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VIII

Cont. St. Louis Riot Investigation

Monday Oct 29 - 1917

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1917.

The Committee met at ten thirty o'clock a.m., Honorable Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT C. B. FOX (Continued).

Mr. Foster: Now just finish from where you were Saturday.

Mr. Fox: Well, I was just going to say the strike occurred on Wednesday and by the following Saturday we had practically a full operating force, and from then until perhaps three weeks afterwards, when we had not only a full operating force but a full construction force as well, and we had practically no disturbance.

Mr. Foss: About how many went out on the strike?

Mr. Fox: It was pretty hard for us to keep our payroll. There were some 200 or 250 on the night the strike was called, and I judge there were somewhere between a 1000 and 1100 of them that didn't come back to work within the next few days.

Mr. Johnson: Give us the exact date when there were so many out?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't recall exactly the date it ended but some time in May. I think about the 15th of May there was an item in the paper saying the committee had called the strike off for patriotic reasons.

Mr. Cooper: You said some days you had a full complement of men?

Mr. Fox: I think about the 12th of May, about two weeks

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and a half after the strike.

Mr. Foss: You say 1000 or 1100 men went out. How did you fill those vacancies and with whom?

Mr. Fox: Well, there were a great number of men in the operating force that stayed. Practically the entire operating force engaged in operating the plant had no grievance of any kind and were anxious to stay, and a good many of them did stay. Most of those who were participators in the strike, and who were afraid to come in on account of the strike, and who failed to come in on account of the strike, were mechanics and helpers who were engaged in construction and reconstruction work, which was not essential to operation.

Mr. Cooper: You mean enlarging the plant?

Mr. Fox: Enlarging and rebuilding the plant. I think on the day following the strike we put an entire page ad in the East St. Louis Journal and the East St. Louis Mail.

There were two other papers here, I think, in which we put a full page ad, specifying the rates and hours that we paid our mechanics, helpers and laborers.

Mr. Johnson: The object of that was to get help?

Mr. Fox: The object of that was to set before the public what rate we did pay, as well as to get help, if the men wanted to come to work for us.

Mr. Johnson: The principal object was to give your own version of the affair?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; that was the principal object.

Mr. Foster: Were those men that replaced these that

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went out - were they white people or colored people?

Mr. Fox: The men that replaced them?

Mr. Foster: Yes,.

Mr. Fox: Well, since I have refreshed my memory, since I was here on the stand, with respect to the colored question, I find that on November the 8th, 1916, we had 280 colored men in our employ.

Mr. Johnson: When was that?

Mr. Fox: November 8, 1916.

Mr. Foss: 280 colored?

Mr. Fox: In December 1916, we had 410; in February, 1917, we had 470; on April 1st, 1917, we had 381.

Mr. Raker: How many in May?

Mr. Fox: Well, on account of the disturbed conditions, on account of the strike, I haven't any record until August 1st, when we had 364.

Mr. Raker: I know, but your disturbed conditions wouldn't change the record. You would have a record of employees, the number of colored people you had in May, wouldn't you?

Mr. Fox: Well, even back in the Fall we didn't keep any record of the distinction between white and colored and foreigners. We have had to go back over the record and take the names.

Mr. Cooper: How many did you have in August, ^{this year?} 1916?

Mr. Fox: 364; on October 1st, 350. The colored question didn't come up until the riots in May. We didn't pay any attention to them. There were a great many of them coming to our gates looking for employment, but the

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colored question, ^{as} ~~that~~ the race question didn't come up.

Mr. Foss: Now what was the reason for ^{the} increase from November 8, 208 to February 1917, 470, in the colored employees?

Mr. Fox: Well, the only reason I can account for is that a good many of these foreigners were going down east, as I told the state council of defense. They were paying more wages in Detroit and ^{Eastern} places, ~~the~~ in the steel mills, etc., ^{and} ~~that~~ these foreigners in a year or two can advance to mechanics men who can get higher pay - act as foremen - whereas the colored man practically is stationary - remains stationary as a laboring man. As a consequence the colored man, the poorer labor came in to fill the places that these foreigners had vacated.

Mr. Foster: Now these troops were located out close to your plant, do you know any reason why they were located out there?

Mr. Fox: Well, the troops, were over a mile from our plant.

Mr. Foster: None of them closer than a mile to your plant?

Mr. Fox: They were after the rioting.

Mr. Foster: I mean before the rioting?

Mr. Fox: Well, when they came here they were located between 18th and 14th Street, and our plant, our gate is at 32nd Street.

Mr. Cooper: So that these, what they call the Federalized Militia - when they were brought here they were not located

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close to your plant?

Mr. Fox: That is a distance of about a mile away. Of course a person who has never been out in that part of town thinks it is near the Aluminium Company; the same as some people who have never been in Granite City when the troops were located ⁱⁿ Madison, might think they were located in Granite City.

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Mr. Foster: Were they located near the street car property there, the barn, do you know?

Mr. Fox: Well, I was at the camp several times, and the street car barns are between 18th and 20th Streets.

Mr. Foster: Why were they located here at all?

Mr. Fox: I don't know. I didn't know the troops were here.

Mr. Foster: You haven't called for any troops to guard your plant on account of Government work that you might be doing.

Mr. Fox: Not that I definitely know, although I think there was some consultation with the War Department on account of the feeling with respect to German agitation, that industries essential to the war should have some sort of protection, and this movement grew until the demands were such, I believe, on the War Department that they thought the industries ought to take it upon themselves to protect themselves.

Mr. Foster: The War Department thought that?

Mr. Fox: Yes. And throughout the country I believe the War Department did, in a great many cases, send troops to protect the industries, essential to the country, but

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6 afterwards withdrew them just as they did on bridges here at St. Louis.

Mr. Foster: Now, your men went out on account of a change in the pay day, I understand it?

Mr. Fox: That was the first strike.

Mr. Foster: Then you went back to the pay day, did you?

Mr. Fox: No, I told the men that we would - we didn't really change the pay day at all. What I did was to set out a new scheme of paying, by which the man would be paid right on the job - their checks would be brought right to them.

Mr. Foster: Well now, but in order to get them back and settle the trouble you gave them an increase in wages?

Mr. Fox: Yes. That was the principal thing after they got out.

Mr. Foster: How did you happen to think of that, Mr. Fox?

Mr. Fox: To give them more wages?

Mr. Foster: Yes, if they weren't dissatisfied with their wages?

Mr. Fox: Well, now of course there was a good deal of labor agitation going on from last fall until late this spring, and this thing was just a match that touched off the entire agitation. But at the time, some two or three years ago, when I had reduced the hours of the mechanical force from ten to nine and one half, the committee had asked me if I wouldn't cut the hours to nine hours, and I told

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When it didn't seem to me we could do it under those conditions, but that we were always ready to readjust the conditions; and when I spoke to this committee about having indicated at previous times that when conditions changed we would change wages accordingly, one of the men, I think an electrician, said, "Well, you have been pretty slow about it." "Well," I said, "perhaps I have. I have been pretty busy." No committee has been to see me; nobody brought it to my attention, and I am quite willing to admit that now - that if what we paid last year was a fair wage, what we pay now is not a fair wage."

Mr. Foster: Then you increased the daily wages?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

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Mr. Foster: You run an open shop?

Mr. Fox: We run an open shop, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: What is your policy, or the policy among the heads of the different plants in East St. Louis, when a man gets hurt in one and he may have a claim pending before the Industrial Board? What is your policy if he recovers, about taking him back into any of the plants?

Mr. Fox: If he is hurt in someone else's plant, we rather feel that that plant ought to take care of him, just the same as if a man is hurt in our plant we feel that we ought to take care of him.

Mr. Foster: Do you take care of him?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir, we do.

Mr. Foster: You take him back into your plant?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That is the policy of other plants,

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so far as you know?

Mr. Fox: So far as I know.

Mr. Foster: There is no understanding that you don't employ a man while he has a suit impending?

Mr. Fox: Oh, no. We have had some malingerers. Some man would scratch his finger and want a thousand dollars for it and would hang around and not do anything. These men we won't take back at all and if the doctor tells us a man is a malingerer and ~~to give~~ ^{had} the evidence to corroborate that, we let him go.

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

Mr. Fox: A malingerer is a man that pretends to be injured or sick when he isn't. And some of them are very expert at it.

Mr. Foster: Well, you usually have your company doctors do the examining, don't you? Or do you have an outside doctor?

Mr. Fox: Yes, of course, the compensation law of this state gives a man the privilege of getting some doctor if he wants to - get any doctor.

Mr. Foster: He has the right to his own doctor, but I think the companies - the insurance companies may have something to say about that.

Mr. Fox: We don't have anything to do with insurance companies.

Mr. Foster: Or the company where the injury occurs. I think there is some provision of law where they can send their own doctor.

Mr. Fox: Yes, they send their own doctor without cost to the man. The man can get his own doctor at his

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9 own cost.

Mr. Foster: Or of the insurance company. The insurance company pays the doctor. That is my recollection of the law. I haven't had much to do with it.

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now, Mr. Fox, have there been any - along in March 1917, about the 19th, was there any meeting out at your place between yourself, Mr. Conway, the representative of the street car company, and Dr. Harney, who is now in the Army, in reference to the placing of 1500 negroes in the city of East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: There was no such meeting.

Mr. Foster: No such meeting ever had?

Mr. Fox: No such meeting at all.

Mr. Foster: What is the assessed value of your plant?

Mr. Fox: I think it is over \$1,000,000.

Mr. Foster: That is the assessed value I am talking about?

349 Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: I am not talking about -

Mr. Fox: (Interposing) My recollection is that I filed a schedule with the Board of Review when Mr. Maurice Joyce was on the Board some two years ago in which I listed each building and the equipment in each building to the Board of Review.

Mr. Cooper: That is the local plant here?

Mr. Fox: The local plant here.

Mr. Foster: You pay taxes on a third of \$1,000,000?

Mr. Fox: Well, the rate in Illinois, you know - what-

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10 ever the rate is, we pay it. It was some \$20,000 here last year.

Mr. Foster: In Illinois the assessed value of the property, they pay taxes on one third of the value, so that you pay on one third of \$1,000,000?

Mr. Fox: Yes, - well, it is not exactly that, Dr. Foster. After I filed this schedule the Board of Review seemed to think there was need of more money, rather than a question of what the value was, and I think between the Board of Review and our attorneys we agreed to some increases.

Mr. Foster: Some increases in the value?

Mr. Fox: In some of the pieces of real estate.

Mr. Foster: It is not the usual custom, is it, that the valuation is too high? It is usually a comparison, isn't it, of the value of property around it?

Mr. Fox: I think so.

Mr. Foster: And as to how the other fellows are assessed?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Foster: That is about the usual condition in this state?

Mr. Fox: Yes. We had one assessor here, I think, who did rather go over the values pretty carefully. In fact, he is about the only one ^{I think,} that ever came into our plant and looked to see what we had.

Mr. Foster: The usual complaint is that Smith is assessed too high in comparison with Jones. Isn't that about it?

Mr. Fox: That is the usual way.

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11 Mr. Foster: You belong to the Committee of One hundred?

Mr. Fox: ~~Yes.~~ *No, sir.*

Mr. Foster: Are you a member of the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Fox: I am, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You are now?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; I have been since it was formed. I was the first president.

Mr. Foster: Does this Chamber of Commerce - they have never taken up the questions of conditions in East St. Louis, to make them better?

Mr. Fox: Really, I haven't been to a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce since our strike.

Mr. Foster: Is it a matter of business for East St. Louis, ~~and~~ ^{and} not, for looking after the law and order of East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: I think the chief function of the Chamber of Commerce is to get new industries here until this riot came. They had a very efficient secretary, and some way or other he got them into the law and order business. That was the kernel around which this committee of One Hundred formed. Prior to that it was nothing but a bureau for getting new industries here.

Mr. Foster: Did you ever take up the question of National City, that it ought to become a part of East St. Louis and help bear a proportion of the taxes of East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: That has been contended a good many times.

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12 Mr. Foster: There has never been a disposition on the part of National City to be incorporated?

Mr. Fox: No.

350 Mr. Foster: Why do you think they would refuse on account of the tax?

Mr. Fox: Well, of course -

Mr. Foster: (Interposing) I don't know whether you want to express yourself.

Mr. Fox: No. I would just say with regard to National City, that although they are outside of the city of East St. Louis, as they are; although we are inside and pay more taxes, National City has better fire and police and other facilities than we ever had.

Mr. Foster: Whenever ^a fire occurs they expect East St. Louis to assist them?

Mr. Fox: I think they do.

Mr. Foster: And if there is any trouble comes they expect the police force to assist them?

Mr. Fox: Yes, I know the police force have acted out there.

Mr. Johnson: Your plant is in East St. Louis or National City?

Mr. Fox: About a third of it is in East St. Louis and the other part is outside.

Mr. Foster; You are not in National City at all though?

Mr. Johnson: No, I recall now.

Mr. Foster: But the men out there in control of National City - and I take it the plant, the packing plant

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and the stock yards - they control National City?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is my understanding.

Mr. Foster: And they elect the officers?

Mr. Fox: That is what I have been told.

Mr. Foster: I mean, they may not ^{cast} the votes, but they do it?

Mr. Fox: Their officers are elected.

Mr. Foster: Yes, and probably the employees of these companies constitute the city council and the mayor.

Mr. Fox: That I don't know, of course.

Mr. Foster: That is usually the case isn't it?

Mr. Fox: That has been done.

Mr. Foster: Yes, I think so. But they have never expressed any desire to become a part of East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: The question has been mentioned several times in local issues here, but I don't think they ever got an expression from them that they wanted to come in.

Mr. Foster: I expect that is so. So that really, there is \$100,000,000 worth of property out there, isn't there?

Mr. Fox: Well, I really don't know.

Mr. Foster: Well, you are a pretty good business man I take it, just guessing at it, wouldn't you think so? Your plant is small in comparison with that out there, isn't it?

Mr. Fox: In comparison with all of them, but I don't think there is any one plant out there as large as ours. Most plants are all just about the size they were when we came here - when I came here - whereas ours

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14 has been expanding very materially.

Mr. Foster: So that yours is larger than any of those out there?

Mr. Fox: Larger, I should say, than any one.

Mr. Foster: And you employ more men?

Mr. Fox: No, I think we employ less men, according to the size of the plant than they do.

Mr. Foster: But you think ^{that} your taxes, if you were located in National City, would be less than they are now?

Mr. Fox: I rather think they would, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: I believe that is all I want to ask now.

Mr. Baker: What is the condition of your plant out there? Is it a corporation?

Mr. Fox: It is a corporation.

Mr. Baker: All of the property of the corporation is at this particular place?

351 Mr. Fox: Well, no. This corporation is a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of America, which is ^{engaged in the} manufacture of Aluminum.

Mr. Baker: This is a separate branch. The property is ^{kept} ~~just~~ separate?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And incorporated for so such?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Baker: How much, do you know?

Mr. Fox: I think it is \$1,000,000.

Mr. Baker: No more than that?

Mr. Fox: That is just my thought. I don't know.

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15 The entire capital stock of the Aluminum Company of America is \$20,000,000.

Mr. Baker: I was trying to find out how much is the capital stock of the particular concern that is here in mind now.

Mr. Fox: I think it is \$1,000,000. Our people have in incorporating companies always, as I understand it, endeavored to have the capital stock match up the investment dollar for dollar. Of course the investment is beyond the dollar for dollar capitalization now, because a good deal of the profits have been put back into the plant, and I suppose it is the same with this subsidiary as it is with other subsidiaries.

Mr. Baker: Now this particular plant, what were the dividends paid last year?

Mr. Fox: I don't think this plant paid any dividends.

Mr. Baker: How long did you say you have lived here?

Mr. Fox: I have lived here since 1905.

Mr. Baker: And you make your residence in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: I have made my residence in East St. Louis up to about three weeks ago.

Mr. Baker: Then you moved to St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: When I moved to St. Louis.

Mr. Baker: You have been interested in the upbuilding and uplifting of East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: Well, I thought I was. I gave a good deal of my time to the Commercial Club and . . . Chamber of Commerce matters.

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Mr. Baker: You belong to the Commercial Club also?

