Wolf: Well, in case of trouble of any kind there would be plenty of men here. Another reason, they could dispose of their men, the white men here, and replace them with niggers, and that would stop labor troubles.

Mr. Raker: when did you first come to that conclusion?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I can't recall.

Mr. Raker: Approximately. Tell the Committee when you first came to that conclusion.

Mr. Folf: After the riot.

Mr. Raker: After the first riot?

Mr. Wolf: After the first riot. I thought that was-- I came to that conclusion.

Tr. Raker: Did you talk over it at all-- did you talk over the matter at all with the citizens downtown, the business men or the men in the various stores, barber shops or other places, about the conditions here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Wolf: No, not to my knowledge, I didn.t.

Mr. Raker: Did you talk with the men downtown at all about the fact that the conditions in Rast St. Louis were tad, so far as the protection of life and property was concerned, before the 2nd of July this year?

Mr. Wolf: Wothing nore than what was -- no, I didn't.

Mr. Raker: Had you ever heard it discussed?

Yr. Wolf: Oh, I have heard it discussed lots of

times, several places.

Mr. Raker: where?

Mr. wolf: I have heard it discussed in saloons—saloon arguments—some men sometimes when I would stop in and get a glass of beer or a cigar. I have heard it discussed on the street cars.

Mr. Raker: That things were very bad?

Mr. Wolf: Things were getting bad.

Mr. Reker: And the cause of it?

Mr. Folf: Well, the general feeling was because the colored man was coming in here.

Mr. Raker: Well, was that--

Mr. Wolf (Enterposing:) That was the general feeling.

Mr. Raker: Is that what the men would say that you heard discuss it on the street cars?

Mr. Folf: Yes; the general feeling was that the conferation heads had got together and was flooding the labor market here with colored labor.

ir. Raker. And that there was liable to be serious trouble if it wasn't stopped?

Mr. Tolf: well, I can, t say that I ever heard that.

Tr. Raker: well, that there would be trouble if it wasn't supped?

Mr. Wolf: well, they just stated that it would make this a negro town, and that it would make it bad for a white man to live here.

Mr. Raker: Fell, was it ever discussed what the white men should do to prohibit or prevent it?

Mr. Wolf: No, I can't say that I heard that discussed.

Mr. Raker: You did hear it discussed, though, that if this thing continued, it would be just simply a negro town?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And that the white men would have to get up and get out?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. His job would be taken and there would be nothing for him to do?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did you hear that discussed more than once, or many times?

Mr. Wolf: Yes; several times.

Mr. Raker: Fas it sort of a general discussion anong your fix friends and associates or acquaintances?

Mr. Welf: Well, it was believed that if the negroes continued to come, as I said before, that there would be nothing else for us to do, if we couldn't get to jobs here.

Mr. Raker: You couldn't tell what the belief was of these men mless you heard them make some expression?

Mr. Volf: Well, general rumors.

Vr. Raker: You couldn't tell what the general

rumor was unless you heard it? For sheet I ar trying to get at is-- what I tried to get at first was, dd you hear these rumors and did you hear these expressions that the negro will take East St. Louis and will take the jobs of these men if he is permitted to come in the future as he has in the past?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Now was that general?

Mr. Wolf: Well, where I got to in was, yes.

Mr. Raker: You keard it mand times?

Mr. Folf: Yes, I heard it may many times.

Mr. Raker: Now you have stated orm your direct examination -- I mean you stated when I fillest began to ask you -- that you spent most of your wines with the members of the association. So therefore you nust have heard some of those mem speak of it frequently, did you?

Mr. Folf: well, yes, I did.

Mr. Raker: Well, could gra give move of the expressions that were used?

Mr. Welf: Well, as I stated— now, I couldn't recall the words, but immediate as I could make from it, the
man just felt like if the niggers ill committee to come,
all they could do would be-- if their joiles was gone and
they couldn't get jobs no other place, were to go some.

where else, as the men in the past had imme:

Mr. Raker: Fell, was it ifstrassed on ong those that you heard discuss it, that they were flust going to get up and leave the town and let the or owned eople take

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Mr. Welf: Well, practically; yes, sir. That is about all I heard discussed was, that "if they get our jobs and come here and take our jobs, and we can't get jobs no place else, we will have to leave here" -- which other men had done.

Mr. Raker: It was juite a serious condition? Mr. Wolf: In regard to that matter, yes.

Mr. Rever: And then the question of general bad conditions led to it -- that is, want of enforcement of the law, that you have spoken about? You felt as though things were nowing from bad to worse all the time?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And you did nothing to stop it?

Mr. Wolf: Well, we went down there that time with the Committee. We asked the Vayor if something could be done.

Mr. Raker: That did he say?

Mr. Wolf: Well, he had no solution. He was going to see the corporation counsel, he said, and see what could be done.

Mr. Raber. Didn,t you think it ill advised to call these rectings and let men like Mr. Flannagan and others discuss the race question when there was such a tense feeling among the citizens of Rast St. Louis; and for him to remark in their presence that he never heard of anyone being junished for participating in a mob, or words to that effect?

Hr. Folf: Well, I didnot hear Wr. Flannagan say that.

Tr. Raker: You heard that he did say it, didn't you?

Wr. Folf: I heard that it was said, yes.

Wr. Raker: Didn't you think that was quite illadvised?

Wr. Telf: Well, I think it was ill-advised, yes.

Wr. Raker: Fut you did nothing to prement that?

Wr. Folf: Well, I did try to stop what I could of the riot.

Mr. Raker: when you care home on the 2nd of July you care from Collinaville Avenue?

Mr. Tolf: Tes, sir.

Mr. Rober: You changed here at Missouri, passed right through the town when it was being burned up, and never got off the car or never did anything to stop the mot or to prevent the fire?

Wr. Folf: I shanged cars there. My other car was there, and I just came from sork and had no supper, and I went home where it was my place to be, to protect my family in case any solored men should get out there and might take revenue on the white people out there; and I thought it my docty to stay home and protect my family.

Mr. Raker: Fut I say again, you got our the Collinsville dar, changed on Missouri Avenue, took the car, cent home, then you knew that men were being mobbed on the Atmests and that the town was being burned up?

You had to go right rast the district that was burning

Mr. Wolf: I didn't know anything about a fire burn- ; ing then.

Vr. Raker: You dian't?

Mr. Wolf: I didn't see any nob on Collinsville avenue, any more than some soldiers, and at that hour the street was always husy. I don't know as we came do n the street that I seen any extra large arount of people any place through my route home, and I suspected that things was pisted down.

Mr. Raker: This fire main't started then?

Mr. Tolf: I hadnes seen to if it had started. I don't know yet what time it started. I didnet see any fire until it began to get dark, and one of the neighbors told he about the fire, and I come out aid looked.

. Mr. Reher: Trat's all.

Mr. (coper: You say the Federation of Labor is offesed to strikes?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Strikes work a great hardship on and children of working men?

'ir. Tolf: "ell, if the new are out of ont end
not making money, I should judge it sould.

There have mead that he has said it, but he is the hard to the Federation or labor in this country. I have seen no sporer reports that he has in effect given instructions

that the strike should only be-- that there should be no strike expert as a last resort. Is that so?

Mr. Wolf: I believe that is right.

Mr. Raker: You said you didn't Fnow whether you were now a member of the Federation of Lator. Thy don't you know? Just give the reason in a concise way.

ir. Wolf: As I stated this morning. I haven't been to a neeting for several nonths, and I don't know whether I am suspended or whether I am said up or not-- whether I am suspended or whether they are still holding me up.

Mr. Cooper: You haven't paid your dues in how long?

Mr. Wolf: In a couple of months.

yr. Cooper: They have a rule, have they not, that if within a certain time the Gues are not raid, the member shall be suspended?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir; that is the rule.

Mr. Cooper: You say you went to work when you were 13 or 14 years old?

Mr. Tolf: Something like that; yes.

Mr. Cooper: Have you ever been to school since that time?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Volf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You have just been steadily at work now for the last 16 years, and you began as a boy of 13?

Mr. Conper: How long did you work in the store at Belleville?

Mr. Folf: In the what?

Mr. Cooper: Lian t you say you worked in a store, or something at Relleville?

Mr. Wolf: I served in the Range Works.

Mr. Cooper: How long did you work in the range works?

Mr. Folf: Oh, I can't recall. I guess a year or

Mr. Scoper: Then shere did you go after that?

Mr. Folf: To a coal mine.

Mr. Cooper: You went into the coal mides and worked how very years?

yr. Folf. Fire or six years.

Mr. Cooper: And you were about 19 when you got out of the sines, or twenty-- somewhere along there?

Mr. Folf: feel, a little more than twenty, I guess.

Mr. Cooper: A little past twenty?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That did you work at in the mines?

Ur. Tolf: In the coal mines.

Mr. Scoper: As a coal miner?

Yr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: As saliger?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: There sere you employed, in what mines?

Mr. Folf: St. Louis and O'Fallon nest of the

time.

Mr. Cooper: Well then, you were there six or seven years in that employ. Where did you go to work after you left the mine?

Mr. Wolf: I went to work for the Aluminum Cre Company.

Mr. Cooper: And you have worked for their ever since up to the time that you recently left their employ?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That would be five or six years?

Wr. Wolf: With the exception of one year I didn't

nor) at the Aluminum Ore Company -- one year.

Mr. Wolf: I was in the saloen business.

Mr. Cooper: The selcon business for the year?

Mr. Tolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Then you sent to work for the Aluminum Ore Company?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

. Ir. Cooper: That is all.

Mr. Paker: You were in the selcon tusiness here in Past St. Louis?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You say there were 1807 ien who [cined the Aluminum Ore Protective Association?

"r. Tolf: Decreen 14 or 16 hunired -- about that.

Mr. Johnson: Mout when die they join?

Mr. Wolf: lamedistely also the organization was

formed.

Mr. Johnson: Then was that?

Mr. Folf: About -- between a month and six weeks after that, after the first strike.

Mr. Johnson: Then was that?

Mr. Tolf: The first strike began in October or Movember -- along between the middle of Movember and the last of Movember.

Mr. Johnson: Is that association still in exist-

fur. Wolf: Well, I guess not by this time.

Mr. Johnson: Then aid it go out of existence?

Vr. Wolf: Well, after the strike, the men didn't come down to the restings any more, and naturally they hald no nore meetings. Motody came.

Mr. Johnson: How any months was it in existence?

Mr. Wolf: Well, from some time last Movember up
until right after this strike.

Vr. Johnson: Thich strike?

Mr. Wolf: The last strike at the Aluminum Ore Company.

"Ir. Johnson: Ther was that?

"r. Tolf: The 18th of April.

Mr. Johnson: It existed about six months, five or six months?

Mr. Wolf: About that.

"Ir. Johnson: That 31d the buttons cost that you members got?

Mr. Wolf: I don't recall the price of the buttons, Mr. Johnson. I don't recall. I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Tell me as nearly as you can about that the buttons cost; about what they let the members have them for.

Mr. Tolf: Well, they were given to the nembers.
They were sold to the members. They were given to each
can who said his dues.

Mr. Johnson: Well, just tell me as nearly as you can about that, what they cost.

Mr. Wolf: I would judge they cost about two cents agiece.

Mr. Johnson: "hat did the tooks cost that you bought?

Mr. Tolf: Well, Mr. Johnson, I can't give you the figures. I don't know.

Mr. Johnson: Four or five dollars?

Mr. Wolf: In ry judgment, the books would probably cost two or three cents arises.

Mr. Johnson: And how many books would there be?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I don't know how many they jurchased. They might have jurchased two thousand.

Mr. Johnson: -het was the object of the books?
Mr. Wolf: To been their dues in.

Vr. Johnson: Mid they give each man a book? Is that it?

737 Vr. Tolf: Yes; the same as any organization.

Mr. Johnson: "ell, if they had 1600 sen, then

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they used 1600 books?

Mr. Folf: I presume so.

Mr. Johnson: But they wouldnot have bought more than two thousand?

Mr. Wolf: I don't think they would. I don't know whether they bought any nore or that much.

Mr. Johnson: Now what else was money spent for besides books and buttons, and ten dollars a nonth salary for the secretary?

Mr. Wolf: The treasurer got a salary.

Mr. Johnson: What did he get?

Mr. Wolf: I think he got ten dollars.

Ur. Johnson: A month?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: Any other expenditures?

Mr. Folf: I am not positive whether the president got a salary or not. Yes, there was hall rent.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know how many times you rented the hall in those five or six months?

Mr. Tolf: Well, we had the Hagle Hall during the whole time.

Mr. Johnson: what did you pay for it?

Mr. Folf: I don't remember the cost of it.

Mr. Johnson: About what?

Mr. Folf: I would judge about 15 a night. I think that was what they charged.

Mr. Johnson: About how many nights did you have

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Mr. Wolf: About one night a week.

Mr. Johnson: You had it, we will say, four times a month?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: For five or six months/would be twenty or trenty-five times you had it?

Mr. Wolf: Yes. .

Mr. Johnson: The amount of money paid for it aculd be \$100 or \$125?

Mr. Folf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: That other expenditures were there?

Mr. Wolf: I don't recall that. I don't remember

Mr. Johnson: I am just asking you to give such as prou can remember. Can you recall any other expense?

Mr. Folf: No. I don't remember what the expense would be.

Mr. Johnson: Then the concern went out of Eusiness, her ruch coney was on hand?

If well, I are not in a resition to tell you.
I den't know.

".. Johnson: The dees Ynow?

Mr. Welf: "by, I think the treasurer knows.

Mr. Johnson: There is he?

Murphysloo,
Mr. Tolf: He is sorving in purfredebore, Illinois.

Mr. Johnson: How far is that from here?

Mr. Wolf: I don't think over fifty miles.

Mr. Johnson: Dia you ever hear any of the members say how much money was left on hand when they went out of existence?

Mr. Wolf: I probably dishear, but I don't remainter.

Mr. Johnson: Now if you initiated this 1600

members at 50 cents arises, that made \$800?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And if you charged them 25 cents a month arisec, that would be \$400 a month; and if you were in existence five nonths that would be \$2,000 that you collected for dues, and 800 for initiation fees, which would make \$2800. You you know of expenditures of, say, \$125 for hall rent, and shout \$60 for secretary's fees and about \$60 for treasurer's fees; and you don't know whether the President received anything or not, but if he did, he didn't receive any more than the other officers received; did he?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Johnson: Well, if he got anything he got \$607

Mr. Johnson: Then you bought a couple of thousand tustons at about two cents affece?

Mr. Wolf: They were bought the or three different times. I believe every south a sen get a new button.

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Well then, you sould spend \$25 or \$30 a month for buttons?

Mr. Welf: Well, I didn, t say they cost that much. I den't know what it did cost.

I'r. Johnson: I understand you are just guessing.

I am not trying to corner you at all. I am not trying
to get you to commit yourself to a direct statement when
you have only guessed or approximated.

That would be in the reighborhood of \$150 for buttons, and then the books-- did you get a monthly book or one book for the whole time?

Mr. Wolf: One took for the whole tire.

Mr. Johnson: Well then, you probably epent \$30 for books. And what fee did you pay to the lawyer for getting the charter for you?

Mr. Wolf: I don't recall whether he got ten dollars or fifteen dollars. I don't recall.

Mr. Johnson: Tell, say he got \$15. What were your expenses then?

Mr. Wolf: Wages and carfare.

Mr. Johnson: How much did that accumt to, about?

Mr. Wolf: 13.75, and 30 cents cerfare.

Mr/ Johnson: Well, in round figures, \$4. Well, that would make \$415 expended. Can you give me any idea what became of the other \$400?

Mr. Tolf: Well, you have got /1600 men there for five ronths, haven t you?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. Wolf: I told you they had dainaled Some of them only raid one time, the greater rortion. Some of ther only raid dues twice; some of them three times.

Mr. Johnson: If they raid dues twice instead of five times, they would pay \$800. It was \$400 a month, what the dues were, so it would be, initiation fees \$800; and some of them raid dues only twice, which would make \$800. You said, I think, about helf of them raid about twice. So, anyhow, to take off everything that we can find should be taken off of the total amount received, there would be scrething like \$500 or \$800 more. Have you any idea what became of it?

Mr. Welf: Well, I can't just recall what happened to all of that there. I could go back over the records and be able to tal you for every remmy.

Mr. Johnson: Has the treasurer ever teen called on for a settlement?

Mr. Folf: I think that the hooks have been audited; yes.

Mr. Johnson: The audited the books?

Mr. Wolf: Why, there was a committee appointed to audit the books.

Mr. Johnson: Do you remember the name of anybody who was on that committee?

Mr. Folf: Why, yes, they were audited by a man named Ripylinger, who was a member, and Scully.

Mr. Johnson: Give the first names of each of those men.

Mr. Tolf: I denot know Soully's first mame.

Mr. Johnson: That is Riplinger's first mane?

Mr. Folf: Theodore, I think.

Mr. Johnson: inybodyelse?

Mr. Tolf: Jai Carl Hoke.

Mr. Johnson: Anyhody else?

Wr. Wolf: I can't recall.

Mr. Johnson: Then the concern went out of existence and supposedly into liquidation, was any money returned to englody?

Mr. Folf: No, sir; I think there is still some money in the tank.

Mr. Johnson: To whose credit?

Mr. Folf: To the association's.

Mr. Johnson: How much?

Mr. Filf: I can't tell you.

Mr. Johnson: -h=t tank?

Mr. Tolf: The couthern Illinois Maticnal Fank.

Mr. Johnson: If it is there, who could draw it out?

Mr. Wolf: Not unless the renget together, I guess, in the association.

Yr. Johnson: Bif the men have to get together every time you drew out any zoney here shile the thing was in existence?

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Mr. Wolf: Well, they had to authorize the secretary to araw wouchers.

Mr. Johnson: Tas that done by a board of directors, or by some special committee, or by the whole meeting?

Mr. Folf: At a meeting.

Mr. Johnson: You made no payment except the entire meeting authorized 11?

Mr. Wolf: If the meeting authorized it, the secretary and treasurer signed the check and drew the coney and paid the bills.

Mr. Johnson: Fut unless the whole meeting directed the payment of any bill, the money couldn't be drawn out of the bank? Was that right?

"r. "olf: I think that is right.

Mr. Johnson: was there an order made by the society or organization directing what banks this money should be deposited in?

. Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And what bank was that?

Mr. Wolf: Mot what bank-- it said some national bank.

Mr. Johnson: And it was all deposited in some one benk?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: There are the tooks which would show the receipts?

Mr. Wolf: Mr. Morris has ther, George R. Morris.

Mr. Johnson: And he is not here? He is out in Oblahoma?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: How long has it been since the organization went out of existence?

Mr. Welf: The last meeting we had was shortly before the strike was called off.

Mr. Johnson: That was last April?

Mr. Wolf: No, that was some time in June.

Mr. Johnson: Of this year?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: The 27th of June?

Mr. Folf: I think that was around -- screwhere around there -- in the neighborhood of the 27th of June.

Mr. Johnson: Did the treasurer have to give a bond?

Mr. Wolf: The treasurer was under bond.

Mr. Johnson: who was on his bond?