Mr. Fox: We had a Commercial Club here which was a very active club, and I think was a very strong influence in building up the city. It was engaged more in civic work than the Chamber of Commerce is, but it finally got into politics and drifted down and became unsupported; and in order to maintain the business of getting new industries to the city its charter was taken over by the Chamber of Commerce. It was merged into the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Baker: Now this last organization was not in existence during the beginning of this year?

Mr. Fox: The Commercial Club?

Mr. Baker: Yes.

Mr. Fox: No, I think it was last summer some time - or last fall.

Mr. Baker: When did it cease to exist?

Mr. Fox: It ceased to be a strong factor from two years ago.

Mr. Baker: I am trying to get at about when did it merge with the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Fox: I think it was last year some time.

Mr. Baker: Some time in 1916?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Then the Chamber of Commerce took over all the functions of the Commercial Club and assumed the functions that had been assumed by the Chamber of Commerce before as one body?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Baker: Is that a very extensive body, in numbers?

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Mr. Fox: I think the membership is about 500.

Mr. Baker: What was the attitude of the Chamber of Commerce thus constituted and as it existed, in the beginning of 1917, with reference to labor?

Mr. Fox: I never heard it expressed.

Mr. Baker: How is that?

Mr. Fox: I don't think the question ever came up.

Mr. Baker: Well, what was the makeup of this Chamber of Commerce? Were laboring men members of it?

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Mr. Fox: No, there were no laboring men. They were nearly all the heads of the industries of this town, the public utilities.

Mr. Baker: Well, can't you tell us whether or not, now the organized labor and laboring men were interested in this Chamber of Commerce, or was the Chamber of Commerce ~~was~~ ^{not} of its own basis, as compared with labor?

Mr. Fox: The labor question never came up.

Mr. Baker: Answer my question. I'll get to that in a moment.

Mr. Fox: I don't quite get the question, I don't believe.

Mr. Baker: Well, now the Chamber of Commerce didn't pay any attention to the condition of labor or laborers conditions?

Mr. Fox: None at all.

Mr. Baker: Or it's wishes or desires?

Mr. Fox: None at all, so far as I know.

Mr. Baker: That was never discussed?

Mr. Fox: Never discussed so far as I know.

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Mr. Baker: Was the best of feeling existing between the Chamber of Commerce and the Federation of Labor, or the labor unions here?

Mr. Fox: Well, the question never came up. The principal business - I never was at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce but what the only business was getting new industries and getting money to keep the things going.

Mr. Baker: Well, what I am getting at is, did the Chamber of Commerce attempt to get in touch with the union labor.

Mr. Fox: Well sir, I don't think so.

Mr. Baker: And labor organizations in East St. Louis so as to have the labor organizations as well as the Chamber of Commerce, work in harmony?

Mr. Fox: I don't think so. It never has been that I would consider a union labor town.

Mr. Baker: Well, you were vitally interested in that subject, weren't you, as to labor?

Mr. Fox: No, as I say, we ran ten years and never had any labor trouble.

Mr. Baker: Well, you have been interested ^{in knowing the labor} condition, how it is provided and paid, and how they felt as to the general working conditions?

Mr. Fox: Yes, we have, but the thing here has been that you can't get the different industries together to agree on something to do for the working man. We have done individually ourselves, I guess, more than anybody else.

Mr. Baker: Why can't they get together to do anything for the working men?

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Mr. Fox: Well, there isn't any one - take me, for instance - I have no authority to pay out money for welfare work. I have a very difficult matter and I appreciate the heads of all the other industries are in much the same situation. We can't act in those matters without getting the consent of the people who have the control of the finances, and some times, as I was telling a gentleman that wanted me to do something for a local affair not long ago, I said, "I have been writing to our people for ten years asking for money for this and that and the other thing, and trying to make the request different for each one, but when it gets to the Home Office I guess it looks just the same, a plain donation; and sometimes I have felt that perhaps the people at the head office thought ^{this} ~~it~~ was more for my personal prestige, trying to get credit for myself as head of the Aluminum Company here in order to get into some political prominence myself; and the last time I asked for a donation the president of the company spoke to me in a way that rather made me feel that I say about it. So I have been very hesitant ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ asking for anything in the way of welfare work since."

Mr. Baker: You have practically taken no interest then in welfare work or political work in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: So far as our own men are concerned, but outside of that, other people's men, we have taken no interest in that.

Mr. Baker: And your employees depend simply on that - that is they came to work and you paid no attention to where your labor came from or how you got your labor?

Mr. Fox: No, we did not.

Mr. Baker: Your idea was to get labor just as reasonable,

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20 as cheap as you could?

Mr. Fox: No, we have voluntarily made increases without anybody ever asking for them.

Mr. Baker: Well, I don't remember of any voluntary increase being stated by you, except the one given when the men struck.

Mr. Fox: Well, I said we hadn't had a strike for ten years, and our wages have changed a good deal in that time. In fact, when the war broke out and we had men getting \$1.50 per day, and \$1.60 - watchmen and others sitting around, - I made it a rule that we wouldn't pay any man less than \$1.00 a day at our plant long before anyone else here thought of that.

Mr. Baker: Well, they were getting 17¢ an hour before 1916?

Mr. Fox: At our plant?

Mr. Baker: Yes.

Mr. Fox: No, they were not.

Mr. Baker: How much were they getting?

Mr. Fox: I think the lowest rate paid before 1916 - I think the least wage any man got was 20¢ an hour.

Mr. Baker: Then they were increased to what?

Mr. Fox: They have been increased, some of them to 50¢ and 60¢ an hour. We have taken the general attitude that we would pay more wages in this town than the prevailing rate.

Mr. Baker: Well, then just give us a general idea now. The lowest wages you pay is how much during 1917, say, the months of April and May?

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21 Mr. Fox: I haven't got these ^{all} at my finger's ends. After the fall of 1916 the price for common labor was \$2.75 for eight hours.

Mr. Raker: How much is it now?

Mr. Fox: The same price for common labor.

Mr. Raker: Then you haven't raised any?

Mr. Fox: Not common labor, no, sir.

Mr. Raker: How many men have you as common laborers in your plant?

Mr. Fox: I suppose 200 or 300. These men graduate from common laborers into operators in the plant.

Mr. Raker: Well, isn't all of this negro help common labor?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Some of it is skilled?

Mr. Fox: Some of it gets into the operating force?

Mr. Raker: And you have increased the negro wage as well as the white wage?

Mr. Fox: We haven't paid any attention to a man's race or color. We have got some men in our office and in our laboratory that come from Russia, some from Bulgaria, some from Germany and some from Austria.

Mr. Raker: I mean colored men.

Mr. Fox: Well, the colored men, as I said on Saturday, are not as efficient as a class. There are individual colored men who are perhaps more efficient than individual white men, but as a class they don't get to be efficient mechanics.

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Mr. Raker: Well, you haven't any of the colored men as skilled laborers, have you at all?

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Mr. Fox: No, not skilled mechanics. We have them as operators doing some of the heavy and dirty work that white Americans won't do.

Mr. Baker: You had ~~about~~ 400 - or did have about 400 in April ^{and} ~~of~~ May of this year, colored men?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Those were all common laborers?

Mr. Fox: No, common labor is the lowest we have, for instance, ballasting track, negroes make good track men.

They have been good track men here for years; also for digging, excavating. We have negro hod carriers ^{out there} getting more than I got thirty-five or six years ago - over 50¢ an hour I think they pay them - negro hod carriers and union men too.

Mr. Baker: Eight hours a day?

Mr. Fox: Eight hours a day.

Mr. Baker: All your help is eight hours?

Mr. Fox: All eight hours.

Mr. Baker: Well, this strike that came on in April, how many of those men didn't come back to your plant at all by July 1st?

Mr. Fox: Well, I really don't know.

Mr. Baker: Approximately, could you tell?

Mr. Fox: I should say 400 or 500.

Mr. Baker: Never returned at all?

Mr. Fox: Never returned at all.

Mr. Baker: Have any of those returned since July 1st, out of that 400?

Mr. Fox: Well, I think there have been some, yes. Of course I don't know every man in the company like I used to

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know, but at the hearing in this courtroom on the Federal Injunction, every man that went out on strike and was called as a witness for the strikers testified that he already had a job somewhere else, within a couple of days afterwards, - got a better job somewhere else at better pay.

Mr. Raker: Than he was getting at your plant?

Mr. Fox: Than he was getting at our plant.

Mr. Raker: Then according to that these other institutions are paying better wages than you are, than your company?

Mr. Fox: I spoke about it this locality here. A good many of them went up to Granite City and other places.

Mr. Raker: Granite City is just practically a part of East St. Louis, isn't it?

Mr. Fox: No, it is not.

Mr. Raker: How far is it from your plant?

Mr. Fox: From our plant I suppose it is six or seven miles.

Mr. Raker: Did you make any attempt to find out the causes of the riots of May 28th and 29th, of this year?

Mr. Fox: I did not.

Mr. Raker: Did you make any inquiry or investigation to find the cause of the riots of July 1st and 2nd?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: None whatever?

Mr. Fox: No, sir; none whatever.

Mr. Raker: You were not interested in them?

Mr. Fox: Well, sir; I was interested, but it wasn't my business.

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24 Mr. Raker: Why not? You are a member of this efficient Chamber of Commerce; you are a citizen here; you have a great property in your charge, \$1,000,000 worth of property ^{under} your charge. Just tell us why you didn't pay any attention to it?

354 Mr. Fox: I paid attention to it. I was interested in it. You asked my why I didn't investigate and find out. There were several investigations - the State Council of National Defense came down here to investigate. I testified fully and freely before them. There was the Mayor and the City Council here.

Mr. Raker: If you testified fully and freely, you didn't make any investigation; you haven't made any since; you wouldn't know anything about the conditions, not having investigated.

Mr. Fox: What sort of investigation do you mean?

Mr. Raker: Any kind, to find out the cause of the trouble, whether the laboring men were ^{not} getting proper treatment; whether their places were being taken by colored help and importation of labor.

Mr. Fox: My principal business was running the Aluminum Company. That is what I make my bread and butter at. That is the principal business I have got. I have to work for my living.

Mr. Raker: But don't you think about the other fellow at all?

Mr. Fox: I do. I think about them over in Germany and over in Austria and Belgium, but it is not my business. I have just got all I can do looking after my own business

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and earning my own living.

Mr. Baker: Well, you certainly have some time to think about the men that work for you, haven't you?

Mr. Fox: Since this country went to war I haven't had very much time to think about anything except the Aluminum Company's business; and the man that sticks to his own business, in my opinion is a better citizen than the fellow who runs around tending to other people's business.

Mr. Baker: And you think it is none of your business what the men do that work for you, and how they are treated?

Mr. Fox: I wouldn't say that.

Mr. Baker: As to what their conditions are after they leave the plant? That is none of your business, is that right?

Mr. Fox: The men that work for us I am very much interested in; the men that work for somebody else, the other man ought to be interested in.

Mr. Baker: Well, you haven't designated a single thing yet, Mr. Fox, ^{wherein} ~~in~~ you were interested in the man that worked for your company except the mere fact of their coming there in the proper time and giving the proper amount of work and then leaving when the hour came. You haven't shown yet - and if you have any reason to show or have any facts to show what you have done, we would like to have you do it.

Mr. Fox: Well, I have told you what wages we paid and what hours we worked; and other people in this town give less wages and work longer hours.

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Mr. Raker: Well, there is something else besides wages and hours when a man isn't there.

Mr. Fox: Well, there is welfare work, and you can do too much of that.

Mr. Raker: You think there has been too much of that done?

Mr. Fox: I think in some cases.

Mr. Raker: Too much of that has been done for the laboring men and their families in the community in and about East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't think so. I don't think there has been enough.

Mr. Raker: Well, there hasn't been any, has there?

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Mr. Fox: Very little.

Mr. Raker: Well, now, why aren't you interested in that part of the work?

Mr. Fox: I am interested.

Mr. Raker: You said you had been so busy with your plant -

Mr. Fox: (Interposing) You asked me about the riots; if I had investigated ~~why~~ the riot occurred, and I said I hadn't. If you had been in my place, with disturbed labor conditions and the maintenance of an industry essential to the defense of this country you would have been occupied too with your own business, in the business that I have been occupied with.

Mr. Raker: That is the reason you haven't given more attention to it?

Mr. Fox: That is the reason and I have an aversion to

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politics. I have never interested myself in politics in this town at all, and there isn't any question that can be raised here but what it gets into politics. If one-tenth of the energy of the people in this town were devoted to civic betterment which is now devoted to politics this town would be a whole lot better. It seems to me that all the better element - all that consider themselves the better element of this town - their main object is political issues and local politics largely at that.

Mr. Baker: Well, now I understand that your plant has been interested in manufacturing ^{a product} that the Government needs during war times?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir:

Mr. Baker: And you have been very much interested in keeping the plant going?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: The riots have to a greater or less extent interfered with the proper handling of your plant?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: It has prevented the shipment out and ^{the} shipment in of things that you need?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; to some extent.

Mr. Baker: It has interfered with the transportation from one state to another of men that have worked for you?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: The condition of East St. Louis, as it has been shown here by testimony, leaves the men in a very poor condition, don't it?

Mr. Fox: How is that?

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Mr. Baker: The condition of the surroundings in East St. Louis have been very poor for the condition of the men who have been working for your plant and others?

Mr. Fox: Well, I am not so sure about that. We have lots of men who have built their own homes here, and I have seen some of them get to be pretty well fixed men. I have lived here myself fifteen years. I have got men working in my plant that lived next door to me, across the road, right on the same street, in the same block, a good many of them.

Mr. Baker: Well, do the conditions as shown here to exist, the want of law and order enforcement; the permitting of loafers to come and stay and make a kind of a rendezvous for them which has affected interstate traffic as well as the handling of passengers in interstate commerce - does that affect your business in any way?

Mr. Fox: It affected us like all the manufacturing plants.

Mr. Baker: And that is now to a greater or less extent in existence at the present time?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't think so.

Mr. Baker: Then is it your view that the effect of the riots has entirely ended?

Mr. Fox: That is my view.

Mr. Baker: And the whole trouble is ended?

Mr. Fox: I think as long as the law is enforced there will be no riots, because riots are against the law.

Mr. Baker: And that is the main cause of it, simply the want of enforcement of the law?

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Mr. Fox: That is my idea.

Mr. Baker: Race conditions has had nothing to do with it?

Mr. Fox: Race conditions had some, the same as it had in other cities, but it never broke out like this because we had efficient law enforcement.

Mr. Baker: The question of the strike has had nothing to do with it?

Mr. Fox: The question of the strike - as far as I know, there was never anything mentioned about ~~these~~ ^{negroes} until months after our strike was settled, until the strike had been declared off.

Mr. Baker: Then the question of the strike has had nothing to do with the riots?

Mr. Fox: Nothing whatever.

Mr. Baker: And you attribute it all, as near as you can figure out, from what you have heard, to the question of the want of enforcement of the law?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Simply the want of the enforcement of the law in East St. Louis was what brought about these riots?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And as soon as the law is enforced or maintained, you will have no more trouble?

Mr. Fox: That is my idea.

Mr. Baker: The number of colored people brought in here will not affect the situation?

Mr. Fox: No, I think that was just an excuse for

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30 the lawless element.

Mr. Raker: Just an excuse?

Mr. Fox: Just an excuse to break forth. When I came here from the north it seemed to me that there were more colored people here than I had ever seen in any city before; yet we had a good, sturdy chief of police and police force. When a colored man would commit a crime they would go out and get him and bring him in and send him down. If a white man committed a crime they would go out and get him and bring him in.

Mr. Raker: Along before the July riots, for six months before they have simply winked at it?

Mr. Fox: Well, it seemed to me. I saw in the papers where there were a number of crimes committed, but I never saw of anybody being committed to jail or sent to the penitentiary.

Mr. Raker: You haven't done anything to apprehend or assist in apprehending those law breakers and violators before July 2nd, have you?

Mr. Fox: Before July 2nd?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Raker: And you have not assisted or attempted to do anything to bring to justice this lawless mob that killed your people and burned up your property here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: They didn't burn any of our property.

Mr. Raker: Well, I mean the property of the citizens.

Mr. Fox: We have contributed \$10,000 towards main-

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31 taining the police force here for five months.

Mr. Raker: Since the riots?

Mr. Fox: Since the riots.

Mr. Raker: Nothing else?

Mr. Fox: I think one of the men in our employ was on the Committee of One Hundred or attended the meetings of the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Raker: Nothing else?

Mr. Fox: That is all.

Mr. Ross: What was the total amount contributed?

Mr. Fox: I *think* it was \$100,000.

Mr. Raker: Then, as it appears to you, there has not been an extra influx of colored people within the last year?

Mr. Fox: No, I didn't say that. There has been. We can see that by the applications at our employment office.

Mr. Raker: That shows a large increase?

357 Mr. Fox: That shows a constant increase. They have been coming for three years, just the same as into Pittsburgh and other cities - Detroit. It seemed to me that the negroes in Detroit were not only more numerous but more arrogant than any city I was ever in. And the mills around Pittsburgh where they were all white, Russians, Poles, etc., are all black now.

Mr. Raker: There is no arrogance evidenced in East St. Louis on the part of colored people, is there?

Mr. Fox: Oh, there has been, yes.

Mr. Raker: What?

Mr. Fox: Well, we can see it in the attitude of some

32 of our colored workmen.

Mr. Baker: Well, what have you seen. Just tell us?

Mr. Fox: Well, a man will not take as good care of the company's property as they used to.

Mr. Baker: What else?

Mr. Fox: Well, that is about all I have seen. I don't ride on the street cars.

Mr. Baker: That isn't much arrogance, is it?

Mr. Fox: Well, of course a person's idea of what he says about these things depends largely on what he reads in the papers and what the general conversation is. He gets that impression in his mind and sometimes he gives that out as his own.

Mr. Baker: Well, have you seen anything else now, on behalf of the colored people?

Mr. Fox: I don't recall a single thing.

Mr. Baker: That is all.

Mr. Johnson: To what extent, if at all, has ~~Interstate Commerce~~ Interstate Commerce been interfered with because of the riots of which you have spoken?

Mr. Fox: Well, our Interstate Commerce was not interfered with. I understand that down at the freight offices here, at the freight sheds here and downtown, there was interference because of the inability to get men to unload the freight, and these freight offices closed up early in the afternoon for some little time after the riot, because of the inability not only to get help, but because they were afraid to keep their men late in the afternoon.

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Mr. Johnson: Put your shipments have not been interfered with at all?

Mr. Fox: No, sir; we ship only carload material.

Mr. Johnson: Where does your material come from?

Mr. Fox: It comes from Arkansas.

Mr. Johnson: And what ^{to} ~~place~~ do you ship your product?

Mr. Fox: We ship to Niagara Falls, Messina Springs, New York, and Maryville, Tenn.

Mr. Johnson: You say you contributed \$10,000 towards the preservation of order here?

Mr. Fox: Towards the maintenance of a police force.

Mr. Johnson: Did your concern, your local concern or your parent concern ship or bring arms into your local plant here at any time during 1916 or 1917?

Mr. Fox: You mean ship in from out of town?

Mr. Johnson: Ship into your place of business, or bring into your place of business. Did the parent concern ship into your place, or did your local concern bring into its place, any arms in 1916 or 1917? Firearms, I mean.

Mr. Fox: We brought some firearms in 1917.

Mr. Johnson: What time in 1917?

Mr. Fox: I think it was about a week after the strike?

Mr. Johnson: After the May strike?

Mr. Fox: After the April strike.

Mr. Johnson: After the April strike, and prior to the May riot?

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Mr. Fox: Prior to the May riot.

Mr. Johnson: What kind of firearms did you bring in?

Mr. Fox: Rifles.

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Mr. Johnson: How many?

Mr. Fox: I think there were 25 or 30.

Mr. Johnson: Were any private detective agencies to any extent whatever brought into your concern?

Mr. Fox: We brought in, following the strike, about 75 or 100 guards.

Mr. Johnson: From what place?

Mr. Fox: From Chicago.

Mr. Johnson: They were armed?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: They came here without arms?

Mr. Fox: They came without arms. One of them might have had something in his pocket, a gun or something like that.

Mr. Johnson: By "gun" do you mean pistol?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir. So far as other arms are concerned they had none.

Mr. Johnson: And the extent of your providing the plant with firearms was about twenty five guns, you say?

Mr. Fox: About twenty-five rifles, I think.

Mr. Johnson: How were the Chicago detectives secured?

Mr. Fox: They were secured through an agency.

Mr. Johnson: What agency?

Mr. Fox: Called the Interstate Detective Agency of Chicago.

Mr. Johnson: And they came here, so far as you know, without ^{arms} arms?

Mr. Fox: They came here, as I know, without arms. I know they had no arms.

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Mr. Johnson: So 75 or 100 men came to protect your plant with 25 rifles that you provided?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Why would you want so many armed men?

Mr. Fox: Well, we wanted the men. We armed them with pick handles. Some of them had guns and pocket pistols; and we took them away from them.

Mr. Johnson: How many pocket pistols did you take away from them?

Mr. Fox: I guess perhaps eight or ten.

Mr. Johnson: What did you do with them?

Mr. Fox: Put them away under lock and key.

Mr. Johnson: In arming those men who came - 75 or 100 men - who came here from Chicago with rifles and pick handles, did you limit the arming to those men alone?

Mr. Fox: We never armed them with the rifles.

Mr. Johnson: What did you do with your rifles?

Mr. Fox: We had them in a box and left them there.

Mr. Johnson: You never unpacked them?

Mr. Fox: Never unpacked them.

Mr. Johnson: But did you arm them with pick handles?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Were the negro employees of your plant armed in any way?

Mr. Fox: No, sir; so far as I know, - not by us.

Mr. Johnson: You did nothing whatever towards arming them?

Mr. Fox: We did nothing towards arming any of our employees.

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Mr. Johnson: Have you any rule relative to your employees coming into your place of business armed? Any rule or any policy, I will say?

Mr. Fox: We have no rule. Our policy would be not to allow any of them to bring arms into the plant.

Mr. Johnson: In what way do you look towards the enforcement of that policy?

Mr. Fox: Well, we have quite a large police force on duty all the time. Of course in these times it is much greater than we used to have, and if a man comes in and changes his clothes and gets into his working clothes, if he gives any indication that he is going to throw a bomb somewhere, or shoot somebody, he is picked up pretty quick.

359 Mr. Johnson: Well, if he had a pistol in his clothes, would you exercise any sort of diligence in ascertaining whether he had or not?

Mr. Fox: Well, no we don't undertake to search ~~every~~ ^{every} ~~man~~ ^{man} that come in or go out.

Mr. Johnson: Do you undertake to search any of them?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't believe we search any of them.

Mr. Johnson: You take no precautions, against their bringing in pistols?

Mr. Fox: Well, a man might bring a pistol in in his pocket.

Mr. Johnson: He might, but you take no precautions against his doing it, against his doing so?

Mr. Fox: No, I haven't taken any. In handling men it is sometimes a difficult thing to tell just how far to go in restricting their liberties. Sometimes you can

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restrict them too much, sometimes not enough.

Mr. Johnson: Well, you would restrict them in an unlawful liberty only, would you not, if you restricted him in carrying concealed weapons?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir, but if a man had no weapons and you were going through his pockets he would feel - a man that had no weapons and never carried any - he would feel that was an unwarranted action.

Mr. Johnson: What have you done towards advising the men that it was against your policy for them to bring weapons into your establishment?

Mr. Fox: We have done nothing. We never had an occurrence where a man brought a gun into the establishment.

Mr. Johnson: You don't mean to say by that, that no man has ever taken a pistol into your establishment?

Mr. Fox: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Johnson: Well, are you just simply without knowledge on the subject?

Mr. Fox: Well, perhaps you know better than I do.

Mr. Johnson: No, I put that in the form of a question.

Mr. Fox: I am without knowledge.

Mr. Johnson: Then you don't know more about it than I do?

Mr. Fox: No, that is it.

Mr. Johnson: Is it not true that you have done nothing whatever looking to the prevention of bringing small firearms or other weapons which might be concealed about the body into your plant?

Mr. Fox: We have done practically nothing.

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Mr. Johnson: And yet you say it has been your policy to prohibit it?

Mr. Fox: Well, it would be our policy to prohibit it.

Mr. Johnson: It would be, commencing when?

Mr. Fox: When we started our plant, fifteen years ago.

Mr. Johnson: So that it has been your policy?

Mr. Fox: It has been our policy.

Mr. Johnson: And you have done nothing towards putting it into execution?

Mr. Fox: Every case where a man has been found bringing guns into the plant, the gun would be taken away from him and confiscated.

Mr. Johnson: Did I correctly understand you a few moments ago to say no instance of that sort has come to your knowledge?

Mr. Fox: Not to my recollection.

Mr. Johnson: Then why do you say that whenever a man has come into your plant with a weapon, it has been taken away from him, if it has never come to your knowledge.

Mr. Fox: Perhaps I was mistaken about that. Our chief of police has told me once or twice of taking a gun away from some man.

Mr. Johnson: Recently or a long while ago?

Mr. Fox: Well, recently I should say.

Mr. Johnson: How long ago.

Mr. Fox: Well, I should say within the past year.

Mr. Johnson: Within the past year, along about April or May or June or July?

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39 Mr. Fox: I think there was one about the time of the strike.

Mr. Johnson: Which strike?

Mr. Fox: The April strike.

360 Mr. Johnson: Was it in those instances where your chief of police did disarm somebody in your plant - was it one who had been participating in the strike, or who afterwards participated in the strike; or was it one who declined to strike?

Mr. Fox: I don't know, I think it was some time after the strike.

Mr. Johnson: I am not after the strike now, I am after the person.

Mr. Fox: I don't remember the man's name or who he was.

Mr. Johnson: You are limiting it now to one man.

Mr. Fox: This one man that I recall him speaking to me about.

Mr. Johnson: Who was that?

Mr. Fox: Our chief of police spoke to me about the man. I don't know what his name is or who he was.

Mr. Johnson: Was he a white man or negro?

Mr. Fox: I think he was a white man.

Mr. Johnson: You said that several of those instances have come to your knowledge?

Mr. Fox: Yes, I think there have been several.

Mr. Johnson: Do you recall whether or not any negroes have been disarmed out there?

Mr. Fox: There have been some disarmed outside the

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plant;

Mr. Johnson: By whom?

Mr. Fox: By the police force.

Mr. Johnson: Not by your help?

Mr. Fox: Not so far as I know.

Mr. Johnson: So in that you didn't participate in any way?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Johnson: It wasn't your business?

Mr. Fox: Well, you spoke about the men having arms in the plant?

Mr. Johnson: Yes, I was asking you about the men in the plant, and you went outside of the plant and said that men had been disarmed on the outside of the plant, not by your people but by the local police, the city police.

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: Then I said that was not your business at all?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Johnson: Well, now, if you were bringing rifles into your plant during the time of the strike, and if you were bringing 75 or 100 men into your plant at this same time and arming them with pick handles; were you not, to say the least of it, indifferent about your nonstriking employees coming there armed?

Mr. Fox: Well, I think there were some few of them that it was ever brought up to our attention in any way. I walked through the plant -

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing), Would not that same

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41 indifference about which I have asked you, insofar as you yourself are concerned, reach to your chief of ~~your~~ police and those immediately under him?

Mr. Fox: Well, practically all of those men that came into ~~our plant~~ ^{the plant}, into our plant, changed their clothes as soon as they came in. They went to the locker room, and a man didn't get out into the plant except in his working clothes, and he couldn't very well carry a gun in his working clothes.

Mr. Johnson: He could, however, bring it in in his overcoat pocket or his street wear and leave it in the locker?

Mr. Fox: He might have done that.

Mr. Johnson: You exercised no diligence at all to ascertain whether he did or not come there armed?

Mr. Fox: We did not.

Mr. Johnson: Then may I ask—again whether or not you are really, to say the least of it, *perfectly* indifferent as to whether or not your non-striking employees came there armed during the time of the strike?

Mr. Fox: For the first three or four days the most of them lived right in the plant, and it is ~~that~~ that there was practically no violence, and no necessity for them to carry arms.

Mr. Johnson: If there was no violence and no necessity for their carrying arms, that lack of necessity would be because there was ^{no} apprehension of danger, would it not?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Then if there was no apprehension of

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danger, why would they be sleeping in your plant?

Mr. Fox: Well, some of them liked the food there.

Mr. Johnson: They slept there just more to get some meals there, was that it?

Mr. Fox: Well, a good many of them were afraid - while there was no apprehension around the plant, they were afraid to go on home on the outskirts of the city.

Mr. Johnson: How do you know they were?

Mr. Fox: They testified so in the court room.

Mr. Johnson: You didn't know it until then?

Mr. Fox: I testified here Saturday that some of them had stone thrown into their homes.

Mr. Johnson: Now then, if any of those men, and by that I mean your non-striking employees - were so afraid to go back and forth to and from their homes that they slept in your plant, would that fear not have suggested their carrying some sort of a weapon for their own defense?

Mr. Fox: Well, now, I don't know what it would suggest, because it could suggest different things to different men.

Mr. Johnson: What would it suggest to the average man, possessed of fear?

Mr. Fox: Well, now, I am an average man. I ~~walk~~ walk in and out of that plant. There were no weapons around here that they were going to hurt me. I never carried a gun.

Mr. Johnson: Were you armed?

Mr. Fox: I was armed, yes.

Mr. Johnson: Now then, did those men, these non-striking employees, sleep in your establishment because of

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the different character of food that they got there, make a free arrangement for their sleeping there by bringing in their own cots?

Mr. Fox: We did.

Mr. Johnson: You provided them with cots?

Mr. Fox: We did, yes sir.

Mr. Johnson: You apprehended their desire for food in the establishment by bringing in cots in advance?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: In order that they might eat there, if for no other purpose, of course, how many cots did you bring in there?

Mr. Fox: We had several hundred cots.

Mr. Johnson: And they were occupied by men who desired to eat there?

Mr. Fox: To sleep there.

Mr. Johnson: And also to sleep there, that they might be there ready for the next meal?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And ~~the~~ most of those men were white or black?

Mr. Fox: Most of them were white.

Mr. Johnson: Some of them were black?

Mr. Fox: Some of them were black.

Mr. Johnson: The blacks enjoyed the meals while there to the same extent that the whites did?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did any of them sue for divorce because of the lack of the proper kind of cooking at home?

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Mr. Fox: I don't know, Mr. Chairman. I didn't post myself on that before I came here.

Mr. Johnson: Had those food inducements appealed to them before the strike?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: To the extent that they slept there before the strike?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: As the strike approached, their appetites increased?

Mr. Fox: I don't think so.

Mr. Johnson: Then their appetites for the food within your establishment out there increased? If not that, then their appetites for the food at home decreased?

Mr. Fox: I don't know anything about their appetites.

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Mr. Johnson: Well, you have told us something of it, now, that they came in to your establishment and slept there, practically for the sole purpose of getting the food with which you provided them, there?

Mr. Fox: I also said some of them were afraid to go home.

Mr. Johnson: That was an afterthought with you, that some were afraid to go home, and in your opinion that the average man does not aim himself when he is apprehensive of this bodily harm being done to himself.

What firearms did you have there before you brought in these last twenty-five rifles?

Mr. Fox: We didn't have any.

Mr. Johnson: And your policy was to forbid any of

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your employees bringing firearms into the establishment?

Mr. Fox: That was the policy.

Mr. Johnson: And whether that policy has been followed, you have not the faintest idea?

Mr. Fox: I know we never had a shooting in our plant. We never had a fire arm discharged in the plant in the fifteen years we have been running it.

Mr. Johnson: Were any of those persons who, part of the time at least, slept in your establishment because of the food that they would get there, assaulted upon the streets otherwise than by being stoned?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Were any of your employees killed during the riot?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Were any of them shot?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did you hear of any of them shooting anybody?

Mr. Fox: Hear of any of our employees shooting anybody?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. Fox: No, I never did.

Mr. Johnson: How many pick handles did you distribute as weapons?

Mr. Fox: I sell out 50 or 75.

Mr. Johnson: You didn't even arm all of your imported protection with pick handles?

Mr. Fox: Well, they were divided into shifts and

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of course while they were out patrolling the fence on the outskirts of the plant they carried these and when they came in they turned them over to the other shift that went on.

Mr. Johnson: How many rounds of ammunition did you bring in there?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember. I never did open the box. It has never been opened so far as I know.