Mr. Wolf: It was a surety bond.

Mr. Johnson: Po you know the name of the company?

Mr. Wolf: I guess the American Surety Company.

Mr. Johnson: You are not sure of that?

Mr. Wolf: I am not positive; no, sir.

Mr. Johnson: At what meeting in one or the other of these halls-- I forget which it was-- where some negroes met with you and you said they were conducted home safely?

Mr. Wolf: It was in the Carpenters' Temple.

Mr. Johnson: When was that?

Mr. Wolf: Two nights after the first riot.

Mr. Johnson: That would put it on the 30th day of last May?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, I believe you are right.

Mr. Johnson: what time did that neeting distand that night?

Mr. Folf: The meeting only lasted a short time.

Mr. Johnson: When did you meet?

Mr. Welf: Well, the men, about 8:30. Yr.

Thomas, C. P. Thomas, spoke a few minutes. Then Mr. Smith spoke a few minutes, and I suppose two or three finutes myself. I do to think the meeting lasted over half an hour.

Mr. Johnson: You disbanded about nine o'clock?

Mr. Folf: About nine o'clock.

Wr. Johnson: How many negroes were there?

Mr. Tolf: I think about 15.

Mr. Johnson: They were all unionized?

Mr. Welf: Yes, sir; they belonged to the Western Federation of Mines, Mills and Smelter Men.

Mr. Johnson: They were all unionized?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: You say that one man took two of them home under his parasol?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: what was his name?

Mr. Wolf: Marion Leake.

Mr. Johnson: Do you resember the mases of the negroes he tock?

sefety?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir; I don't recall the names.

Mr Johnson: Who took some other negroes home in

Mr. Wolf: Some of the boys that were there. I can't recall their names at the present time. I don't know the

Mr. Johnson: Well, one man took two. Do you know whether any other white man that was there took more than one home?

Mr. Wolf: No, I don't.

Mr. Johnson: But that was deemed to be sufficient protection, one man to two negroes?

Mr. Wolf: Well, we didnot authorize a certain amount of men to go with them.

Mr. Johnson: But when this one white man did start off with two negroes to take them home, the protection was considered ample?

Mr. Wolf: Understand, they all went out together. That is, those that were going to escort colored men went out with the colored men. They all went down out of the hall together, and raturally I guess those who were—— or I was informed, rather—— that they had started from the hall together, the group of whites to protect the blacks.

Mr. Johnson: Did you know the names of the negromen there that night?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Johnson: Did you know them then?

Mr. Wolf: No, I can t say that I did.

Mr. Johnson: That became of them afterwards?

Mr. Wolf: I don:t know what happened to them.

Mr. Johnson: Did any of them get billed?

Mr. Wolf: Not to my knowledge, no. I saw them many times after that at meetings.

Mr. Johnson: All of them?

Mr. Folf: I guess they were all there-- many of them-- one might have been missing.

Mr. Johnson: They were at the meeting alive and not dead?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Yr. Johnson: Therefore they didn't get killed?

You have spoken of a conversation where others were present, between yourself and Mr. Fox, in which you said that he was a G--D---liar. There was that conversation?

Mr. Wolf: In his office.

Mr. Johnson: On what date?

Mr. Wolf: That was Tuesday following the meeting at the -- the special meeting that the men had called.

Mr. Johnson: Fix the date if you can.

Mr. Wolf: That would be on the 17th of april.

Mr. Johnson: That is the day of the strike, wasn't

1t?

Mr. Volf: No, that is the day before the strike.

Mr. Johnson: I thought the strike was on the 17th.

Mr. Wolf: Yes; the day of the strike-- no, wait a minute. I have got that wrong. The day of the strike was the 18th. The 18th was Wednesday night, and this was on Tuesday tefore. That was would be the 16th.

Mr. Johnson: what time of day was that conversa-

tion in which you used that larguage?

Mr. Wolf: Some time between 10:30 and 11:30.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Chairman, let's get this date right. You say Wednesday was the 18th?

Mr. Wolf: Tednesday was the 18th.

Mr. Cooper: And Tuesday was the 17th, not the 16th.

Mr. Welf: Yes, the 17th, not the 16th.

Mr. Johnson: This conversation, then, was between 10:30 and 11 o'clock?

Mr. Tolf: Between 10:30 and 12 o'clock.

Mr. Johnson: In the daytime, not at night?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir; in the day time.

Mr. Johnson: And when you left the office, immediately following that, where did you go?

Mr. Wolf: I went home.

Mr. Johnson: Have you ever worked there since then?

"r. Volf: Since the strike?

Mr. Johnson: No, since that conversation?

"r. Wolf: Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson: When did you next work there after that conversation?

Mr. Wolf: That night.

Mr. Johnson: That conversation in which you told the superintendent of the place that he was a G-- D--- liar-- you worked there that night?

Mr. Felf: Yes, sir; I went to work at 11 o'clock that night.

Mr. Johnson: You worked the next night?

Mr. Inknames Wolf: I worked from 11 o'clock at night till seven the next morning, and didn't work any more.

Mr. Johnson: That was the last work you'd there?
Mr. Folf: Yes, sir.

Wr. Johnson: And when you did go out and ceased to work there, did you go out of your own accord? I mean by that, did you go out on the strike or were you disrissed from the service?

Mr. Folf: I went on the strike.

Mr: Johnson: I mean by that -- I am undertaking to distinguish between the two ways in which you might have gone; one that you left voluntarily, and the other that you were compelled to go. You went of your own volition?

Mr. Elf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You were not dismissed?

Mr. 701f: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know of any other orcasion when the erdearing terms used in that conversation by yourself occurred between any of the sorving force there and the principal superintendent of the place?

Mr. Folf: I don't juite understand that. I didn't quite get that question.

Yr. Johnson: You applied very plain and extremely ugly language to the superintendent?

Mr. Welf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know of that having been done by any other engloye of the place?

Mr. Wolf: Wo, I can't remember of any other-of that being done by anyone.

Mr. Johnson: That is the only instance of which you know?

Mr. Wolf: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: And after you applied that language how long did the convergation last, the conference between yourself and Mr. Fox?

Mr. Wolf: Well, se quieted down after that there.

I don't think our whole conversation lasted -- the confirmed altogether lasted an hour and a half. This was auring that time.

Mr. Johnson: This conversation appeared -- this language that you used towards him occurred early in that conference or late in it?

Mr. Wolf: Early in the conference.

Mr. Johnson: You sent alone after that and soncluded your conference?

Mr. Wif: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And then when your regular hour. s

came for work, you came to work?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And you remained at work until you voluntarily left?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Would the bank give you the amount of money that is to the credit of this institution over there?

Mr. Folf: Tell, I will try and find out.

Mr. Johnson: Just as soon as you leave the witness stand, will you go and ascertain that amount and some back and tell the Committee?

Mr. Folf: Yes, sir; if you wish to know the amount I will.

Mr. Johnson: To would be very glad to know it.

Do you know of any negro who was unionized, who
was maltreated in the riot of either Yay 28th or July
2nd?

Mr. Wolf: Tell, I couldn't personally say or swear whether I know there was any or not. If there was a nigger with a good union card in his pocket, and he came down Collinsville Avenue that night near Broadway, I am satisfied his card wouldn't have had any bearing.

He wouldn't have had the time to show it. In fact, I don't think it would have had any bearing with that mob.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know whether any unionized negro did come down in the dangerous part of town that night or not?

Mr. Wolf: I couldn't say.

Mr. Johnson: Did you ever hear of one that did come down where the rioting was going on?

Mr. Wolf: No. I don't know whather they did or not.

Mr. Johnson: Did you hear of one that was accidentally caught in the ricting part of the town that night?

Mr. Wolf: So far I have not.

Mr. Johnson: That time did the employes leave the fluminum Plant on the afternoon-- the late afternoon of May 28th?

2 Mr. Wolf: what time did they leave the plant ch May 28th?

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Mr. Johnson: The late afternoon shift, yes.

Mr. Folf: I guess the same as all other afternoons, at 3 o'clock. There is a shift comes off at three, and then there is a shift comes off at 4:30, I think--1:45.

Mr. Johnson: There is one shift that comes off at 3 in the afternoon, and another at 4:45 in the afternoon?

'fr. Folf: Yes. And one shift at eleven at night, and one at seven in the morning.

Mr. Johnson: Now then, on the 2nd day of July, when they had the big riot, what time did the shifts come off from the Aluminum Plant that afternoon?

Mr. Wolf: I couldn't tell you. I don't know. I expect they came off the same as usual.

Mr. Johnson: That is your opinion?

Mr. Wolf: It is my opinion they did.

Mr. Johnson: That is 3 and 4:45?

Mr. Wolf: 3 and 4:45; yes, sir. I expect they still come off at that time. I can, t say, though.

wr. Cooper: You have been asked if you ever heard him, such epithet or language applied by an employe to Mr. Fox or any other official of that company, as you applied to him, as you swore at him. You said you never did. Did you ever know of Mr: Fox saying to any other employe that he was a grook and had been trying to sell out for money, or words to that effect?

Mr. Wolf: To some other employe?

Mr. Ccoper: Did you ever hear him say that to any other employes?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now, Mr. Fox, as I understood you to say in your direct testimony, directly charged you with trying to sell out?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That that was his first statement.

Then when you store at him, a little later he said then
that he had been informed so by Mr. Rucker; is that right?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That Mr. Rucker had told him so. He

didn't pretend to know that of his own knowledge, but he said Mr. Rucker had so informed him?

Mr. wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: where did this young lady come from that was leading the mob on the night of the 28th of May, do you know?

Mr. Blf: No, I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Raker: Tas she a resident of the town?