Mr. Johnson: How long, in case these rifles were wanted would it have taken to have gotten at them?

Mr. Fox: A few minutes.

Mr. Johnson: These rifles, were they in a take-down condition, or put up ready for action?

Mr. Fox: They were in good shape.

Mr. Johnson: How do you know they were?

Mr. Fox: The man that supplied them, brought them in, told us they were in good shape.

Mr. Johnson: Who supplied them?

Mr. Fox: One of our men in our employ.

Mr. Johnson: What is his name?

Mr. Fox: His name was Sorrels.

Mr. Johnson: Where did he get them?

Mr. Fox: I think he got them from some rifle club he belonged to.

Mr. Johnson: Where?

Mr. Fox: Some where in this locality.

Mr. Johnson: How did he bring them in?

Mr. Fox: He brought them in in a truck.

Mr. Johnson: And did he suffer you in answer to an

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47 inquiry made by you as to their condition, or did he bring them in and say, "here they are, and they are in fine shape?"

Mr. Fox: I don't remember which way it was I got the information.

Mr. Johnson: But you are concerned as to that information that they were in good shape?

Mr. Fox: Of course if we wanted rifles, we wanted them in good shape.

363 Mr. Johnson: No, when you brought in twenty five rifles to be used by 75 or 100 men?

Mr. Fox: No, we brought in twenty five rifles to be used by twenty five men.

Mr. Johnson: And the remaining 50 men, or 75 men, or whatever it may have been, in protecting your plant were to do so simply by using moral suasion, or was it through the ax handle persuasive method that they are to perform?

Mr. Fox: Well, that would depend upon how the necessity for protection arose.

Mr. Johnson: Was that protection of which you speak from the strikes or from the non-strikers?

Mr. Fox: It was from robs.

Mr. Johnson: Within or without your establishment?

Mr. Fox: Without.

Mr. Johnson: Composed of whom?

Mr. Fox: Composed of whoever was in the rob.

Mr. Johnson: That is an easy question, but you haven't the correct idea as to whether any of these men strike or not?

Mr. Fox: I said that a few days after -

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Mr. Johnson (Interposing) ~~As to~~ What?

Mr. Fox: After the strike.

Mr. Johnson: Which strike?

Mr. Fox: The April strike, and the Federal Injunction was issued, that the mob in front of our plant and around our plant were practically dispersed. There were no crowds there.

Mr. Johnson: And what was the mob doing around your plant, clamoring for greater wages and shorter hours?

Mr. Fox: It is all in the testimony here in the hearing on the injunction in the Federal Court.

Mr. Johnson: But we haven't seen that.

Mr. Fox: I don't remember at all. I would like to read up on that testimony and tell you.

Mr. Johnson: And you have no idea at all notwithstanding that it was immediately in front and about the establishment of which you are the principal manager, for what purpose the mob had assembled there?

Mr. Fox: I testified on Saturday that the strikers came out in a body and had a speaker in front of the plant.

Mr. Johnson: Are they the same ones that you have just described as being the mob?

Mr. Fox: I didn't specify any mob. I said we had rifles against mob violence; against any mob that came out to attack the plant.

Mr. Johnson: So you disclaim now, positively and emphatically that the people who were out in the street, around and about your establishment were a mob or that they were intending to do any thought of mob violence, and that

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those same men were the strikers? You acquit them, do you not now, do you not, of seeking or attempting any mob violence?

Mr. Fox: Which men do you mean?

Mr. Johnson: I mean the strikers, the men to whom you have in your last sentence referred.

Mr. Fox: You mean the strikers in April, 1917?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. Fox: Now what is your question, Mr. Chairman?

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Mr. Johnson: That the sum and substance of what you have said is that you acquit them, the strikers, of having attempted or accomplished any mob violence?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; I acquit them.

Mr. Johnson: They are absolutely innocent, in your judgment of any mob violence; of having attempted or thought violence?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir:

Mr. Johnson: If they had assaulted anybody they wouldn't be entirely free of mob violence, would they?

Mr. Fox: No, I didn't think they would.

Mr. Johnson: The strikers were assembled about your place assembled there in the most peaceful and lawful way?

Mr. Fox: No, I wouldn't say that. I said -

Mr. Johnson (Interposing): But they were free, according to your own statement, of attempting any sort of violence?

Mr. Fox: No, I didn't say any sort of violence.

Mr. Johnson: Then what did you say?

Mr. Fox: Mob violence.

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Mr. Johnson: Now then, mob violence is the violence done by two or ^{more} men acting together. You have acquitted them now of mob violence. Did ^{any} individual there attempt or do violence?

Mr. Fox: Not that I saw.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know of any?

Mr. Fox: Well, I testified here in this same court room on all that matter.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I didn't hear that and haven't read it and don't know about it.

Mr. Fox: I would like to refresh my memory, because I don't want to go under oath here and say one thing - and that has all happened months ago, and if I make a statement -

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) Do you remember or not?

Mr. Fox: My safest way would be to say I don't remember and be done with it.

Mr. Johnson: Safest from what point of view?

Mr. Fox: Safest from correct testimony.

Mr. Johnson: Not contradicting yourself?

Mr. Fox: Not contradicting myself, yes. I have sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and that is what I want to do.

Mr. Johnson: Well, then ~~de~~ man is telling the truth and the whole truth, is he much afraid of contradicting himself?

Mr. Fox: Well, he is, if he is cross questioned in the manner in which I think I have been cross questioned - that is, if the cross examiner takes advantage of a contradiction that a man makes in his testimony from imperfect

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51 memory, I think he ought to be careful as to how he testifies.

Mr. Johnson: Well, he ought to be careful at all times.

Mr. Fox: Of course.

Mr. Johnson: But in short now, you do state that when the strike appeared as a body around the establishment of which you are the manager, that they did no violence?

Mr. Fox: I have testified here that there was a crowd that stoned me in my automobile.

Mr. Johnson: Where was that done?

Mr. Fox: That was done as I was entering the plant on Friday evening following the strike.

Mr. Johnson: How many stones were thrown?

Mr. Fox: Well, I should judge twenty five or thirty stones-- perhaps more than that.

Mr. Johnson: Did they come in a shower?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Evidently thrown by as many different men?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And you have already said several times that no violence was done there or attempted, out of what kind disposition do you think those stones were thrown?

Mr. Fox: Thrown with the intention of hitting me, apparently.

Mr. Johnson: But in doing no violence, because you have testified that no violence was attempted.

Mr. Fox: Well, if he will read his report there and see.

Mr. Johnson: We haven't time to read that.

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Mr. Fox: If he says that I say that, I will say that is one of the contradictions in my testimony.

Mr. Johnson: If who says that?

Mr. Fox: If the reporter says I said that.

Mr. Johnson: If there is a contradiction of that sort in your testimony, how do you reconcile it?

Mr. Fox: I wouldn't attempt to reconcile it.

Mr. Johnson: You would prefer to let the contradiction stand as a contradiction?

Mr. Fox: Yes, just let it stand.

Mr. Johnson: And if there is a contradiction in your testimony in that, to what would you attribute it?

Mr. Fox: To the imperfect memory.

Mr. Johnson: And when, upon which occasion, would your memory be most perfect, then or now?

Mr. Fox: Then.

Mr. Johnson: So, in short you prefer to refer the Committee to your testimony upon this former occasion than that which you now give?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. Johnson: Isn't that very singular for a man of your intelligence and poise?

Mr. Fox: No, sir; that is good straightforward business it seems to me, and the right and reasonable thing to do. The testimony that was given nearer at the time of the occurrence of the affair than this testimony is now, much nearer.

Mr. Fess: When was it given?

Mr. Fox: Some time in May.

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Mr. Johnson: Well, in that testimony to which you refer, did you state that the non-striking employees of yours slept in your establishment?

Mr. Fox: I don't know.

Mr. Johnson: In order that they might get the character of food which you were furnishing?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Should you so easily forget an important item like that?

Mr. Fox: Whether I should or should not, I have forgotten.

Mr. Johnson: Were you asked in that former investigation as to whether or not you brought firearms into your establishment?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: If it turns out that you were asked relative to the number of firearms that you brought in - relative to whether you brought in firearms or not, - were you asked as to the number of firearms you brought in?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Do you recall whether or not you stated upon that occasion that you imported men here from Chicago?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Do you recall whether or not you were asked upon that occasion as to how many rounds of ammunition you brought here, or if you brought any?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Do you recall whether or not upon that examination you stated whether or not you furnished your non-striking employees with cots in your establishment?

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Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Do you recall whether or not in that former investigation you stated how long these imported men from Chicago were kept there?

Mr. Fox: I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson: Do you remember whether or not you told in that former investigation how long your non-striking employees slept in your establishment?

Mr. Fox: I don't recall.

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Mr. Johnson: Do you recall whether or not upon that former investigation you stated your name as you now give it?

Mr. Fox: I do.

Mr. Johnson: You are certain of that?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Post: I wanted to ask you about these men you brought here from Chicago just a question or two. Did you know anything about those men that came here?

Mr. Fox: I knew nothing about them, except the agency, the manager of the agency who had the men, called me up on the telephone the night of the strike, and informed me that some of his operators had heard we were going to have a strike and said, "you want some guards to protect your property because you have got a long line of fence," and asked me how many guards I thought we ought to have. I said really it was something I didn't know much about and thought he had better use his own judgment. I think I suggested twenty-five, and I think he raised it to fifty or seventy-five.

Mr. Post: Was that a detective agency you are talk-

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55 ing about now?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Foster: Well, now this was the International Agency who is the manager?

Mr. Fox: The manager was a man named Graham.

Mr. Foster: That was the Interstate Agency, wasn't it?

Mr. Foster: The Interstate. Was this part of the agency that was located down at Bluefields, W. Va., I don't recall the name of the agent?

Mr. Fox: I don't know anything about them except they have got an office in Chicago.

Mr. Foster: You don't know whether these were professional strikebreakers?

Mr. Fox: They were not strikebreakers.

Mr. Foster: That is, they go out and club the strikers and beat them into submission?

Mr. Fox: No, they weren't.

Mr. Foster: You know we have that kind of agencies, don't you, that supply men to break strikes?

Mr. Fox: Yes, but these fellows were simply bluffs, mostly ill men. They couldn't hit a young man twenty years old. All they did was to wear a suit of clothes and carry a pick handle.

Mr. Foster: When you saw that class of men went to you, didn't you ~~think~~ ^{feel} sort of like you hadn't much protection?

Mr. Fox: I felt that the protection didn't amount to much.

Mr. Foster: But you know there are agencies of that

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kind that make a business of breaking strikes?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Foster: That employ thugs and gun men, as they are called, and all that, as strike breakers?

Mr. Fox: Yes I think there have been thugs and gun men employed on both sides in strikes.

Mr. Foster: I am not talking about that. That may be true, but don't you know - I am talking about your case now - don't you know that they have that kind of men Mr. Fox, that make a business of it?

Mr. Fox: I have heard so. I never **had** any experience with them.

Mr. Foster: Did you stop to think, when you employed that class of men to come down here, that you were getting those professional strike breakers?

Mr. Fox: No, I didn't.

Mr. Foster: You didn't think whether you were getting them or not?

367 Mr. Fox: I didn't think were were getting them. We had guards supplied by various agencies before.

Mr. Foster: And that this agency was probably one of those agencies that makes it a business to go out and break strikes? You recall - or I do - maybe you don't - that in the West Virginia coal strikes they had a detective agency that carried guns, machine guns, and when the strike was through there and they had helped to break it - or it had been settled - they were then employed to go some place else to break a strike, and they used the same machine guns in all cases, to shoot laboring men. Now did you stop to think whether you were getting into that kind of an agency

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or not, and that you were bringing that class of men down here to break the strike?

Mr. Fox: To tell the truth I didn't know where these men were coming from at the time, but I had had enough experience with this man to know he was a good sensible man.

Mr. Foster: Well, the men are usually gentlemen.

Mr. Fox: Well, he understood what we wanted. We wanted men to work inside the plant, not to go outside the plant; simply to protect the property.

Mr. Foster: They did walk around the plant on the outside?

Mr. Fox: Not on the outside, no, sir. They stayed inside the fence all the time.

Mr. Foster: And they could have supplied you, I suppose - may be you didn't ask them at the time - if it was necessary they could supply you with strike breakers?

Mr. Fox: I didn't ask him. I didn't know how many men we were going to stay.

Mr. Foster: But these men were kept ^{in this plant} ~~in there~~ and fed there, and were kept in there for the purpose of keeping your plant going, and in order to help break the strike?

Mr. Fox: Well, no, I wouldn't say that. These men were kept in because they agreed to stay in and were willing to stay in.

Mr. Foster: You were very glad to have them stay in, in order to help break the strike?

Mr. Fox: Well, there wasn't any question in my mind at that time about breaking the strike. I thought the

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strike was foolish.

Mr. Foster: Well, I know you might have thought it was foolish, but you wanted to break it, didn't you?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Foster: You wanted to stop the strike, didn't you?

Mr. Fox: No, you have got the wrong idea. We wanted to settle the strike.

Mr. Foster: You wanted to settle it and not stop it. Settle it meant stop it. It would stop when it was settled.

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Foster: So you kept them in there for that purpose, didn't you, Mr. Fox?

Mr. Fox: Well, we didn't keep any man in there but what wanted to stay in.

Mr. Foster: I am not saying you forced them to stay in, but you furnished them this splendid board and lodging.

Mr. Fox: Yes, we fed them and lodged them.

Mr. Foster: Yes, and it was for that purpose. That is all.

Mr. Cooper: This Aluminum ^{Ore} Company of America, the capital stock is \$20,000,000?

Mr. Fox: \$20,000,000, yes.

Mr. Cooper: And the capital stock of this ^{local} company here is \$1,000,000?

Mr. Fox: I think it is \$1,000,000.

Mr. Cooper: About \$1,000,000?

Mr. Fox: I think so.

Mr. Cooper: This Aluminum Company of America, of

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59 which this is a branch organization, controls the aluminum
368 production in the United States?

Mr. Fox: I understand so.

Mr. Cooper: In other words, it is a monopoly of that business. You say that at the meeting of the managers of these various industries in this city and in National City, the conditions of labor here were never discussed?

Mr. Fox: What do you mean by the conditions of labor?

Mr. Cooper: That is what you testified in reply to Mr. Baker's question. You said you discussed and never heard any subject discussed at those meetings except the bringing in of new industries and the finding of money to run them?

Mr. Fox: Did you mean this meeting out at our restaurant, or the meeting at the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Cooper: The Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Fox: Never at any meeting of the Chamber of Commerce did I ever hear labor questions discussed.

Mr. Cooper: The Chamber of Commerce consisted exclusively of the leading men in the big industries, and manufacturing industries, and the public service corporations?

Mr. Fox: Likely. I think there were some real estate firms in it, and so yet.

Mr. Cooper: Now you have heard about, and you know about conditions in which labor was housed and lived here, haven't you?

Mr. Fox: Yes, I have been acquainted in the town. I know pretty well what the town is like.

Mr. Cooper: That one of the old residents of this city, a man of intelligence, went on the stand and testified

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60 that for years the conditions of labor here, so far as the housing and general social conditions were concerned, were awful? Do you know that?

Mr. Fox: I didn't know that, no.

Mr. Cooper: You know they lived in houses without any sanitary arrangements or conveniences, didn't you?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't think it is so. It is against the city ordinance to build houses that way.

Mr. Cooper: Do you mean to say that these witnesses all of whom have testified in that way as to the deplorable condition of houses here occupied, by some white labor and by most of the black labor, were deplorable?

Mr. Fox: No, if you say all the working men in this town.

Mr. Cooper: I didn't say all the working men, and I haven't said anything of the kind or intimated anything of the kind. Do you not know that many of the white laboring men, and a considerable majority of the black laborers, of this city lived in wretched houses with no conveniences such as ought to be supplied in this day and generation to people - no sanitary arrangements, no water, houses not painted for years, dirty, etc? Do you not know that?

Mr. Fox: There are some houses that way.

Mr. Cooper: Now do you as a practical man, know of any interest in way to bring about civic degeneration such as has been seen in this city, than for influential men, men in every social circumstances; employers of thousands of laboring men to be absolutely indifferent to conditions ^{under} such labor rates?

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Mr. Fox: Well, we haven't any men in this town that I would say are in easy financial circumstances.

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Mr. Cooper: Well, you get a salary that puts you on easy street, don't it?

Mr. Fox: No, it doesn't put me on easy street. It keeps me scratching all the time.

Mr. Cooper: What is your salary?

Mr. Fox: Do I have to answer that question?

I say I have lived in East St. Louis in a modest house all the time I have been here and I have saved nothing of my salary all the time I have been here.

Mr. Cooper: Well, if you as the manager of a \$1,000,000 plant cannot save anything out of your salary, how much do you suppose laboring men in this town have saved out of their wages?

Mr. Fox: Well, some laboring men have saved.

Mr. Cooper: Well, how much do you suppose they have saved?

Mr. Fox: I should say that they have saved very little because the laboring men in this town are not the saving kind.

Mr. Riker: Did he state what his salary was?

Mr. Cooper: No, he refused. He said he didn't have to answer to.

Mr. Fox: If it is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Cooper: Well, I would like to know what it is.

Mr. Fox: \$625. a month.

Mr. Cooper: How long have you received that?

Mr. Fox: I have received that for about a year.

Mr. Cooper: What did you receive before that?

Mr. Fox: Well, all the way from \$150. a month on

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Mr. Cooper: Well, how high?

Mr. Fox: Up to the present salary.

Mr. Cooper: What did you receive last year?

Mr. Fox: I think it was about \$400. or \$500 a month.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you know whether it was \$400 or \$500?

Mr. Fox: I couldn't tell just when the change was made.

Mr. Cooper: Well, when was the change made by which you received \$500 a month.

Mr. Fox: Well, it has been a gradual increase for the last twelve years. I suppose practically equally distributed about that time.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you think that it is the duty of great employers of labor, employing thousands of working men to do what they can by active endeavor to humanize conditions? To humanize the community? Or do you think it is better for them to be utterly indifferent to what men do or how they live in other establishments after they leave the establishment of the employer?

Mr. Fox: The labor unions have been opposed to plants doing anything in the way of welfare work in a great many cases.

Mr. Cooper: But I don't mean especially that, but I said to be absolutely indifferent to how they live or how they are compelled to live?

Mr. Fox: No, I think the employer who takes care of his labor and sees that it is well taken care of, will al-

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ways be at the top. I think that is the principal element in successful manufacturing.

Mr. Cooper: Now if great employers of labor are indifferent to - I am supposing the case - the conditions under which their labor is obliged to live, and labor strikes are a protest against those conditions and the employer doesn't know anything about conditions and has been indifferent to them always, but proceeds at once to go to a strike breaking agency, to import men in there to take the places of these protesting laborers; the right or the wrong of the laborer's contention don't signify at all, does it?

Mr. Fox: That is rather a long question.

Mr. Cooper: Well, if an employer doesn't know anything about the conditions under which the wages received by his employees compels them to live, and then when they strike protesting that they don't get wages enough to enable them to live decently, he brings in strike breakers without knowing anything about the conditions himself, is he doing right or wrong?

Mr. Fox: Referring to the general question or a particular question?

Mr. Cooper: I am referring to the question I asked.

Mr. Fox: Well, that is a pretty hard question to answer.

Mr. Cooper: Rather, yes. You have admitted that in these meetings of employers here you never discussed the conditions under which labor lives here. You were simply anxious to get in more establishments, *more laboring men and* and of course

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64 make the competition that much more keen among laboring men.

Mr. Fox: And among employers.

Mr. Cooper: If they were in the same business, yes. But do you know about the packers trying to get any more packing plants in here?

Mr. Fox: ~~No~~, Nor about us getting any more aluminum plants in here.

Mr. Cooper: It wouldn't have been any harder for the Aluminum Company or for the packing company officials, but it would be perhaps a little more strenuous for the men brought in here to get employment. Is that so?

Mr. Fox: Well, hardly; because men that work at the packing plants can also work your plant.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, but they would be looking for a job all the time, and there would be more of them.

Mr. Fox: Well, the Chamber of Commerce was more interested, of course, in getting industries here, because it was largely a real estate proposition.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know of any city in the United States or elsewhere that more perfectly illustrates what the indifference of great employers to the housing conditions of their labor will bring about than in this city of East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox: Well, right in this ^{very} ~~state~~ state an employer that attempted to house his employees was prevented from doing so by law.

Mr. Cooper: No, but the laboring men, as I understand from what they say in their speeches and in their **mass** meet-

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ings - and I have taken occasion to read all sides of this to read the Manufacturer's Record and the Journals issued by the Manufacturer's Association, and also the labor journals - laboring men don't ask for charity they say, they ask for justice. They say that if they get wages sufficient to enable them to live as American citizens ought to live, they will be able to take care of themselves and their families. But they say - and I will ask you this question - they say that very often wages are so meager, and the industries are so monopolized in which they are employed, that they can't get their rights at all unless they try to do it by strike. You know that, don't you?

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Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And then when they strike, the indifferent employer, not knowing those conditions, having miles and miles away, in control of the finances, simply orders the employment of strike breakers regardless of the justice of the striker's case. Isn't that often so?

Mr. Fox: Well, it is sometimes so.

Mr. Cooper: It is some times so?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Exactly. Now there are some wrongful strikes called, undoubtedly. There have been some men at the heads of the labor organizations that ought not to be at the head of them; but there are some big employers that don't act as civilized men ought to act towards their employees. They are after money and nothing else - occasionally we find them hard, grinding men. Isn't that so?

Mr. Fox: Quite true.

Mr. Cooper: Now that being so, one of these

66 grinding men, as you say, controlling the finances and directing affairs, ^{living} ~~wait~~ away from a plant where labor is miserably housed and working for meager and insufficient wages; when labor then finally strikes as a last resort, and the employer, non-resident, orders the sending in of guards or strike breakers, by force to break the strike, he is doing an injustice, isn't he?

Mr. Fox: An injustice to whom?

Mr. Cooper: An injustice to the men who are compelled to live under such circumstances because of their very meager wages, and because he, not knowing conditions that surround them, by indifference working a hardship on them. Isn't that so?

Mr. Fox: I think that is quite true.

Mr. Cooper: That is quite true. So far, Mr. Fox, it all goes down to that question of employer and employee; the question of humanizing the relations between them. To-day in many cases, isn't it true that it is one of bitter antagonism, almost a feeling of war, isn't it?

Mr. Fox: Well, it has never been that way in our industry.

Mr. Cooper: I know, that is very true. You said one excellent thing, when you first testified that you thought that wages here were insufficient and you, yourself advocated an increase of wages and your employers refused it. That was a noble spirit and I know the Committee does exceedingly well for having done that thing. Don't you think it would be pretty well if there was more of that spirit displayed at times by other employers?

Mr. Fox: Indeed it would.

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Mr. Cooper: Now what were the men getting whose wages you increased?

Mr. Fox: The men were getting all the way from say \$2.50 up to \$4.00.

Mr. Cooper: \$2.50 to \$4.00 and you increased those about how much?

Mr. Fox: Well, some of them were increased - I testified here an average would probably be 33-1/3%.

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Mr. Foster: So that a man getting \$4.00 with a 33-1/3% increase would get \$1.20 more.

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: He would get over \$5.00. And the man getting \$1.50 would get 75% more?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And he would get \$3.00.

Mr. Fox: \$7.25

Mr. Cooper: You voluntarily did that.

Mr. Fox: Yes, I voluntarily did it.

Mr. Cooper: Now then how about those other employees, thousands of them, in this city, who were getting wages much below that, and whose wages weren't increased? Do you think they ought to have had more, to live decently?

Mr. Fox: Well, of course I am an employer of labor. I like to testify on our own employees. I don't like to say anything about the others.

Mr. Cooper: Well, that is all right. Did you try to form, in your plant, an organization of your laboring men, under a state charter?

Mr. Fox: No, some of men did organize under a state

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charter, known as the Aluminum ^{Ore} Employees Protective Association.

Mr. Cooper: When did they organize under the state charter?

Mr. Fox: In the Fall of 1916.

Mr. Cooper: In the fall of 1916. Did you assist financially or otherwise in having a man go to Belleville to see an attorney about the procedure necessary to secure that charter?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't believe we did.

Mr. Cooper: Well, you don't believe - do you or do you not remember that you did pay a man to go to Belleville?

Mr. Fox: We paid no one in connection with that Association.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know who went to Belleville to see about it?

Mr. Fox: I think it was some local attorney that the men got here, a man named Webb, I believe.

Mr. Cooper: Well, you counseled that, didn't you?

Mr. Fox: No, sir; we didn't. We had an *association* of our own called the Sick Benefit Society, I believe.

Mr. Cooper: Well, was that the only one?

Mr. Fox: Yes, which we counseled, and which we credited 2-1/2% of a man's wages to, but was known as the permanent employment fund and sick benefit society. That is the only society we ever were connected with.

Mr. Cooper: Were you offered the control of the Aluminum Ore Employees Protective Association for a money consideration?

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Mr. Fox: No, I was not.

Mr. Cooper: Or any other consideration?

Mr. Fox: No other consideration.

Mr. Cooper: Was any proposition of that kind made to you?

Mr. Fox: There was a proposition, as I understand it, made to one of men, my assistant.

Mr. Cooper: What assistant?

Mr. Fox: Mr. Rucker, the Assistant Superintendent.

Mr. Cooper: Who made that offer to him?

Mr. Fox: A man named Wolf.

Mr. Cooper: A man named Wolf?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know just what that offer was?

Mr. Fox: Well, he told me, and as I recall it, it was \$10,000.

Mr. Cooper: You mean if Mr. Rucker would give Wolf \$10,000 -

Mr. Fox: (Interposing) \$10,000, he would keep the American Federation of Labor out of the plant.

Mr. Cooper: You recognized a committee of your employees some time after the 1916 strike?

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Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; a good many.

Mr. Cooper: That was a committee of 55 or 33 men?

Mr. Fox: I think there were 52, as I recall it.

Mr. Cooper: Approximately 50. Have you a list of the names of that committee?

Mr. Fox: No, I do not remember anybody but the chairman. His name was Williams.

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Mr. Cooper: How many of that committee of laboring men were in your employ at the time of the April strike in 1917?

Mr. Fox: I don't know. There were a great many of them.

Mr. Cooper: Well, there were a good many of them had been discharged, hadn't they?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't think so. I don't think we ever knew who the 52 men were, and I don't think there were any definite number of men - I don't think their names were ever listed. I met them at the meeting at the Express Theatre, and I remembered a few of them.

Mr. Cooper: You don't think that any considerable portion of those were discharged before 1917?

Mr. Fox: No, I think they were not. I used to see them in the plant.

Mr. Cooper: In the October strike of 1916, or shortly afterwards, did you have rifles and bats shipped in?

Mr. Fox: No, we did not.

Mr. Cooper: When did you first have rifles and bats there?

Mr. Fox: We had rifles and bats in April, 1917.

Mr. Cooper: After 1916, but not until April, 1917?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Where did you get the rifles?

Mr. Fox: We got the rifles from Mr. Scarsola,

Mr. Cooper: Who is Mr. Scarsola?

Mr. Fox: He was connected with the Rifle Club here.

Mr. Cooper: He is connected with the Rifle Club?

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Mr. Fox: He was connected with a rifle club.

Mr. Cooper: That is nothing but just a sportsmen's club, that goes out and shoots at targets or anything - clay pigeons?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Now where did he get them?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't really know where he got them. I suppose they belonged to his rifle club.

Mr. Cooper: Did you think they belonged to his rifle club?

Mr. Fox: Yes, in fact I am sure of it.

Mr. Cooper: Now they don't use rifles for shooting pigeons, do they? They use shot guns.

Mr. Fox: No, of course not.

Mr. Cooper: They use shotguns. Well, what did this rifle club use at those places they were shooting?

Mr. Fox: They used rifles.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know what size?

Mr. Fox: I think it is the Springfield rifle. They had a range out here that the Park Board put up for them.

Mr. Cooper: Who made up its membership?

Mr. Fox: I don't know who the members were.

Mr. Cooper: How came you to ask Mr. Sorrells to give you 25 rifles?

Mr. Fox: I think Mr. Sorrells mentioned the subject to me.

Mr. Cooper: What is Mr. Sorrells' business?

Mr. Fox: He works for the Aluminum Company.

Mr. Cooper: He works for the Aluminum Company?

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in what capacity?

Mr. Fox: Superintendent of Navigation.

Mr. Cooper: How long has he worked there?

Mr. Fox: Five or six months I guess.

Mr. Cooper: So it was Mr. Correl, one of your employees, or an employee of the company - who came to you and suggested that you get in twenty five rifles?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't know as he suggested that we get them in. I don't recollect that if he wanted them he could supply them, or something like that.

Mr. Cooper: How long after that - when did he say that?

Mr. Fox: Well, I think it was shortly after our strike.

Mr. Cooper: In April?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: And how long after that did you get the rifles?

Mr. Fox: Very shortly, - a few days.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know how they came? Were they in boxes?

Mr. Fox: Yes, they were in boxes, on a truck.

Mr. Cooper: How many in a box, do you recall?

Mr. Fox: No, I don't recall.

Mr. Cooper: Did you open the box?

Mr. Fox: The box, I think, was opened once, for cleaning.

Mr. Cooper: Was it a box or boxes?

Mr. Fox: There are several boxes.

Mr. Cooper: Were there bayonets with them?

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Mr. Fox: No, no bayonets.

Mr. Cooper: When did you write to the Interstate Protective Association at Chicago, to send you 75 or 100 men?

Mr. Fox: I didn't write them at all.

Mr. Cooper: Who did?

Mr. Fox: No one.

Mr. Cooper: Who sent them?

Mr. Fox: I said to Congressman Foster, the committee of the strike - the representative called me up and asked me if we wouldn't want some guards, and I told him yes. He asked how many and I suggested 75, and he said, "Oh, well, you have got a mile and a half of fence to protect there; you want more than that." Of course they want to get all they can on their ^{feet} roll. So, as I recall it, he sent some boys around 75.

Mr. Cooper: What time did those men get here? What time of the day?

Mr. Fox: I don't know. Some of them came in just before my automobile was stoned ^{that} Friday night.

Mr. Cooper: About what time of the evening?

Mr. Fox: That was about half past eight or nine.

Mr. Cooper: In April?

Mr. Fox: In April, yes.

Mr. Cooper: It was dark?

Mr. Fox: Yes, dark.

Mr. Cooper: What did they get off the train?

Mr. Fox: I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: Where did you first see them?

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Mr. Fox: I first saw them when I first came into the plant that night.

Mr. Cooper: They were in the plant already?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Were they supplied with weapons of any kind?

Mr. Fox: I don't believe so; so far as I could see.

Mr. Cooper: They were guards to protect your plant against violence?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You hadn't any weapons to give them, and they came down here without any themselves?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir. They thought we were going -

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) What kind of a guard to protect the plant like that against violence would 200 or 300 men be without any sort of weapons, and you hadn't any weapons put there?

Mr. Fox: I don't know. I thought they were going to bring their own weapons.

Mr. Cooper: So you told them to come, thinking they were going to bring weapons?

Mr. Fox: Yes. I think the same as you do, that a guard without weapons isn't much good.

Mr. Cooper: You say the reason you had nothing to do with all this was looking after these conditions, etc.

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...in the legal background of your own *for* politics?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir; for local politics.

Mr. Cooper: For local politics. Well, you know if good people don't get into local politics and ~~into~~ ^{state} politics

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75 and national politics, the other kind will, don't you?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is true enough.

Mr. Cooper: You know, as Lincoln said, this ^{is a} Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." We have no monarchy; we have no hereditary law makers; somebody in this country must be in politics. Isn't that true?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is quite true.

Mr. Cooper: And make laws and execute them.

Mr. Fox: That is true.

Mr. Cooper: And some of the very best men this nation has ever known have devoted their whole lives to politics. Isn't that true?

Mr. Fox: That is true.

Mr. Cooper: Well, politics in a republic like this is the science of government, isn't it?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And it has been defined - I can't give the exact definition, but I defined as some thing like this: "That part of ethics which has to do with the social welfare and the industrial prosperity of the people."

Do you know of any reason why you should have an aversion to that sort of thing?

Mr. Fox: No, if that is the definition of politics. I never heard the definition before.