Mr. Flf: I don't know the young lady. I never saw her before to my knowledge, and never saw her since.

Mr. Raker: Do you know what her business was?

Mr. Wolf: No, I don't know what her business was.

Mr. Raker: You have no idea?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Reker: where was it that you ran a saloon here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Wolf: At 29th and College avenue.

Mr. Raker: How long did you run it?

Mr. Wolf: About a year.

Mr. Raker: Well, give us just the time.

Mr. Wolf: Just about a year.

Mr. Raker: Why did you juit?

Mr. Wolf: Because I didn,t like the soloon business.

Mr. Raker: Furing that year you became acquainted with the other saloon sen here in town, didn't you?

Mr. Wolf: Not any nore than I did before that-not as much. I didn't so into the other saloons. I

stayed in my own place.

Mr. Raker: You were busy in your own place of business?

Mr. Wolf: Yes, sir.

Mr. Reker: Was there any gambling in your salcon?

Mr. Wolf: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did you run it day and night?

Mr. Wolf: I run it from about five in the morn-ing till 12 at night.

Mr. Raker: Did you run it on Sunday?

Mr. Wolf: The saloons in East ct. Louis were open on Sunday at the time.

Mr. Raker: Did you run your saloon on Sunday?

Mr. Wolf: I did.

Mr. Raker: In direct violation of the law at that time, wasn't it?

Mr. Wolf: Well, I don't know whether it was or not. I don't know whether there was a law at that time or not.

Mr. Raker: Where is that place located now,

where your saloon was?

Mr. Wolf: At 29th and College, out state Street, 2900.

Mr. Raber: Did a good many men come in and get drink?

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Mr. Wolf: No, sir; they didn't get drunk in my place. I didn't give a man that much to drink.

Mr. Raker: You never had any men at all get drunk in your place?

Mr. Wolf: Not so drunk they couldn't walk out.

Mr. Raker: when a man was drunt in your place you would never give him any more?

Mr. Wolf: No.

Mr. Raker: The moment you found a man that appeared to be under the effects of liquor, and he came up to the bar, you would deny him any liquor?

Mr. Welf: That's right; I did.

Mr. Raker: That's all:

Mr. Johnson: You may stand aside.

Yesterday something of a colloquy occurred between Mr. Verr while he was on the witness stand and
Miss Lindsay Cooper, who is here reporting the proceedings of this Committee for some Rastern paper.
Miss Cooper hes Ahanded me a typewritten statement
which she desires to go into the record. It reads
as follows:

"Miss Cooper wishes to state to the committee that the article in the Manufacturers' News, part of which was reprinted by the Bast St. Louis Journal, was a weekly report of the activities of the committee based upon the evidence which had been presented from the witness stand up until that time, and was not intended as an ultimate expression of the personal."

opinion of the writer."

## STATEMENT OF WILLIAM HARVING (colored),

1311 Nectar Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.
(The sitness was xxx ssorm by Nr. Johnson)

Mr. Cooper: -hat is your name?

Mr. Heakins: William Haskins.

Mr. Cooper: where do you live?

Mr. Hawkins: I did live at 1311 Nectar Avenue, in the rear.

Mr. Cooper: How long have you lived there, or did you live there?

Mr. Hawkins: This has been my thirteenth year.

Mr. Cooper: Md you can that property?

. Mr. Hawkins: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You rented it?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That happened to you or your place on the 2nd of July last?

Mr. Hawkins: Tell, I was there in the house. I seen a mot down the street about three blocks from me.

They shot a colored fellow down the street, and I saw them coming up my way, and I run in the house and stayed in there and shut the door. I stayed in there about two hours and a helf, I guess, and I heard them coming around the house. I heard somebody say "Fait a minute; don't set this afire. We are going over to the church and set

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left my house I sheaked out the back door and went through by some houses and went over about a block, and there was a house in the field there, another big house sitting there, and with some other more people I stayed there until I guess 11 o'clock. Then they shot at that house, I guess all the time when I was over there. There was about 7 of us there, I guess.

"r. Cooper: They shot at it?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir; shot at the house, soldiers and everybody. I could see the soldiers shooting at it.

Mr. Cooper: Men in uniform?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: They shot at it with rifles?

Mr. Hawkins: Rifles, revolvers, these big automatics. They had set a church aftre over on a place called financh Park and Gross, about a block from me, and you could see them from the lights. You could see them as plain as anything, but couldn't make out who they was. They kept shooting at us, and finally the soldiers came out there and got us about 11:30, I guess-- may be 12 o'clock.

Mr. Cooper: Just before noon?

Vr. Hawkins: At night: And carried us to the police station.

Mr. Cooper: what police statica?

Mr. Hawkins. Down here in East St. Louis. I asked them to take us down there for safety to the City

Hall. They said "All right; we'll take you to the City
Hall for safety", and they carried us to the police station and locked us up.

Er. Cooper: How many of you?

Mr. Hawkins: About seven of us, I think.

Mr. Cooper: All men?

Wr. Hawkins: Yes, and women. They said they was going to tring them down later, and one woman got shot through the neck, and they said they was going to take her to the hospital and going to take these women along with her as they went. They carried us and locked us up, and I guess around 1:30 the jailer come around—

Mr. Cooper (interposing:) In the sorning?

Mr. Hawkins: About 1:30 in the morning. He came

around and I had about \$47.50 on me--

Hr. Cooper (interposing:)? You had \$47.50 in
your pocket?

Mr. Heavins: Yes, s'r; and he dome around and said he knew me, and he said "Hawkins, I tell you what I'll do; I'll let you out of this thing for about \$11.50.-- fine you \$11.50." I says "what for? I haven't done anything." "well", he says "if you ain,t done nothing, he'll give you your money back." So one of these fellows lecked \$5 of having his, and I let him have \$5, and another fifty cents, which made the \$16.50 of my money, and he gives me the remaining part of it back. So they just taken that money off of me. I hadn't done

mthing-- run through the weeds like a rabbit-- hadn't done nothing. Then they set my house after and burned up every rag I had, while we was down to the police station.

Mr. Cooper: While you were down at the police station they set fire to your house and burned up every rag you had?

Wr Hawkins: Yes, sir; I had furniture in there.

good stuff I had bought. Some fellows went away and I

bought some stuff they had. I got it chear and I bought it.

Mr. Cooper: You had \$47.50 in money in your pocket?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir; I just got paid that day

and I had had some money.

Mr. Cooper: And when you got down to the station about 11:30, they kept you there till half past one o'clock in the morning?

Mr. Heavins: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And then this failer or somebody came in there and found you had the money. How did he Pros you had the money?

Mr. Hawkins: They searched us before they looked us up. They searched everybody.

Mr. Cooper: He searched everybody, and he searched you and bnew when he put you in there that you had this money?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

"r. Cooper: So he care in to see you about half

past one in the morning?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir; the first one he come to.
He didn't go to these other fellows.

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Mr. Cooper: Who was he, who did that?

Mr. Hawkins: The night jailer. I don't know who he was at that time-- the fellow in the relice station.

Yr. Cooper: Sould you know him if you saw him?

Mr. Hawkins: I would know his face; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And he took \$11.50 of your soney?

Mr. Hawkins: \$16.50.

Mr. Cooper: But \$11.50 for you and \$5 for some one else?

vr. Hawkins: I raid it on another fellow. He didn't have quite enough to rake "11.50, and I give him "5; and another boy had just eleven dollars and a half and he told me to lend this boy fifty cents, and let him keep the fifty cents because he might need it. (Laughter)

Mr. Cooper: Hos was that now?

Mr. Haskins: He had fil.50 exactly, and he told me to let him beep helf a dollar and let him have one of my helf dollars, because he might need helf a dollar (laughter).

Mr. Cooper: So they got out of you \$16.50?

Mr. Maskins: Ves, sir.

Mr. Goo; er: \$1..50 out of another man?

Mr. Hawkins: He had 77, or something, and 7 lent him 5 out of my money.

Mr. Cooper: But he got \$16.50 out of you, and \$7 out of the other one?

Mr. Harkins: 57 out of another boy, Tharlie White, and Johnny White 511.

Wr. Cooper: He said this other fellow had 511.50, and he might need fifty cents?

Mr. Heavins: Yes, sir.

" "r. Coorer: He might have use for it?

Mr. Hawkins: Carfare, I guess. I know he ween't going to stay there. They left that same night, both of them toys.

Mr. Cooper: And you have never had your money returned to you?

Mr. Hawkins; No, sir.

Ur. Cooper: They got \$33.50 from you three men allowers guilty absolutely of no offense.

Mr. Hawkins: No charge at all.

Mr. Cooper: That can would be a disgrace to such a crosd as Jesse Jeres used to lead. They had some courage. That can was not only probled but he was cowardly. You never went before any court to be tried?

Mr. Hawkins: No; I never heard nothing about it.

Mr. Cooper: You have never been arrested at all, except that they took you down there for safety and robbed you?

"r. Hawking: Yes, sir; they took us for safety. I wented to know her come he take the money, and he said

\*Well, if you don't have no trial I'll give it back to you", and I said "There ain't nothing to have a trial for."

Mr. Cooper: He said if you didn't have a trial he would give it back to you?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That was the night of the second and third of July?

Mr. Hawkins: That was the night, yes, Monday night.

Mr. Johnson: The night of the big riot?

Yr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

"r. Cooper: It was really Tuesday norming about half past one?

Yr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: In the night?

Mr. Hawkins: He said that night, now eight dollars would be for the fine and four dollars or two dollars, or something, for the justice of the reace-- I forget-- and the costs of the court. He figured it up #11.50.

Mr. Johnson: Did he say what you were going to be fined four dollars and costs for?