Mr. Cooper: Isn't it a fact that that is what it is, and isn't it a fact that because it degenerates into that as I've seen in this city is that men like you and other men not so well to do, but other men of high ideals keep out

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of it and say they have an aversion to it?

Mr. Fox: Well, I think that is quite true.

Mr. Cooper: In other words they fail to do their duty, don't they?

Mr. Fox: They have.

Mr. Cooper: And they themselves are largely responsible for the conditions that we now see. Isn't that true?

Mr. Fox: I think so.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, it is absolutely true.

Mr. Johnson: A great many different reasons have been given both to this Committee and to the Committee of the State Council of Defense that held its meeting here in June, as to why the southern negro came here in such great numbers. Some have said that he came for better wages, and you among others on that occasion testified that he came because of better conditions. You particularized in your testimony by saying that he came because of more democratic conditions, and your statement was: "This is a convenient place to come to and it is a great industrial center as well as a very democratic town - I was struck with that when I first came here - a man can walk down the main street with ^{his} suspenders over his shoulders without having someone tell him to put his coat on, and that probably appeals more to the colored man than could come from further east."

So the question is really solved - I mean the influx of negroes here - the cause of the influx of negroes here is really solved by the fact that the cotton field plantation negro can come to East St. Louis and walk down the streets with his suspenders over his shoulders and his coat

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off?

Mr. Fox: No, that is only a part of my testimony on that point.

Mr. Johnson: Well, what was the rest of your testimony on that?

Mr. Fox: The rest of the testimony, the principal part of the testimony was that since 1914^{no} foreigners were coming in to this country. A great many of them go east to other factories where they have become skilled mechanics and the negro came in here to take the place of the foreigners at higher wages than he would get in the south.

Mr. Johnson: You are quite sure you didn't say that? I find this in your testimony: "On account of the war that has been cut off." The word "that" relates back to foreign labor, foreign immigration. Then it goes on:

"Q. On account of the war that has been cut off, and you believe that taking the place of that is a general influx of southern negro labor from the south?"

That is the question. Then you answer:

"That is the only labor that is available."

Mr. Fox: Common labor.

Mr. Johnson: Yes. You also testified upon that occasion in 1914 that the southern planters had formed vigilance committees and were going about with shotguns to drive out the agents which were importing southern negro labor to the north, is that right?

Mr. Fox: I testified that I had seen that in the newspapers. That is what my testimony says. I didn't testify it of my own knowledge.

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Mr. Johnson: Yes, you're correct in that. You didn't hear that the negro persisted in leaving the cotton fields because he couldn't wear his suspenders over his shoulders with his coat off down there?

Mr. Fox: No, I did not; and my testimony in respect to that don't have any reference to the negro. It applies to the white man. I think it applied to the white man rather than to the negro. I said it was a very democratic town.

Mr. Johnson: On page 55, without reading all of the first part of it, your answer, which preceded on page 54 I find this relative to the suspenders:

"A man can walk down the main street with his suspenders over his shoulders without having someone to tell him to put his coat on, and that probably applies more to the colored man than would come to us further east."

Therefore, you did use it in connection with the colored man.

Mr. Fox: Yes, I used that as an illustration of the freedom of life.

Mr. Johnson: Yes, and as he couldn't enjoy that particular freedom in the South, it was a special inducement for him to come North?

Mr. Fox: Well, of course that was figurative.

Mr. Johnson: Then you mean by that, that he just simply indicates that he has suspenders over his shoulders and his coat off?

Mr. Fox: No, that was indicative of the atmosphere with which the negro was received here, with which the white

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man was received here.

Mr. Johnson: Well, you were talking of negroes in this case.

Mr. Fox: Well, of the negro. He was made a good deal of.

Mr. Johnson: So much was made over his advent here, I take it for granted by the employers of labor, that he was accorded the Democratic treatment of being permitted to walk around with his suspenders over his shoulders without his coat on?

Mr. Fox: My experience is the employers of labor have practically nothing to do with the running of this town.

Mr. Johnson: And if they had that would they have done about accorded him that great privilege of walking around with his suspenders over his shoulders without his coat on?

Mr. Fox: I don't know.

Mr. Johnson: You have no information on the subject?

Mr. Fox: No, I have no information.

Mr. Johnson: But you are of the opinion that that was a great inducement to his coming north?

Mr. Fox: Well, I said it was a Democratic town and that was my illustration of the difference between this town and some others.

Mr. Johnson: So, in your mind, as set out in your testimony, the ignorance of the negro had comparatively little to do with it, was it not, that great Democratic privilege of being able to walk around with his suspenders over his shoulders and no coat on?

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Mr. Fox: No, sir; you are turning my testimony around. I gave it first the main thing was the lack of foreigners and jobs were open at good wages.

Mr. Johnson: Well, you spoke of the lack of foreigners but I failed to find ⁱⁿ your testimony anything about the increase of wage. How did you know what he got in the South? And if so, how did you know it, if you had not gone into the situation of the southern negro as a laborer?

Mr. Fox: Our company employed some negroes from the south.

Mr. Johnson: Your company employed some negroes in the South?

Mr. Fox: Yes, it employ^d negroes in the south.

Mr. Johnson: What do they do in the south?

Mr. Fox: They work on some of our plants in the south, in North Carolina, so we know what the average wage is in the south compared with what it is in the north. We know what the average wage is here compared to the east.

Mr. Johnson: What is the wage paid in North Carolina in your plant?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't know exactly the wages.

Mr. Johnson: When did you know?

Mr. Fox: Well, I was there a year or so ago, and we discussed wages in a general way, and the expression by employers was that the wages in the south were less than in the north.

Mr. Johnson: Then why—do you employ any white people down there?

Mr. Fox: Oh, yes.

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Mr. Johnson: Why don't you take the cheaper labor, the negro labor and let it remain in the south?

Mr. Fox: We do. We can't employ the negro men for heads of departments and things like that.

Mr. Johnson: Why not?

Mr. Fox: Well, I have said two or three times that the negro is not efficient enough.

Mr. Johnson: He hasn't got intelligence enough?

Mr. Fox: He hasn't got intelligence enough as a class.

Mr. Johnson: Is that one reason why you prefer to deal with him, because he hasn't got intelligence enough to take care of himself?

Mr. Fox: I never said I preferred to deal with him. I prefer to deal with the white men, and I said so several times in this court room.

Mr. Johnson: But you do deal with him in your local plant here to the extent of several hundred?

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Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did you ever turn a white man away from your plant seeking work?

Mr. Fox: Seeking work?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. Fox: Yes, a good many times, when there wasn't any work for him.

Mr. Johnson: Did you ever turn a white man away from your place without work when you have a negro doing the work that the white man wants to do?

Mr. Fox: I don't think we ever did. I don't think we ever turned a man away who was working for us to make

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a place for an outsider, no matter what his color was.

Mr. Johnson: That is not what I asked. Did you ever let a white man go away from your gates, who came there seeking labor, when you had a colored man doing that particular kind of labor which this appealing white man wanted to do?

Mr. Fox: I don't think we ever did.

Mr. Johnson: So whenever a white man comes to your gate wanting work, he gets it to the extent that you let the negro go in order to supply him with work?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Johnson: Then you do retain negro labor in your establishment when white labor wants to take its place.

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir, if we have got a negro working for us and a white man comes and wants his job, if the negro has been working for us why should we turn the negro loose to make place for a white man?

Mr. Johnson: Then you contradict your former statement on the matter, and it is a matter of choice and not one of necessity by which you take negro labor?

Mr. Fox: No, we don't undertake to discharge any man who has been in our employ to make room for someone else.

Mr. Johnson: Then when a white man comes along wanting work, and a negro is inside doing that same work, you keep the negro?

Mr. Fox: Well, in answer, we have never had to answer that question or deal with it.

Mr. Johnson: You have already answered it before. I am just emphasizing it.

Mr. Fox: We have not.

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Mr. Johnson: Now you have answered it both ways, yes and no, which is correct?

Mr. Fox: Well, as I understand your question, you want to know whether we would turn a negro out who was working for us?

Mr. Johnson: I am not asking you as to policy, I am asking as to your specific acts in the past?

Mr. Fox: As far as I know we have never turned out a colored man to put a white man in his place.

Mr. Johnson: Then in exercising a preference you kept the negro man and didn't take in the white man?

Mr. Fox: That isn't what I would call a preference.

Mr. Johnson: It is not a preference?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Johnson: Well, would you call it a discrimination?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: What would you call it?

Mr. Fox: I would call it a discrimination if you took any man out of your employ, one of your employees, and took an outsider in to take his place.

Mr. Johnson: Well, you have already discriminated when you said you never took a negro when you could get a white man.

Mr. Fox: If I did, I never intended to say it.

Mr. Johnson: How am I to tell when you intend to say a thing and when you don't?

Mr. Fox: Well, you just take the same chance as I do, Mr. Chairman, when you ask a question or give me an answer. I try to answer the question as you ask it.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I asked the question so plain

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84 in each case that you made exact and short replies, and
when I proceed further you begin to make contradictory
statements, and I will be at a loss now, when I come to sum
379 up your statements, to know when you are answering in the
affirmative and when you are answering in the negative.

Mr. Fox: Well, sometimes the question is involved
so that it is partly hard for me to tell what it is you
want me to answer.

Mr. Johnson: I have purposely and carefully and
cautiously and advisedly made all my question short. I
have endeavored to ask the question so that I could get
the answer in the word yes, or in the word no, but I
haven't been able to do that.

Mr. Fox: Well, maybe the difficulty is with me.

Mr. Johnson: Or it might be with me. But your infor-
mation is that the certain employe / of labor is **even** re-
sorted to the shotgun in his efforts to drive out labor
agents in order that he may keep the negro laborer in the
south where he is needed?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is what I have seen in the papers.

Mr. Johnson: Haven't **seen** it in the papers, that is your
information and not your knowledge.

Mr. Fox: That is my information.

Mr. Johnson: Do you believe that? Or, in other words
I want to know what impression this piece of information has
made upon you - that is, what impression has been made upon you?

Mr. Fox: Well, I would be inclined to believe it,
knowing that I do of southern localities.

Mr. Johnson: What do you know of southern localities

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that would induce you to believe that?

Mr. Fox: Well, our company has operated a plant down in Arkansas for some years - for fifteen years.

Mr. Johnson: Now what knowledge of your plant in Arkansas leads you to believe that the southern planter resorts to the shotgun argument to drive out the agents sent there from the north for the purpose of inducing negro labor to go north? Just what instance now, what circumstances, do you refer to?

Mr. Fox: Well, they are all pretty handy with the shotgun in the south. Nearly every man has got a shotgun. A good many of them are hunters and -

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) But then, now, what took place in your plant in Arkansas to give you the very decided opinion that that method had been resorted to? You said that something took place in your Arkansas plant to determine you in that opinion. Now what took place?

Mr. Fox: Did I say anything took place in our Arkansas plant?

Mr. Johnson: Yes, you said so.

Mr. Fox: I wonder if the stenographer could give us that?

Mr. Johnson: Read that answer.

The answer as read is follows:

Mr. Fox: Well, our company has operated a plant down in Arkansas for some years, fifteen years."

Mr. Johnson: Now, I will repeat the question. What incident in your Arkansas Plant confirmed your opinion as to the effect that the southern planter uses the shotgun

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argument?

Mr. Fox: No incident.

Mr. Johnson: Then why did you refer to your southern plant, for instance, if there is none there?

Mr. Fox: I referred to the southern plant because the operation of a plant for this company in that district gives me an idea as to southern notions, which is general in its scope, but nevertheless an impression in my mind.

Mr. Johnson: Well you haven't told me yet why you referred to your Arkansas plant to answer my question.

Mr. Fox: I think I have just told you that by saying that the operation of that plant produced an impression upon my mind as to the southern atmosphere.

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Mr. Johnson: What particular characteristic of operation of that plant **did** that?

Mr. Fox: Mining operations.

Mr. Johnson: Well, now what particular feature of the mining operation **did** that?

Mr. Fox: No particular feature. I visited the plant a good many times in the last fifteen years.

Mr. Johnson: In your visits to the plant what did you see at that plant to have confirmed that piece of information in your own mind?

Mr. Fox: It wasn't so much what I saw.

Mr. Johnson: What you heard?

Mr. Fox: What I talked with the men about there.

Mr. Johnson: Not so much what you heard as what you talked. What did you talk?

Mr. Fox: You are getting words into my mouth.

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Mr. Johnson: No, I am using exactly your own words.

Mr. Fox: I said what I heard, not what I talked.

Mr. Johnson: You said not what you heard, but what you talked. Read the answer.

The answer was read as follows:

Mr. Fox: It is not so much what I saw.

Mr. Johnson: What you heard?

Mr. Fox: What I talked with the men around there."

Mr. Johnson: What did you talk to the men that confirmed your opinion? Was it your own talk that made this confirmation?

Mr. Fox: No, it was talk. Our talk meant conversation. I don't mean that I -

*Mr. Johnson: You didn't say their talk, you said your talk.

Mr. Fox: No, I mean I didn't make any talk or *speech or anything* like that ~~or~~ *Conversation.*

Mr. Johnson: Then when ~~they~~ *they talked, you heard?*

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Now what did you hear from them in their talk, in conversation with you?

Mr. Fox: Well, I heard a good deal of how they handled the negro down there.

Mr. Johnson: Well, in the conversation between you and the men in the plant, they told you how the negro was handled down south, did they not?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: What did they tell you?

Mr. Fox: Well, they told me that they handled a negro

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89 as if he had no political rights.

Mr. Johnson: As if he had what?

Mr. Fox: As if he had no political rights.

Mr. Johnson: Well, what else?

Mr. Fox: And I think they also spoke about the nerve of the men that they had in these *different* counties who were sheriffs.

Mr. Johnson: The what?

Mr. Fox: The nerve, what good officers they had.

Mr. Johnson: What good officers they had?

Mr. Fox: The counties in southern states.

Mr. Johnson: And because they had good officers in the southern states, you thought it was an inducement why the negro should come north and bear burdens over his shoulders without a coat, is it?

Mr. Fox: Do I have to answer that question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Johnson: Well, isn't it a legitimate question? If it is one we had the right to ask in any way to incriminate yourself, we can't ask you to answer it. (Laughter)

590 Mr. Fox: Well, do you really think that has much influence on this race riot?

Mr. Johnson: You went into it yourself in this former investigation. How did you think at that time that it bore directly upon this subject?

Mr. Fox: Well, that was a different question that I was asked at that time than from what I heard now. You are asking me about the south, about operating conditions, etc., in the south, and *how* I got the impression that they

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were driving these negroes out.

Mr. Johnson: Well, we will let you go without answering that.

You have said that you were told down there that they had no political rights, and that here you positively refused and declined to go into politics because ^{of} the element that did go into politics here?

Mr. Fox: No, I didn't say that I refused to. I said that I had an aversion to politics.

Mr. Johnson: And your aversion was to such an extent that you didn't go in?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: Now then, therefore you declined to go in?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't think anybody ever asked me to go in, but if they did.

Mr. Johnson: Then you declined upon your own accord?

Mr. Fox: I declined to take the initiative.

Mr. Johnson: You declined to take the initiative, therefore you declined to get in, and it was because of the bad element that was operating in politics here that caused you to keep out?

Mr. Fox: No, I think -

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) Was it because of the bad element that was operating here that caused you to keep out?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Johnson: Now you said that the bad element was operating here, and you kept out, is that right?

Mr. Fox: No, I said I had an aversion to politics.

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Mr. Johnson: But you gave a reason. What was the reason?

Mr. Fox: I don't know as I gave the reason, but I will give it now. My reason was that as the manager of the plant here I would be the target for almost every abuse, just like the trusts have been for a long time, and as a consequence I would get nothing but abuse out of it.

Mr. Johnson: That is the reason you give now, but did you not agree with Mr. Cooper that you had not performed your duties as a citizen by going into politics?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is the reason.

Mr. Johnson: And you feel that you should have gone into politics?

Mr. Fox: I feel I owe a score obligation to the community in which I live.

Mr. Johnson: And you have not performed it?

Mr. Fox: I feel that I have failed to do my full duty.

Mr. Johnson: Isn't it a fact that the negro has become the balance of power in your local politics here?

Mr. Fox: I only know of that from what I see in the papers.