Mr. Hawkins: No, sir. I asked for the charge and he never told me at all.

yr. Johnson: well, the offense was having money on your person, wasn't it? (Laughter)

Mr. Hambins: I guess that was the charge, because I had money.

Mr. Raker: How did the other four get out?

Mr. Hawkins: They never got out till the next day.

They didn't have no money, they didn't. They didn't see them. They let them out the next day, that same day, you know. This was in the morning at 1:30 when they left me out, and that was the same day they got out later:

Mr. Johnson: They let them go without the payment of any fine?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir; about three o'clock that day. That was in the normine at 1:30 that he come to the cell where I was at.

Mr. Raker: Then did he let the other fellows out?

Mr. Hawkins: About three o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Cooper: And they never paid anything?

Mr. Hawkins: No, sir; they never paid a nickel; because they never had anything.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know the fellow that you let have the five dollars?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir; he is a friend of mine; he's gone.

Mr. Cooper: Po you know what his name was?

Mr. Hawkins: Charlie white.

Mr. Cooper: The is the one that paid the 711?

Mr. Hawkins: His brother, Johnny white.

Mr. Cooper: -hat has become of Charlie and Johnnyl

Mr. Haskins: They left that same night and went to Mississippi/, where they came from.

"Ir. Cooper: There did you work?

Mr. Hawkins: I worked at the Phelan Paint Company.

I worked there three years. I worked in a private
family before that.

Yr. Cooper: How long did you work for the paint company?

. Mr. Hawkins: About two years.

Mr. Cooper: You were working for them at the time of the riot?

Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir.

Vr: Cooper: And this money that you had in your pocket was some of your wages?

Vr. Hawkins: Yes, sir. I made \$25 a week, and I drew that \$25, and I had some money, some little bills
I had collected-- loaned out a little soney-- some bills
I had collected-- and I had it all that night, that evening.

Mr. Cooper: There do you work now?

Was going to try to work over here, but I had some furniture burned up over here, and I ment to work a couple of different places and the fellow garnisheed me on the furniture that got burned, and I don't like to work and get garnisheed for furniture that got burned up and don't do me no good; and I told him if he would give me a chance I would pay it as soon as I worked and made some money and got some clothes. Everything I had was burned up. I was about naved, and I had to by some clothes and do the best I could. Of sturse I had to wear clothes backwards and forwards, and every time I get a job they garnished me.

I was sick about a month, and since I got up I haven't been doing much now.

Mr. Raker: Tho is this can garnisheeing you?

Tr. Hawkins: The empire Furniture Company.

yr. Raker: A leading business house here in East St. Legis?

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ir. Hawkins: Yes, sir; got a furniture store down here on Collinsville Avenue, about 48, I think, is the number, Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Raker: Was this man in police uniform that came in and got this soner from you that night?

ergeant, a little low fellow, there at night. He must have been the night desk sergeant.

Tr. Johnson: Pid he have any beard?

Mr. Hawkins: No, sir; clean face.

Mr. Cooper: mas he tall or short?

Tr. Haskins: Short.

fr. Raker; Have you seen him since this time?

Ir. Heavins: No, sir; I haven t been back over there.

The maker: There there any other men in fail except you setten ren?

The Hawkins: Yes, sir; they had a whole lot of them, white Ferlows, in there.

Tr. Reker: And orlored too?

Tr. Hankins: They had some hold-over colored where

the offosite side of me, in another cell, and me and a couple rose of the fellows was in one cell, and three hold-overs I think that had been there three or four days.

Mr. Johnson: That do you neem by "hold-overs"?

Mr. Havkins: Fellows that had been in there three or four days prior to the riot. They did scrething else.

I don't know what they had been doing, but they were going to take then to Felleville, I guess. Fo he core around and allistered this to be, you know, and then went around and told them other boys.

Mr. Johnson: Who did?

Yr. Hawkins: That night jailer.

Mr. Reker: He care around and whispered that to you?

You Hastins: You the come around and this pered that to te, and then told the other fellows, Mind of side talk, you had the didn't want anybody to near it. I had the money; that was the resent.

"r. Gooper: You say no Ahispered to you?

"r. Herrins: Yes, him: of side talked-- didn't want anyhody to hear it. He got to talking about soney and didn't east anylody to hear it.

Mr. Raker: Ther did you first tell this story to?
Mr. Rawkins: I told lots of the observed recycle. I never told of white people about it.

Mr. Conjer: de this ne about it about maif an inverse,

The Mostine: I stented to go in after it two or

three times, but thought he night look me up. It was mine; I hadn't done nothing.

Tr. Raker: I am askine you now why you didn't tell any of the shout te reorde about it until you talk one of the Committee today?

Wr. Haskins: Tell, I thought this was the fest.

place to tell it. I told it in Felleville, at the investigation they had up there. I was up there on the riot
investigation. I told then up there.

Mr. Raker: pefore the grand jury?

Mr. Haskins: Yes, sir; before the grand jury. I never heard no none about it.

Mr. Referre How lorg ago was that; about two months ago?

Hr. Restino: That was about the months ago; a month or three weeks-- something about that. You know then the investigation was gring on up there, justing out indictments.

Mr. Raher: Did you tel the gtate's Attorney?

Mr. Hawkins: He was present in the house.

Mr. Beker: Then you told it?

Mr. Haw The: Yes, sir.

Mr. Paker: If i he ask you-- the State's Attorney's name is what?

Mr. Ha Mins: Schaumleffel.

Mr. Raker: Did Mr. Collaumleffel or anyone else ask you to identify this policy orficer?

Mr. Eswhile: No, sir. Mr. Schaumleffel masn't thera. Mr. Erundage and glastioning ad, the Attorior Ceneral

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Mr. Raker: Do you know whether this policeman, or this man, the night watch, has been arrested since that time, or indicted for anything --- any other thing?

"r. Hawkins: No, sir; I didn't really know his name. I had seen his face, but I didn't know his name.

Mr. Faher: You had seen his face before that?

Mr. Faher: You had seen his face before that?

Mr. Faher: You had seen his face before that?

City Hall, I would see his in there. The office is

right on the street, of the police station, and you could see in the window as you passed by.

Mr. Raker: You say you saw the soldiers and the mot shooting at your place?

Yr. Heavins: It the house we was in. The bullets out through the house like it was paper, all the walls.

Mr. Raker: was acyone lift in the house?

Mr. Hawkins: A woman was shot in the neck, shot there, and it come out there some place (indicating).

Mr. Johnson: Dia it Will her?

Vr. Hawkins: No. sir.

Tr. Johnson: That was her mane?

Mr. Hawkins: Mosely, y think was her rane. I don't know her first name.

ir. Saker: Then you say afterwards the soldiers over a back and took you out of the fullding?

Mr. Hawkins: These was different soldiers that some out in south, some of the trucks from the jacking-nouses, Armour's, soldiers and fire department ten looking

to jut out fires. They had lanterns, but they had no hose wagens or nothing there. I had a gur, and they taken that, the soldiers did. I went to see the chief about my gun.

Mr. Johnson: A pistol or rifle?

Mr. Haakins: A listel, a 38 special, brand new.

Mr. Baker: Ind you never got that tack?

Mr. Faavins: No, sir.

Mr. Faber: Was got that?

"r. Hawkins: The soldiers taken it.

Tr. Baker: Did the other six colored men have any guns?

I'r. Hawkins: I don't know. I know one of the fellows had one, Charlie Thite. They got his too. I brought by you away from home with me maen I left home, and Charlie knownt his, and after we heald that conversation he skipped out and left. I socaled out the best way. One fellow had an old shot gun over there, and an old sival of a resolver. I don't know whether it we send good or not. They got shout five or six guns over there and taken them down.

Mr. Baker: The soluters, you think, took them?

Mr. Faskins: The soldiers took them.

Tr. Baker; — mere there any joulde of years with the soutiers?

In. Washins: No. sin; just the soldiers and the Sinesen.

The Color: That did you lave four our Cor chat eight?

Mr. Healins: I have time to by house. I here it

there all the time, and taken it with me when I left. I keep one in the house all the time when I stay there. I have been there all the time. It is my home.

Mr. Raker: It wasn't your louse that they got you in?

Mr. Eastines, To, str. I run. I beat it over

fir. Enter: For your gan and in the house, your can

Tr. Fastine: Tes, sir.

our. Raber: Tell, did you take your gun with you?

Tr. Backins: I carried the generate ne then I left.

Mr. Paker: That has you carriery the jun for?

tr. verkines - 7 cennied its with me. - Furnied to

Tr. Paker: For Mat rungose?

in, Harving: I sidn, t want notice to get it. I gail (18.50 For it. I wanted to Year it.

Thanks and Johnny Thise-- you say they went been couth?

Er. packing: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: When did they come up here?

Tr. Teuline: How long had they been here?

Mr. Foster: Yes.

To Booking: Blow three years.

Tr. Foster: And they sent away, we thack shere they want to had be safe? Here that their files, where they couldn't be bibled?

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Mr. Hawkins: Yes, sir. That's a quiet neighborhood. There never was no trouble out there.

Wr. Foster: How did they happen to come up kere, do you know?

Mr. Hawkins: No, sir; I think they just got out running around.

Mr. Foster: I ream how did they come up from the South to Rest St. Louis?

Yr. Harkins: well, we just left home-- just running around-- worked on railroads, first one place, then another, and finally worked on the F. & O., and that brought them here.

Mr. Foster: The brought them here?

Mr. Hawkins: I guess it was the transportation on the railroad. They worked on the railroad.

Mr. Foster: tell, the P. 3 O. Failroad don't run into the Scuth.

verights, I think, Tennessee. That was where they got to work with that company 2t, so they just come on up here.

Tr. Foster: Ild they say somebody got them to come up here?

Mr. Hankins: Mo, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You say stand aside.

Now do the organized labor people want to introduce somehody else? Mr. Verr: We would like to have Mr. Towers.

STATEMENT OF ALOIS TOWERS,

Belleville, Illinois.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Towers, give the stenographer your name.

Yr. Towers: Alois Towers, Ynoun as "Al" Towers.

Mr. Johnson: The place of your residence and occupation?

Mr. Towers: Pelleville, Jllinois; labor representative in Pelleville.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Towers, you have heard much of the investigation that has been going on before this Committee, and you know the trend of it and the natural facts that the Committee is undertaking to ascertain; and because of that I ask you in your own say to go shead and state what you may know relative to the riots or anything that led up to it.

"r. Towers: Tell, "r. Chairman, I am going to attempt to be trief.

Mr. Johnson: That is very desirable.

Tr. Towers: I am going to try to say what little I can as briefly as possible.

That I would like to call the attention of the Cormittee to is the fact that the State Council of Defense was down here and investigated this rict shortly after the rict on the 28th of May.

Mr. Johnson: They connenced their Learings on the 7th of June?

Mr. Towers: About that time; I think the record will show the date.

That I wanted to point out was that the labor men of Best St. Louis, who had shortly after the first riot been accused throughout the nation as being responsible for this riot— I want to show that those people, of which I ar a merter of the central body in East. St. Louis, being a fraternal d-legate from Felleville to this body, is the reason I am in reduced in the East St. Louis movement—I want to show that they were the people that were active in trying to do semething to head off any future trouble; to do the best that they felt could be done in the best interests of the people of this country.

Mr. Johnson: You say "to prevent for me trouble."
You mear future dating from what date?

Yr. Towers: From the time of the way riot. If you will allow me to reed just a few notes in here--

Mr. Johnson (interposing:) You say "in here". You mean in the report?

Mr. Towers: The report of the State Council of Defense-- just a few lines here and there.

Mr. Johnson: Please bear in mind that in making your statements let them be so that those who will read what you say will understand it, and it will not be understood alone by us who are here.

Mr. Towers: All right; yes, sir.

Mr. Paker: Is this the report of the State Council of Defense (indicating)?

Mr. Towers: Yes, sir. I just want to read a statement here. I will state that the Council was represented
here by one McDonald. I think his name is William McDonald,
of the firm of attorneys of Merr and McDonald. Mr. McDonald was formerly a Congressman, or was active in some
Congressional Committee in Michigan, I think, some time
back. You possibly know who he is. I make that for the
benefit of the Committee, so they will know the McDonald
that I refer to. He represented the state Council of
Defense in this investigation in East St. Louis.

In the first paragraph of the report it mentions that the Payor -- "from the Vayor of East St. Louis and from the president and secretary of the central trades and labor union of that city." It mentions that telegrams were received from those parties, showing that the first efforts to do anything in a substantial way started from the laboring recile of this community.

Mr. Johnson: Then you say "laboring people", you mean organized labor people?

Mr. Towers: when I say -- I want to say, Mr. Chairman before going any further, that is just exactly what I want this corrittee to understand, and the records to mean, that when I speak of laboring records I speak in the interests of the organized laboring people -- that is, as pertaining to this natter here. I would like to say scrathing

later generally on the general abuses of labor, organized and unorganized.

Mr. Poster: You mean to say that no action was taken here looking to an investigation of conditions until the representatives of labor telegraphed to the State Council of Defense?

Mr. Towers: Absolutely. The labor boys of East
St. Louis were the first ones that made an effort in any
direction to bring about anything that might appear or
tring about any substantial relief of the terrible situation that existed in East St. Louis, and that was in the
air at that time.

Mr. Raker: And this, of course, was before the rict of July 2nd, the big one?

Mr. Towers: Yes, exactly: This was in the early part of June.

Defense it says here: "The trades union government, through the president and secretary of the trades council, tendered their services to the committee. Stenographic notes were taken, and the evidence, all of which was taken under oath, and which is hereby submitted in full"-- that is the evidence that I brought down, the original transcript of the State Council of Defense: I have let the Committee have that. They have had it in their hands over a neek now. I want to refer to that later on, if the Committee will allow it.

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One part in the report I can briefly state to you.

The State Council of Defense has sub-committees. A subcommittee of the State Council of Defense was down here,
known as the Labor Committee. They took their report and
findings back to the full committee of the State Council of
Defense, and later the full Council endorseding or
approved their report. The one fact that I want to call
your attention to is this, that one J. Ogden armour is
a member of the State Council of Defense and approved that
report signed by the sub-committee of the State Council
of Defense. He also, I think, is interested in one of
these packing plants in National City-- at least, in the
Armour Packing plant here, I think.

It says in one part of the report here:

"The colored men, tik large numbers of whom had been induced there, and who could find no jobs, in their desparate need were preventing desirable improvements being made by labor, and threatening the existing standards of labor, and white men were resenting it. These facts were set forth in the Mayor's first message to the chairman of the Council."

Now, Mr. Chairman, here is one more note I sould like to read:

"The evidence warrants the conclusion that there was an extensive campaign to induce negroes in great numbers to come to East St. Louis. Such campaign has required considerable financing, and its backers took pains to be unknown. Official recognition of these circumstances

Tas taken in a resolution introduced to the Charber of Commerce by Maurice V. Joyce, its vice-president, ten days before the riot occurred—(Exhibit B, page 5). The resolution sets forth the things here related, and urges that steps be taken to discontinue the practice and to employ every legitimate means to prevent the influx of negroes into East St. Louis, and thereby take every precaution against crime, riot and disorder generally. The resolution was laid upon the table by the directions of the Chamber of Commerce, pending the forwarding to every member of a copy.

"The Charber of Commerce of East St. Louis has within its merbership the most influential and most important, industrially, of its citizenship. This resolution was never acted upon. Its non-action at a time when the very atmosphere was charged with tense feeling is in line with the anonymous character of the influences bringing the extraordinary influx of negroes into East St. Louis."

Fow, Mr. Chairman, I made some notes in an effort to be brief in this matter.

I make the charge, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, that the big interests, the big employing interests, of East St. Louis, were responsible for the great influx of negroes into this territory, and I believe the great influx of negroes was directly responsible for the rict that followed. It brought about a general resentment in the community. I believe that 90 per cent of the entire

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community resented the changes that were brought about suddenly by the great influx of negroes. One could pass on the street here, if he had only been here a day or so, and he would feel in the atmosphere that there was something wrong. On the street corners you could catch the things that was looming up. Complaints generally were being made; people seemed to be rowerless as to what to do. The question has been asked on the streets, you would hear prominent citizens discussing it; you would hear working men talking of it-- what could be done to stor the negroes from coming in here. It was pointed out that -- in conversations that I had overheard -- that there was no law that could stop the people from coming here, but the people were becoming desperate and the general charges were against the big influences, the big employing interests in Rast St. Louis, as being responsible for bringing in the negroes. When I say this, I say it without malice.

years, I would like to point out a few conditions that existed here, that I believe if I can explain it as it should
be explained, that anyone will agree that those parties who
were the beneficiaries of this influx, were the responsible
parties for the influx. It has been pointed out here
this wave of crime, and it is not necessary to go into it.

I live within nine riles of this territory. I have
seen this feeling brewing for years. One crime that was
committed here back about six years ago, I think was the

time that you might go back to, to reach the real feeling that commenced to develop against the negroes. A street car man, a conductor, late at night, on the end of one of these local lines here, was held up, rotbed and murdered by a negro hold-up man. He was taken to Felleville, tried-

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:) The negro was arrested?

Mr. Towers: He was arrested, taken to Belleville,

tried and later hung. There was considerable discussion

at that time as to whether the negro would ever hang or

not, and there was a terrible feeling in the air over that

particular murder. It was a most cold-blooded murder. I

think both the motorman and the conductor were involved.

The motorman, if I remember correctly—I can,t give the

details, but the motorman attempted to go to the rescue of

the conductor, and I believe he was also shot, or it may

have been the motorman that was killed. There was one of

the crew murdered. Anyway, that brought about a storm at

that time, and I don't think it would have taken much at

that time to bring about a race riot.

I would like to go back a little further and show the encouragement that was offered to negroes. I have heard some statements here as to big wages that I don't think would have the effect in tringing these xxx negroes into this community at this time, near so much so as it would have had in the past. I worked for the Missouri, Malleable Iron works some 21 years ago as a moulder. That

753 is my trade. I started there, the first time I ever entered a foundry.

There were then at that shop at that time about 40 per cent of the labor were negroes. The negro was favored even at that time.

Mr. Johnson: How long ago was that?

Mr. Towers: 21 years ago. The packing plants here in East at. Louis at that time employed a few negroes. There seemed to be an incentive at that time even to encourage the negro into East St. Louis. I will show you one reason for this encouragement.

In a maleable iron shop it isn't possible always to bring the heatydown in the prescribed time, which would be 4:30 in the evening, or 5 o'clock, and sometimes the heats run late.

Mr. Johnson: The heats are the mixture of different things that you put into the furnace to melt?

Mr. Towers: Yes, the metal, and when it gets ready to be cast, it is taken out of the furnace to be cast, and scmetimes it is not possible—at least it wasn,t at that time, and unless they have developed more modern methods at this time. Sometimes the heats wouldn't come down until 11 or 12 c'clock at night. The superintendent—I will mention his name, his last name—I don't know whether he is living or whether he is dead, or where he is, at this time—the superintendent's name was Tigert. Tigert encouraged the negroes in this way—I didn't see this; this was shortly after I had been there, but I could name the party that

give me this story and has given it to me on half a dozen different occasions, long before this riot, and even recently we have talked about. He would encourage crap games in the shop; buy bottles of beer for the negro women that came to the shop and brought lunches or would gather around the shop in the evening. At that time they weren t as strict about visitors coming into the shop as they are today. If a white men care into the shop the foreman—"Big Ed", they called him; I forget his name—Tigert, would whistle between his fingers and all the foremen would come to Tigert's rescue and order this white men to leave the shop. They would allow no white visitors in there, but anegro would come in there and stand around all day.