Mr. Johnson: Well, what is your information on that subject?

Mr. Fox: My information is to that effect.

Mr. Johnson: That he is the balance of power?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: And as he has become the balance of power, you have not participated in politics?

Mr. Fox: From affairs; I have. I did not say that.

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Mr. Johnson: Has there been any time since you have been here that the negro has not been the bad man of power in local politics?

Mr. Fox: Well, he has always been a factor. He has always been a considerable factor.

Mr. Johnson: And that now - his ability to become a factor in politics and the democratic atmosphere surrounding this place which enabled him to wear his suspenders over his shoulders without a coat has largely induced him to come here?

Mr. Fox: No, but largely induced him to come here, as the chance of good wages.

Mr. Johnson: Do you then agree with the others that good wages has had something to do with it?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is all I can say to do with it.

Mr. Johnson: We are talking your case and I want that the democratic atmosphere of the place had much to do with it?

Mr. Fox: If I said it had much to do with it, then this is my better judgment, better judgment.

Mr. Johnson: And you didn't give the former committee your better judgment?

Mr. Fox: Well, of course, we all get more mature judgment as we get older and look at things.

Mr. Johnson: And you are some sixty days older now?

Mr. Fox: Yes, but look at it from a better perspective now.

Mr. Johnson: Well, all right.

Mr. Fox: I don't ask you for questions. You

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made the statement that you looked after your men. What do you do for them up there at the plant?

Mr. Fox: Well, we have - up to the time of our strike we had this sick benefit society and permanent employment fund, in which 2-1/4% per cent of a man's wages was added to his pay and credited in the book, and these credits, interest at 6% was paid on them until they were withdrawn. He had the privilege every six months of withdrawing any I believe, or all of his credits. We have provided a restaurant for employees.

Mr. Foss: Do they take their meals there?

Mr. Fox: A good many of them take their meals there.

Mr. Foss: Every day?

Mr. Fox: Every day.

Mr. Foss: Regularly?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: What meals do they take?

Mr. Fox: Well, they take meals at practically all hours. The place have different shifts. The dining room is open practically the entire twenty four hours.

Mr. Foss: What charge do you make?

Mr. Fox: Well, the average meal runs about 17¢, according to our receipts.

Mr. Foss: You say that is the average price of the average meal?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: You have a kitchen and everything?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Foss: I understand to get the meals for these

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men. How many can you provide meals for there?

Mr. Fox: We have fed as many as a thousand, I believe at one time.

Mr. Foss: How many do you employ all told?

Mr. Fox: About, on the average, about 2,000.

Mr. Foss: How do you have conveniences for the men there?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Rest rooms?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir, locker rooms and toilet rooms.

Mr. Foss: Anything else?

Mr. Fox: Well, since we eat or to eight hours, we haven't any rest rooms except for office employees and the girls. The men don't come to work until it is time to go to work, and then the eight hours is by they all go here. We have given one or two social affairs for the men here. We gave the kids a party, I think it was on the first of this year, for the children of all the men. We had an entertainment there and took them all up into this dining room. We opened up the dining room and where we anticipated some 500 or 600 and sent out invitations, each man was to bring his children and we expected 500 or 600, and I think we had some 1200 or 1400 up there. The men were not brought in, just the children and wives. Each one was given this entertainment and some of them remember in times. That was for the white employees.

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Mr. Foss: Do you have any more questions?

Mr. Fox: No, I have no questions. I will be glad to do anything for the company.

Mr. Foss: Do you have anything for the men to exercise?

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Mr. Fox: We have a baseball field. We built a baseball field a year ago.

Mr. Foss: How many men stayed there at the time of the strike, did you say?

Mr. Fox: I think about six or seven hundred.

Mr. Foss: How many nights did they stay there?

Mr. Fox: Well, I think some of them stayed two or three nights, and then went home, then came back and stayed probably a couple of nights more. I think I stayed there myself the following four or five days, day and night. My recollection, however, is that I could say perhaps there were 150 or 200 stayed the first night. The most we had at one time was about 250 or 300. They would stay there a couple of nights and then go home to their families, change their clothes and one thing and another, visit their families and then come back, perhaps stay two or three nights more and then go home again.

Mr. Foss: Well, why did they stay there?

Mr. Fox: Well, I suppose they thought it was safer.

Mr. Foss: They were afraid they would be interfered with or their way home by the strikers?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: You spoke about the list of grievances that the strikers presented to you at the time of this last strike, and you were willing to accept that list of grievances?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did you make any changes in the list of grievances?

Mr. Fox: No change whatever. I never changed a comma.

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Mr. Foss: And you agreed to sign that list?

Mr. Fox: I agreed to sign it. I agreed to sign it after they had called the strike at eleven o'clock that night.

Mr. Foss: But they wouldn't sign it?

Mr. Fox: Well, after that I don't know. A man in the power house went out and said he would get it signed, and he went out and the leader of the strike was out there, and he never came back. He never told me since what did happen.

Mr. Cooper: Who was the leader of the strike?

Mr. Fox: Wolf.

Mr. Foss: For any part out, did you state?

Mr. Fox: Well, that is a hard question to answer for this reason: When you say how many went out, we were building a plant -

Mr. Foss: (Interposing) Approximately?

Mr. Fox: We were building an extension, a second plant to the east of us, and in that plant were some 300 or 400 men employed, some by us, some by contractors; and those men were not connected in any way with this other plant. After the strike occurred a great many of them were afraid to come to work. In fact, they didn't come to work for some nine or ten days afterwards. But there were a great number of men like to ^{right} in our No. 1 Plant, that were working, who knew nothing about the strike, and then I went around that evening in the different departments, I couldn't find any in the different departments that knew about the strike or about, and some of those men stayed

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away three or four days and then came back.

Mr. Poss: Some of them came back? You don't know how many of those came back?

Mr. Fox: Well, just how many I don't know.

Mr. Poss: How many, do you suppose, ultimately stayed out?

Mr. Fox: Ultimately I think I said somewhere between 500 and 600.

Mr. Poss: Well, why do you suppose they went out? You say they were willing to accept the proposition?

Mr. Fox: I think labor conditions were such that if you take eight or ten men and walk them up the street in front of some plant and say, "there is a strike in here, boys," there would be a great many of them who would be afraid to go into the plant.

Mr. Poss: Do you know anything about the meeting of May 28th, down here at the City Hall?

Mr. Fox: I wasn't there. I just heard there was a meeting.

Mr. Poss: Do you know whether your strikers were there or not?

Mr. Fox: Some of our strikers, I think were there.

Mr. Poss: They participated in that meeting?

Mr. Fox: Well, the meeting was called, as I understand it, at the request of the Central Trades Labor Council, but our strike had been called off, as I recalled it, by the committee for patriotic reasons, before that meeting was held.

Mr. Poss: Now, as I understand it, you have a letter

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98 from the labor people back in February - you have mentioned in your testimony - stating that they were satisfied with conditions?

Mr. Fox: Yes, this association.

Mr. Foss: What association was that?

Mr. Fox: The employees' association that Mr. Cooper spoke about.

Mr. Foss: Did you put that letter in the testimony before the Committee on National Defense, or whatever committee you testified before?

Mr. Fox: No, I didn't. They didn't ask for that.

Mr. Foss: What time in February was that?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't recall. It was after the first of the year some time. It might have been in January.

Mr. Foss: You have an open shop, as I understand it?

Mr. Fox: An open shop, yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: You employ non-union labor?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: And the union men tried to unionize your labor, both white and colored?

Mr. Fox: Have they tried? Not as far as I know.

Mr. Foss: Do you know whether the organization known as the I.W.O. have in any way tried to interfere with your labor?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't know reports that the I.W.O. and all sorts of organizations have been trying to organize our men.

Mr. Foss: But you don't know anything of your

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own record?

Mr. Fox: Not of my own knowledge.

Mr. Foss: You think the trouble here is the want of law enforcement?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: And you think that is the remedy, do you for the *situation*?

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~~ask you what is the remedy for the situation?~~

Mr. Fox. I think the report of the Grand Jury in the riot cases here covers the ground completely.

Mr. Foss. That's all.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Fox, will you come back at 2 o'clock this afternoon?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. The committee will take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., the committee recessed)

A F T E R R E C E S S

The committee reassembled at 3 o'clock p.m., pursuant to recess.

STATEMENT OF C. B. FOX (Continued).

Mr. Foss. Just one question more I would like to ask Mr. Fox, whether the Aluminum Company make anything for the Government, manufacture anything?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. And what is it?

Mr. Fox. We make Army canteens and materials for aeroplanes, beams and channels out of aluminum, and we supply aluminum for castings for Army trucks.

Mr. Foss. How long have you been making these things?

Mr. Fox. Well, ever since the war broke out.

Mr. Foss. And prior to that time, were making them

for England, France or any other foreign country; these things?

Mr. Fox. Well, yes. We first made them for the Japanese, I believe, in the Russo-Japanese War, and when the war broke out in 1914 we supplied aluminum ingots to Russia and to Great Britain and some to Italy. And after this country got into the war then we took orders for aluminum, both ingot and manufactured, for the American Government.

Mr. Foss. That's all.

Mr. Raker. What is your age?

Mr. Fox. Forty-two.

Mr. Raker. Now you are a man of family?

Mr. Fox. I have one boy, my wife and one boy and mother-in-law.

Mr. Raker. Your wife is living?

Mr. Fox. They are all living.

Mr. Raker. What is the age of your son?

Mr. Fox. Nine years old.

Mr. Raker. Are you a native or a naturalized citizen?

Mr. Fox. I am a naturalized citizen.

Mr. Raker. What was your native country?

Mr. Fox. Canada.

Mr. Raker. How long have you lived in the United States?

Mr. Fox. Fifteen years.

Mr. Raker. How long is it since you have been naturalized?

Mr. Fox. I think about three or four years.

Mr. Raker. You were naturalized here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. About four years ago?

Mr. Fox. About four years ago.

Mr. Raker. Of course before that time you couldn't take any part in the elections?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Have you voted on any election?

Mr. Fox. I have not.

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Mr. Raker. You never have voted in your life?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. At any election?

Mr. Fox. At no election.

Mr. Raker. Neither state, National or municipal?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Nor school election?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Your boy goes to school?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. You leave that for the rest to do?

Mr. Fox. Well, I was never put on it.

Mr. Raker. Well, just answer the question. You leave it for the rest? You can say "yes" or "no".

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Does your wife vote?

Mr. Fox. No, I don't think she has ever voted.

Mr. Raker. Does your mother-in-law vote?

Mr. Fox. No, I never knew of her to vote.

Mr. Raker. Are either of them registered?

Mr. Fox. I don't know; I think not.

Mr. Raker. Now the real truth of the matter is, you haven't taken much interest in citizenship in this country, have you?

Mr. Fox. Well, I have tried to live a decent, respectable life.

Mr. Raker. That is not what I am trying to get at. I am getting at citizenship, so far as exercising one of the highest rights known to man, to register, to participate in elections, so that he may have a government, to the end that mankind may get better treatment, better conditions, better surroundings, better laws, better enforcement of the law. You haven't taken any interest in that at all?

Mr. Fox. I have taken an interest in it.

Mr. Raker. You haven't taken an interest--- you have not taken any interest whereby you have exerted any of your influence in the way of registration and voting?

Mr. Fox. I have never voted. If you think my vote was any influence it has never been exerted.

Mr. Raker. Well now then, with regard to the men working for you, of course the idea is to get the best work you can out of him, and whether he registers or votes or participates in the necessary functions of an American citizen in the way of his government as to voting and participating in municipal, state and National affairs, you haven't paid any attention to that, have you?

Mr. Fox. Yes, we have.

Mr. Raker. How?

Mr. Fox. Well, we contributed to the Y. M. C. A. which established naturalization classes here. We were the first to contribute and contributed most at my solicitation.

Mr. Raker. Why don't you look after those that don't need naturalization too?

Mr. Fox. Well, if a corporation gets into politics I

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am afraid they would get into deep water.

Mr. Baker. I am talking about you now. I am talking about yourself. I will get the corporation later.

Mr. Fox. You mean I personally?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't.

Mr. Baker. The thing is then, so far as you are concerned and your idea of men and affairs, you are working for the corporation, trying to make all the money you can for it?

Mr. Fox. I am trying first of all to make a living for myself. That has been a very necessary part of my existence, making a living for myself. I was born a poor boy and had to make my way all the time.

Mr. Baker. Now you are superintendent of this plant out here, a million dollar plant?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Baker. You employ about two thousand men?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And you understand the ordinary English language, don't you?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Baker. I don't want to be severe, and I don't want to take but little time, and I would like to have you answer my questions. Your purpose is to earn all the money you can for your corporation?

Mr. Fox. That is what I am paid for.

Mr. Baker. To make as big a showing as you can?

Mr. Fox. That is what I am paid for.

Mr. Baker. To pay the men the wage that has been fixed and get out of them as much labor as you can?

Mr. Fox. Well, that is not what I am paid for.

Mr. Raker. Well, you try to get as much result from the labor that you employ as you can, do you not?

Mr. Fox. No, sir; we try to get a day's work out of a man, a fair day's work out of the man.

Mr. Raker. It is wholly immaterial to you then, what he does or whether he gives a full, complete day's labor for the amount of money paid him or not?

Mr. Fox. I said a fair day's work. That is what we try to get out of them---a fair day's work.

Mr. Raker. Well, then, come back to that question again, you try to get a fair day's labor out of every man employed?

Mr. Fox. That's it.

Mr. Raker. To the end that the company may make more money?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You want to see him there on time at the plant?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And then when he leaves the plant after his day's work is done, as far as he is concerned, why your task is ended and completed?

Mr. Fox. My individual task is ended--- and it is some task.

Mr. Raker. But you have never gone in out in and about the town to see the conditions of the laboring people, where they live?

Mr. Fox. I have never been a social worker.

Mr. Raker. Do you understand my question? Do you

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understand it?

Mr. Fox. I don't believe I do.

Mr. Raker. Have you gone about the town at all, in riding about in your machine or walking or otherwise, and observed where these laboring people lived?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Are you fairly familiar with the streets in and about East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Have you observed where the negroes live in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. You have been through the streets?

Mr. Fox. Well, some of them. I have not been on all.

Mr. Raker. The great majority of them you have?

Mr. Fox. Well, yes.

Mr. Raker. You have observed the back alleys?

Mr. Fox. Well, I won't say that I have observed the back alleys.

Mr. Raker. You have observed the vacant lots?

Mr. Fox. On the principal streets, by which one would get from our plant down town I would say that I am familiar with those streets. Off of those streets I have been very seldom.

Mr. Raker. Have you observed the condition of the vacant lots near these residence sections?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Pools of stagnant, slimy water?

Mr. Fox. In some cases.

Mr. Raker. And weeds growing up every place?

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Mr. Fox. Well, occasionally they cut the weeds here.

Mr. Raker. Well, are the weeds growing up?

Mr. Fox. You mean right now?

Mr. Raker. Do you think I asked you that question? Do you think I asked you that question, whether the weeds were growing up right now?

Mr. Fox. I don't know that I understand the question. --- are the weeds growing up on the vacant lots? I say sometimes they have been cut. This past year they have been farmed a good many of the vacant lots have, and we have contributed towards this thrift society for cultivating these vacant lots. I think there has been some improvement in the vacant lots.

Mr. Raker. There are many vacant lots where weeds have grown up to the height of from five to ten feet high?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Evidence of that is now existing, even though the weed-growing season is ended, isn't it?

Mr. Fox. Yes, I think that is true.

Mr. Raker. What are those high weeds?

Mr. Fox. Those are sunflowers, if you call those "weeds". Some people cultivate them for a crop.

Mr. Raker. Oh, that is the reason you were distinguishing in my question? They cultivate these vacant lots where we see now--- where the sunflowers stand, old stalks from five to ten feet high? Your intention is to convey to the committee now that this welfare association has cultivated these sunflowers for the benefit and enjoyment of the laboring people of East St. Louis. Is that right?

Mr. Fox. That is not right.

Mr. Raker. Have you been to Brooklyn?

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Mr. Fox. I don't think I have been to Brooklyn for two or three years.

Mr. Raker. Have you been down on Broadway here in East St. Louis from the bridge on out east?

Mr. Fox. I have traveled it for 15 years.