I merely mention that to show you at that time there was encouragement and great encouragement to the negro, to the discouragement of the white man, as long as 21 years, 1906, the year of the cyclone. The wages--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:) 1896, you mean?

Mr. Towers: 1896; yes, sir. The wages at that

time, I think, for corron labor to the best of my memory—

were about \$\frac{2}{.50}\$ to \$\frac{2}{3}.60\$ a day, a much greater wage and

a greater incentive to bring negroes from the South at

that time than the 17-1/2 certs an hour of recent times

aculd be to bring the negro in this age. What I mean to

infer is that \$1.60\$ and \$1.50 a day 21 years ago was a

much greater wage and would be a greater incentive to

attract the negro to a locality than the smalls wage that has existed in East St. Louis up to recent times, within the last two years.

I want to say this, that there seemed to be a general conspiracy on the part of the big employers to hold down labor, to exploit labor, most cruelly. Labor has been exploited—I mean unorganized labor. Organized labor in Bast St. Louis consists of mostly the crafts. They have pretty fair conditions. They are able to take care of themselves. The non-skilled that are organized in Bast St. Louis are few. They would constitute at the present time the track workers, working for the street car company in Bast St. Louis, the conductors and motormen, which I guess would be termed semi-skilled, and the teamsters. The teamsters, I understand, has some 75 or 80 negroes in their organization. But they have, I think, all-told, about 400 members, but that is the few organizations of unskilled labor in Bast St. Louis.

Prior to two years ago the general wage conditions of low, correct labor -- I refer to the period of 1913, 1914 and 1915, or before the boom came -- the wages of common labor in Rast St. Louis was 17-1/2 cents an hourup to 20 cents an hour, and there seemed to be a general conspiracy on the part of the employers that it shouldn't go beyond that point. They gave no encouragement to permanency of labor. They seemed to want at all times an element that would work a few days in this plant, be without work and shoved over into another plant -- in other words, keep them

chasing about.

In the depressed period that I speak of, most cruel conditions existed in this locality. It may have existed in other localities, and I have read that it had in some big centers like Chicago, especially in 1913. But here a most cruel condition existed. With that small wage of \$1.75 a day, great hordes of workers would stand at the gates of all these plants here, begging and waiting for a day's work. It is reported that there was discrimination even at that time; that the negro was chosen and the white worker left out. Of course that condition prevailed generally in 1913 and 1914 through the hard times, but I don't believe anywhere was it so cruel as it was in East St. Louis, at these big plants. There were hundreds of men in each plant, and each morning they would come there illy clad, many of ther, no doubt, without anything to eat in the morning, hoping for a chance to make \$1.75 a day. That was the prevailing wages at that time. They were not only exploited by the employers, who seemed wholly indifferent to the welfare of this community; they were also exploited by the landlords. I have heard real estate men on the street corners in conversation with each other speak of the money that there was in shacks in Rast St. Louis. And I don't believe you will find another condition enywhere in the country, not even in South Chicago, that will compare with East St. Louis for the shacks that exists they do here.

Real estate men would point out in conversation with each other that the only houses that there was any money in

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in East St. Louis was the sharps, the cheap built shacks that were built afew years back at possibly a cost of \$700 to \$1,000; that there was ten to twenty and twenty-five per cent interest to be made in those houses through rentals. A better class house wouldn't pay for itself in East St. Louis. Those were common discussions.

That was the condition of exploitation that resulted from the poor housing.

There was another element that I consider has been a big factor in the severe exploitation, and has been a big factor in keeping politics in a rotten condition, being partially—being a power that partially or nearly wholly controlled the political situation, and that has been the low salcon element. And I say that without any prejudice against the liquor question. But it seems that they were intrenched and were able to take hold and control all political issues, or most all political issues. That has been the condition of exploitation, and it has been most cruel in this locality.

Since the number of the street car man about six years ago there has been a considerable feeling against the negro in Wast St. Louis. It gree stronger all the time.

The big employers seemed to encourage the negroes by discriminating against the whites. Being a labor man, I suppose that many laboring men will tell me things in confidence that they wouldn't tell other people. I have been

told in confidence, in almost tears, where men had worked at some of these plants and had went back for jobs and were coldly turned away, and negroes were given preference on the job.

About the time the nation commenced to boom after the war-- getting European contracts-- many of the workers left here because they could get better conditions elsewhere. I have heard this community compared with the South. I guess there is a better wage condition here than in the South, but the difference between here and the South wouldn't be any greater than the poor wage conditions that existed here as compared with some other localities where I would term the best workers have went from East St. Louis-- that is, the best white workers. Many of them left, and later many of them were literally driven out. This brought about agreat resentment among the people generally in East St. Louis.

when you speak of East St. Louis I guess you would have to term 90 per cent of the population as working people. The ten per cent, I presume, or possibly fifteen per cent, would the small business men, the employers. A few of them live here. Most of them are non-residents.

This is a very r'ch county, second in wealth and population in the State of Illinois, the great State of Illinois, second only to Cook County—at least, that is the way it is rated. There is sometimes a question as to whether it is shead of Peor'a but St. Clair County rates itself as the second county. It has right across the river here a

big city from which people can come over here. Pollowing the closing, the Sunday closing law in St. Louis, and the fight made on the gambling conditions, brought great hordes of the rougher element into East St. Louis on Sundays, before they had the Sunday closing here. It developed practically all the gambling was over here that had existed in St. Louis and was run out of there. It has been a question here for five or six years—the garbling issue has been a big issue. One administration would make a bluff to overcome the evils; another administration would come in with a bluff and a flutter, but gambling continued to flourish, and one can only make their own deductions as to a locality like this that is so close to a big town like St. Louis—being a wealthy county, it is agreed industrial center—to appreciate conditions that really existed.

Just to put your hands on them, but I mention all these things to show that this feeling has been developing for years. The negro has been encouraged to come to Mast St. Louis, especially, for years. The powers that be-- I would speak of those who would be connected at the present time with the Charber of Commerce. They have been hard to follow in the past, and I say this with no malice. They have continually changed their names. To my knowledge-- well, not to my direct knowledge, but from hearsay, within the last two or three years their names have run like this: Association of Cormerce, Commercial Club, Charber of Commerce-- I think that is still in existence. The other two I don't think are

in existence any longer. The last was-- the last report was the Committee of One Hundrad.

Now touching on this report of the State Council of

Defense again, you will find in there a resolution introduced,

or a statement—

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) Just a moment there. Remember, you are going to talk about the Council of Defense.

That do you know about the personnel, the actual membership of the Charber of Courerce?

Mr. Towers: I den't- I am not acquainted with them, Mr. Cooper, other than to know that their membership is made up of the big interests of East St. Louis, or their representatives, their attorneys, superintendents. I don't mean exactly official heads, because I don't think there is many of the real official heads of the employing interests of East St. Louis who really live in East St. Louis. The packing interests, I think, some of them live in Chicago. The big official heads of the street car companies, of which there are six or seven, I am told--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) You mean by official, the financial head?

Vr. Towers: Yes-- in Philadelphia. The superintentents, managers-- they are the official heads locally, but the real heads are all non-residents, and the work of these plants is carried on through their sub official heads, as I would term their managers and general superintendents; and those people, to the best of my knowledge, compose the

commercial club or the charber of commerce at the present time.

Mr. Foss: Aren't any of the local merchants members of the chamber of commerce?

Mr. Towers: Well, that I couldn't say. I would 757 judge they should be. I believe in most localities the leading merchants, at least, are generally members of the commercial clubs or charbers of commerce.

Mr. Cooper: What do you know about National City? Mr. Towers: National City -- I have heard for years of Mational City as being the richest city in the world of its size. I have no idea of the value of the city. I have learned -- I have heard, not learned it positively --I have heard through statements here, testimony, and I heard prior to hearing this testimony, some things that I was surprised at. For instance, that National City is entirely independent and separate from East St. Louis. I had known that for a long time, but that they got their fire and water protection from Rast St. Louis. And I have heard it stated that they paid no taxes to Rest St. Louis. I don't know how true that is. Those are statements that I have heard, especially since the riots, but I know that they are a city of big interests practically with a fence around. It has been generally known for years that the fellow that don't work in National City has no business there, and it is best for him to stay away from there. That is the condition with reference to "ational City as I have heard it.

Mr. Foss: Now you have made the statement that these big interests are responsible for bringing colored people in here. Have you got any real facts; have you got any evidence to prove that?

Mr. Towers: Well now, you have asked me a question that I will have to say I have no real facts on. If I made the direct charge, you might term it a little strong.

Mr. Foss: where do you get your information, from the newspapers or what?

Mr. Towers: Why, from the general condition that exists. One is bound to—well, I believe that 90 per cent of the people of East St. Louis believe exactly just as I have said, that the big interests have actually no interests in East St. Louis other than to exploit it, and that they are responsible for the great influx of negroes, and the great influx of negroes is the cause of resentment developing that has brought about a feeling that was bound to develop into a riot. I would change that somewhat. I would qualify it this way: It brought about a feeling that could only be handled two says. One was by intelligent effort on the part of the best citizens of the community, and the other would be the brute method, as was used here in East St. Louis.

Mr. Foss: Do you know of anylody that has got any facts on the proposition?

Mr. Towers: There is testimony, sporm statements, in the report of the State Council of Defense, I would like to read just a few notes later on -- by reorie who swore that

agents induced them to come up here to Bast St. Louis; that they were induced by a special advertising campaign from the South to come up here to Rest St. Louis. At least one big manufacturer admitted here that he had advertised extensively through the South. The fact remains that they were the beneficiaries of the negroes coming here, and were being able to maintain a condition in a most abnormal time when there sas a great demand for labor all over the country, they succeeded in maintaining a condition here during a period of that kind, similar to the conditions that prevailed during the depressed period. In other words, they were able to keep great hordes of labor at their gates all the time, and I can't realize that anyone else could be responsible in so far as East St. Louis is concerned for the influx of negroes. I do believe that the Manufacturers' Association as a whole are responsible for a great influx of negroes from the South up through north of the Ohio River, because this negro influx has not only been in East St. Louis; it has been in some of the towns in the East, and I have min seen references # it for over ayear. I know they have been coming into Bast St. Louis for over two years.

You asked me if I have any direct evidence. I will state I have two direct instances that come to my mind at this moment.

Mr. Foss: I wish you would mention them.

Mr. Towers: One direct instance is where a manager-at least T consider it direct-- the general superintendent

of one of the street railway companies here, one T. C. Meyers, called me up over the telephone, complaining about a scarcity of labor on his tracks and told me in a way in which I felt that he had at his corrand—he would have no trouble in getting negro labor; that he could get all the negroes he wanted, and from the way he said it, and the tone of voice in which he said it, I judged that he could gut his hand on hundreds of negroes any moment. That I consider direct.

The Sunday following the riot--

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) The July 2nd riot?

Mr. Towers: Yes, July 2nd, the big riot—a neighbor of mine—in fact, a brother—in—lew of mine—had been down to a miners' meeting in a small town. He brought this report to me— the Committee can have his name if they wish it. His name is Eugene Lapier. He brought the report that while coming back from this little town after this meeting he seen in the coach that he was in some half a dozen negroes with little grips, and he was shocked at the riot in East St. Louis, and was so much interested in the welfare of those poor fellows that he was afraid that they might come into East St. Louis and get in bad, or r m into riotous conditions, or suffer because they happened to be here. He approximed them and asked them if they were headed for East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson: -here did this take place?

Mr. Towers: The Sunday following the riot.

in Johason: There?

Mr. Towers: On one of the incoming roads. I think it must have been the J. C. It may have been one of the other rads. There are three of these roads come through Belleville,

the Souther, the L. & M. and the J. C. IB approached these colored men, of which he said there were six, and asked them where they were going. They said Rast St. Louis. He said Did you hear about the trouble in East St. Louis?" They said "We have heard a little about the trouble. going on down there?" He said "Fell, they had a riot down there and the colored people have suffered severely. stop in said "I would advise you at this time at least not to garage Rast St. Louis; to go on to the next station or go to St. Louis. He did that in the interest of the negroes. Then he questioned as to why they came up here. They told him that the South was full of agents urging negroes to come to Bast St. Louis, as there was lots of work here, and all they had to do was to step off the train to get a job.

There is something else direct that I have. During the month of September I was in Rochester, Wew York. I had occasion to talk with an organization of our organization. He asked he about the East St. Louis race riots and about the influx of negroes. I asked him shat he knew about them taking negroes out of the South. He says that it was almost a riotous condition down in the South between the watchful employers trying to prevent the negroes from being taken out, and trying to get hold of the age to who were trying to induce them to leave the South. I asked him if the employers down there wouldn't pay more money if the negroes would stay there. He said he believed the time is here now when Southern conditions are going to be changed with reference to negro

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ray in all the South, and the pay generally in the South, as there was a disposition upon the part of the negroes, especially as it pertains to our organization, the moulders! craft, to join the organization and attempt to better his wage condition in the South. He says that the agents have teen watched, especially since the riot in Rast St. Louis. They have been watched so closely, and shortly prior to that time they were watched so closely that they couldn't do their work there right. They would get hold of some prominent negro and would pay him so much a head to round ar a dozen or more negroes and start them in this direction. That was the method that the agent used down South, and after a time it became such that they had to do it quietly, as the different interests in the couth were taking such opposition to the negroes being taken out that the agent would not dars to bring his peopele out openly.

Now those are the three direct issues that I have in mind that leads to make the charge that I did, Mr. Poss.

Mr. Foss: Fell, you state about Rochester, there ass a great influx of negroes there?

Tr. Towers: At Rochester?

Mr. Foss: Yes. Didn't you say that?

Mr. Towers: No; I said I was at Rochester in the month of centenber, and while there had occasion to talk with an organizer from the South' of our organization, who is familiar with the couth and the conditions of the negroes

in the south.

Mr. Foss: Fell, had there been more or less of a general condition all through the large cities of the north?

There had been a great influx of negroes from the South?

Mr. Towers: Not to the extent that it has in this locality, from what I can gather. Now last fall the t. Louis rapers -- the/newspapers -- stated that from three to five thousand had come into East St. Louis just prior to the election, or about last August- scmewhere in that time-a few weeks before election. I think I seem one paper where it gave the figures three thousand. The other paper gave it 5,000. About that time it was claimed that there was some 15,000 that had been taken into Chicago for political purposes. Now that is all the references that I have seen in the daily press. In the American Federation of Labor weavly ness letter I had seen reference to one or two towns in which employers were strenucusly complaining about a shortage of lator, and tringing about an influx into those trans. I believe one was Toledo. And those journals pointed out. that there wasn't a shortage of labor, but there was a very small wage condition in those localities.

Mr. Foss: Is there a foreign born element here in Rest St. Louis?

Mr. Towers: If you will allow me to go tack again, I have lived in this community, St. Louis and this County, all my life. I have been through here for thirty years. Prior to, say 20 years ago, most of the mining in this locality was corried on by foreigners from Great Pritain, that is, English,

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Felsh, Scotch and Irish. The packing house work at that time was mostly done by Irish and English. The earlier foreigners were that type of people. I have heard that even the packing houses at that time the workers had a good wage condition; that they had as much as five dollars a day even around the 1900 reriod. There was then a great influx of . negroes into Rast St. Louis. The early Irish and English settlers were then forced out of the packing houses. I don't say they were forced out of the rines. Many of them went to new fields, I guess better fields, in the earlier days, but the facts are that rost of these outlying localities were filled with foreigners in the mines. Of course it aidn't effect the riners, because they at that time had established their organization and were able to maintain their conditions. But that is the condition that has existed. The early reople of this county or this locality generally were-- or the early people that mare from the Fritish Isles, and one little locality out here in the tottoms known as French Village, which were French, as well as early French settlers of St. Louis. Those people who worked in this locality were forced out later by a class of foreigners most y from Southern Europe, I think. I myself at the Valeable seen them try to introd se Turkish and Armenian labor 31 years ago, and I don't know how successful they were, because I left.

Yr. Foss: In resent years, which the last five or six rears, what here they done?

Mr. Towers: Tithin the last five or six years, many of those foreigners that came in at that time have developed into skilful morbers, or at least a good grade of common labor, and have been able to find work in localities that paid much better wages than East St. Louis. I think many of them have drifted away. I think rany of them were forced out. Is they become more shilful, naturally they felt they were antitled to more consideration. They were then amphas forced out as the employers here had no use for them. There was every reason to believe that in the last six years, especially in the last two years, that the employers were going to not only try, but succeeded, in forcing out the white corkers— that is, the common thite morbers— of East St. Louis.

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Mr. Foss: Don't you think that during the last two years, or three years, since this har has been on over in Durope, a great many of the foreign laborers have gone back?

ir. Towers: I don't think, Mr. Foss, that there has been but very few of the foreigners in this country that have actually went to Europe to engage in the var. I think there has been quite a shifting of labor to other localities, but it would only be of the recent foreigners, I believe, the very recent, those that possibly case in here a year before the war, that would have went back. I don't think this locality lost many foreigners that really sent to Europe to engage in the war, very few, if any.

Mr. Foss: That statement has been made, and I manted to get your view.

Mr. Towers: I think there have been less foreigners come into this country.

Yr. Foss: Yes, immigration has practically been shut off during this war, immigration into this country. We had a million or more coming in every year. Of course that has been shut off, so that the supply of common labor hasn, t been asgreat as it has been in previous years.

Mr. Towers: Not nearly so.

Mr. Foss: So that naturally would constitute a demand for labor, for common labor up here, which could only be supplied by negroes from the south.

Vr. Towers: Not necessarily. I believe in this great field here, all around here— this is all thickly populated territory— I believe that if this locality had kept pace with the ordinary locality, I think they would have been able to held the labor they had, which would have been able to take care, or rearly take care, of their moditions. The boom that we would have up here, in so far as industry is concerned, would apply to the South, and there would also be a demand for labor in the South, to the extent that they had carried on any industries shatever. I believe there would be a greater demand for cotton down there, a greater demand for anything that the South does or carries on— unless there were great hordes of labor that had been there for years and years with nothing to do.

Yr. Foss: Well, most of the common later here was colored labor, was it not?

Mr. Towers: Most of the common lator? Tel., I would

judge that 45 per cent of the lator in East St. Louis, common labor, is negroes at this time. I think that the great percentage of that has been put on within the last I know that the street car company put on a great many negroes in the strike of 1916. Practically all of their raintenance work was white men.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Towers, could you come back in the morning?

Mr. Toxers: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: The Committee will now adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(whereupon, at 5:05 o'clock p.m., the Committee edjourned until 10 o'clock a.m., Friday, , Movember 2, 1917.)