Mr. Raker. Many times?

Mr. Fox. Many times.

Mr. Raker. You have observed its conditions?

Mr. Fox. I have observed its conditions.

Mr. Raker. Have you been out Whiskey Alley--- Whiskey Chute?

Mr. Fox. I don't think I have been out there for several years.

Mr. Raker. How long since you have been there?

Mr. Fox. Well, I am not sure that I know what Whiskey Chute is. If Whiskey Chute is St. Clair Avenue, then I have been on St. Clair Avenue.

Mr. Raker. You have never heard that they call it Whiskey Chute?

Mr. Fox. I have heard the name, but I never get down there.

Mr. Raker. You have heard the name "Whiskey Chute"; you have lived here all these years as superintendent of this plant, and you don't know where Whiskey Chute is located?

Mr. Fox. I don't know definitely where it is.

Mr. Raker. Do you know where these various barrel houses have been located in East St. Louis within the last year and a half?

Mr. Fox. I think I have seen what you call a "barrel house" on Broadway. Outside of that I haven't.

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Mr. Baker. Just one?

Mr. Fox. I am not sure there were more there than there are now, though some closed up.

Mr. Baker. You have observed where the saloons were in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Where the loafers and rounders gather and assemble?

Mr. Fox. Well, it is a long time since I have been in a saloon in East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Well, you couldn't see them without going into them; is that it?

Mr. Fox. Well, I suppose you might say that they gather around most saloons. They are the kind of saloons you expect them to gather around.

Mr. Baker. In other words, you paid no attention to the condition?

Mr. Fox. I didn't pay much attention.

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Mr. Baker. You paid no attention to the kind and character of men that inhabited these places?

Mr. Fox. Very little.

Mr. Baker. Or where they lived, where they came from? Is that right?

Mr. Fox. We paid very little attention to them after they left the plant.

Mr. Baker. Did you pay any attention?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir, we did.

Mr. Baker. What did you do?

Mr. Fox. Well, we got a man in charge of welfare work, and in case of sickness amongst the men he visits them.

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Mr. Raker. I am talking now about you individually.

Mr. Fox. Well, I have gone to see some of the men in our plant who have been affected with sickness, or been hurt, myself, at their homes.

Mr. Raker. Have you been around the City Hall where they have this segregated district?

Mr. Fox. I have been to the City Hall. Where the segregated district was I didn't know.

Mr. Raker. You never heard?

Mr. Fox. Only what I saw in the paper.

Mr. Raker. You never heard outside of what you read in the paper?

Mr. Fox. I have heard of the "Valley" and about where it was.

Mr. Raker. Well, is this Valley adjoining the City Hall?

Mr. Fox. Somewhere near the City Hall, as I understand it.

Mr. Raker. Then personally you paid no attention to it?

Mr. Fox. Personally I paid very little attention to it.

Mr. Raker. And notwithstanding you were the superintendent of this plant?

Mr. Fox. yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Have you paid any attention to the methods and mode of the Justice courts in ~~maxi~~ attend'ng to business?

Mr. Fox. I have not, except we had a particular case ourselves and tried the case.

Mr. Raker. Did you pay any attention at all to what the police force was doing?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

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Mr. Baker. You don't know whether they were efficient or not?

Mr. Fox. Except for what I said this morning, that I didn't see where criminals were properly punished.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you make any inquiry as to whether or not the police officers during six months prior to July 2nd, 1917, were performing their duty?

Mr. Fox. I don't think I did.

Mr. Baker. Well, could you say you didn't?

Mr. Fox. To the best of my recollection, I didn't.

Mr. Baker. Did you observe what was being done by the sheriff of the county and his deputies in and about East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox. No, I never saw them do anything.

Mr. Baker. Well, you never made any inquiries, did you?

Mr. Fox. I don't think I ever made any inquiries?

Mr. Baker. Did you ever make an inquiries as to how the funds of the city of East St. Louis were being expended?

Mr. Fox. I didn't, except to read the statements that the city administration got out.

Mr. Baker. Did you make any attempt to find out how the funds of the Drainage District were being expended?

Mr. Fox. The Levee Board?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Fox. No, I saw their published reports and read them.

Mr. Baker. But you never made any inquiry at the office or of anyone that purported to know?

Mr. Fox. No. I made a trip along the levee to see the

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188 work that had been done, once or twice.

Mr. Raker. And that is the extent of it?

Mr. Fox. That is the extent of it.

Mr. Raker. Did you make any inquiry as to the going and coming of white labor to this town, this city?

Mr. Fox. No, sir; none at all.

Mr. Raker. You don't know where it comes from nor where it goes when it gets through?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Is it permanent here, or is it a floating population, the laboring men?

Mr. Fox. Well, I should say that the greater portion of it, of the common labor, was floating. This is a large industrial district, including St. Louis and Alton, Madison, Granite City, 25 or 50 miles around.

Mr. Raker. They just come and work a little while and get such good wages at the Aluminum plant that they float on to the next place? Is that about it?

Mr. Fox. Well, I don't know whether that is the reason or not.

Mr. Raker. About what per cent of them are what you call "floating" labor, and the others permanent?

Mr. Fox. Well, nowadays practically all of the common labor is what I would call floaters.

Mr. Raker. And that is what percentage of your plant?

Mr. Fox. Probably ten or fifteen per cent.

Mr. Raker. Well now, there is the 90 per cent, or the 85 per cent, that is not floating.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

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Mr. Baker. They live here; they live in this industrial district; they make this their home?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Then it is only a small per cent of the entire laboring class that is floating, as you have told us.

Mr. Fox. What I would consider floating.

Mr. Baker. Now what about the colored? They are floating or somewhat stationary?

Mr. Fox. Well, there is a considerable element of it that is stationary, and a good deal of it is floating.

Mr. Baker. What proportion is floating?

Mr. Fox. I should say probably fifty per cent of it is what I would call floating. It comes here in the summer time and goes south in the winter.

Mr. Baker. What time do they leave in the winter, in the fall?

Mr. Fox. Well, as soon as the cold weather comes around, November and December.

Mr. Baker. And when do they come in in the spring?

Mr. Fox. Well, probably about May or June.

Mr. Baker. They get much lower wages in the South than they do here?

Mr. Fox. I don't know what they get.

Mr. Baker. You don't know anything about the amount of wage they get in the South?

Mr. Fox. I don't know.

Mr. Baker. That is absolutely a blank to you?

Mr. Fox. Well, I wouldn't like to-- all I could give

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would be simply a bare idea. I never asked any man what he paid in the South.

Mr. Baker. You have a plant in Tennessee and one in Arkansas?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Baker. And you have been there many times?

Mr. Fox. Well, the one in Tennessee I have never been at. I have been to the one in Arkansas.

Mr. Baker. But you have never been to Tennessee?

Mr. Fox. No.

389 Mr. Baker. Is there any other Southern State in which you have been?

Mr. Fox. I have been at the North Carolina plant when the plant was built, but not since.

Mr. Baker. You have a plant in North Carolina?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. How long since you have been there?

Mr. Fox. Perhaps a year and a half.

Mr. Baker. You made no investigation or heard what they are paying in the plant in North Carolina when you were there a year ago?

Mr. Fox. No, the work was in the hands of a contractor by the name of Herdaway from Georgia.

Mr. Baker. Then your theory is that these people just simply float up North in the Summer and float back in the fall?

Mr. Fox. Not all of them.

Mr. Baker. This fifty per cent that you are talking about?

Mr. Fox. Yes, I should say from my observation.

Mr. Raker. It has been quite augmented in the last year and a half, hasn't it, this Southern colored population?

Mr. Fox. Yes. I don't know whether they come from the South or not, the colored population.

Mr. Raker. You don't know whether they come from the South, North, East or West?

Mr. Fox. I assume they come from the South, because the South has a large population of colored people.

Mr. Raker. But you haven't the slightest idea on earth which direction they come from?

Mr. Fox. Not until we ask a man and examine him and find out where he comes from.

Mr. Raker. Well, how many have you asked where they came from?

Mr. Fox. I suppose I have asked two or three personally.

Mr. Raker. Now outside of the two or three you have asked where they came from, you haven't the slightest idea of where this colored help comes from?

Mr. Fox. I didn't say I had the slightest idea, I said I didn't know, and there is a difference.

Mr. Raker. Well, then, you don't know where they came from?

Mr. Fox. No, I don't know.

Mr. Raker. None of them?

Mr. Fox. I just said I asked two or three.

Mr. Raker. You don't know where any of it came from, except these two or three?

Mr. Fox. That is exactly right.

Mr. Raker. You never inquired at the railroad station?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. You never saw them coming in on the train?

Mr. Fox. I saw at the Relay Depot once or twice, when I was down,--- I saw colored people coming in.

Mr. Baker. Just a few, or many?

Mr. Fox. Well, I noticed at one time there was a family, apparently, coming in, carrying a washboard and a few home furnishings.

Mr. Baker. Is that all?

Mr. Fox. That is about all.

Mr. Baker. You never heard they were coming in by the trainload from the South?

Mr. Fox. I did not.

Mr. Baker. You saw nothing of it in the papers?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. You never heard it discussed in the meetings of the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Fox. It never was discussed at any meeting I was at.

Mr. Baker. Then you never heard it discussed, did you?

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Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. In fact, these matters, then, that I have called your attention to, you have not investigated them; you have paid no attention to them and cared less? Isn't that right?

Mr. Fox. Well, that is hardly a fair statement of what I said.

Mr. Baker. Well, you state it then.

Mr. Fox. I say that my principal business was looking

after my own industry and making a living for my family; that while I have an interest in those matters like anyone has, I read the papers and am interested in the human race, I made no particular inquiries and didn't make it my particular business.

Mr. Raker. Have you a separate provision out there for the wash rooms and bath rooms and shower baths and lockers, and so forth, for the white men?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And one for the colored man?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And one for the colored girls?

Mr. Fox. We haven't any colored girls.

Mr. Raker. But you have one?

Mr. Fox. We have no colored girls working for us.

Mr. Raker. You have one for the white help, girls?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. About how many young ladies do you employ, or women?

Mr. Fox. They are employed entirely in the office.

Mr. Raker. How many do you employ?

Mr. Fox. I suppose 25 or 50; somewhere between 25 and 50.

Mr. Raker. Now it is a fact that your plant is so located that there is but little chance of getting any lunch unless they bring their lunch with them; is that right?

Mr. Fox. Well, there is one place right close there.

Mr. Raker. One little place?

Mr. Fox. Well, 't is a building pretty near as big as our dining room.

Mr. Raker. Was that the only place?

Mr. Fox. Well, a good many of them can go home for lunch, and do, that live in Alta Sita. We give three-quarters of an hour to the workmen, and a great many of the girls go home who live out there. Some of them patronize our restaurant, and then they go home and get their own lunch.

Mr. Raker. How much have you lost of the maintenance of your restaurant?

Mr. Fox. Well, the man that operates the restaurant pays no rent. We supply his gas, heat, light, linen and the tables and the dishes. He supplies just food and service. I think the time the restaurant has been running, we, as far as we are concerned, or this man was concerned, has lost several thousand dollars.

Mr. Raker. The man that runs it?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Is he connected with the firm in any way?

Mr. Fox. Why, no.

Mr. Raker. He runs it at a loss?

Mr. Fox. He has been running it at a loss. We have made up the deficits out of our own pockets.

Mr. Raker. You make up the deficits?

Mr. Fox. We have made up the deficits out of our own pockets.

Mr. Raker. How much?

Mr. Fox. Well, I said several thousand dollars. I don't know just what it is going to be now. The last time we put him in the clear was about two months ago.

Mr. Raker. And how much are you out--- how much is the

company out for maintaining this dining room?

Mr. Fox. Well, we are out, of course, the gas and water bills, and heat and electric light, the linen and the dishes. We have to replace all those.

Mr. Raker. You can't tell? Is that right?

Mr. Fox. Yes, I can't tell exactly. I don't remember the figures.

Mr. Raker. Don't you believe that you would get better results now from your experience, if not only the superintendent but every man connected with the concern would assist and see that the conditions of the town in which the plant was located, or where the people come from, were given better homes, better sanitary conditions, better streets, better surroundings?

Mr. Fox. I certainly do.

Mr. Raker. The men would be better able to do the work, wouldn't they?

Mr. Fox. Well, they would have some relief from the toil. It would be a change.

Mr. Raker. They would be better able to do the work, wouldn't they? You have had some experience.

Mr. Fox. I rather think they would.

Mr. Raker. You certainly cannot just shut down on that as an absolute want of knowledge at all.

Mr. Fox. No, that is true.

Mr. Raker. you know something about men?

Mr. Fox. Yes, I do. That is quite true.

Mr. Raker. Tell now, isn't it a fact that if their surroundings are pleasant, good, wholesome, decent and right, they will do better work?

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Mr. Fox. Yes, that is true.

Mr. Raker. But you haven't done anything except what you have told us to make that condition better?

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Raker. And since this riot in which forty-some-odd people were killed, and some 320 houses destroyed, you have done nothing to bring about better conditions, except you have paid about \$10,000 to the fund to keep the police force going? That's right, isn't it?

Mr. Fox. That is all. That is what has been done.

It is a ticklish question with the corporation just how much to do.

Mr. Raker. And you say that you have been prohibited by the laws of Illinois from assisting in the bettering of the condition of the men working for you?

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't. I said that in one case that I believed that in the case of the Pullman Company they were prohibited from fixing up this town of Pullman or owning the real estate there and getting good houses for the men to live in.

Mr. Raker. So, having heard that, you just made up your mind, so far as your corporation was concerned and you were concerned, that you would let the streets and the alleys be covered with litter and with dirt. Is that right? So far as East St. Louis is concerned?

Mr. Fox. Well, I feel that that is part of the city administration's duty.

Mr. Raker. You would leave the places where you men

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have to go to and from work, and where they have to buy their things, infested with the Monkey Cage and the barrel houses and other saloons where loafers and thugs live? Is that right?

Mr. Fox. No, it isn't right.

Mr. Raker. You think the State of Illinois prohibits the wiping of these things out, do you?

Mr. Fox. No, I don't think so.

Mr. Raker. Your concern hasn't been patriotic in the way of paying its taxes to make conditions better, has it?

Mr. Fox. I think so.

Mr. Raker. You have resisted your taxation, haven't you?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. You tried to cut it down?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. At no time?

Mr. Fox. Not that I remember.

Mr. Raker. You freely and voluntarily and willingly paid every assessment?

Mr. Fox. Oh, no.

Mr. Raker. That has been made?

Mr. Fox. No, the assessment that has been made--- the man that made the assessments never came near the place, and assessed some of our pieces of property as a palpable error, and we would go and have those errors corrected.

Mr. Raker. You have been watching that very closely?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And trying to get it reduced?

Mr. Fox. No, trying to get it put at a fair valuation.

Mr. Raker. Did you ever make any offer through your-

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self or any of your associates that you people would advance more money to the municipal government if they would wipe out evil conditions existing in the town of East St. Louis so as to make it better for the men and women living here?

Mr. Fox. I will tell you what we have done.

Mr. Raker. You can answer that yes or no very easily.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Read the question.

(The question was read as follows:

"Mr. Raker. Did you ever make any offer through yourself or any of your associates that you people would advance more money to the municipal government if they would wipe out evil conditions existing in the town of East St. Louis so as to make it better for the men and women living here?")

Mr. Raker. "Yes", that you have done these things?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Anything in addition to what you have already told us?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. What is it?

Mr. Fox. The city officials, after the saloons were closed on Sunday, the Mayor, of course said that the revenue of the city was going to be lost and wanted to know whether, under the circumstances, we would consent to take in the rest of our plant inside of the city, in order that a larger revenue might come to the city for city taxes on that plant, and I said as between living out--- having our plant outside the county and operated the way the outskirts of the city had been operated,-- we would much rather be in the city and submit to the present

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city administration.

Mr. Raker. Did you do it?

Mr. Fox. Well, there was nothing to do. We just waited until they organized to take it in. It hasn't been organized.

Mr. Raker. You didn't do it, then?

Mr. Fox. It wasn't for us to do. Understand, they take these districts in by the vote of the people that live in them.

Mr. Raker. What I am getting at, you have made this talk but done nothing.

Mr. Fox. Well, we improved the streets all around our plant. We lit up at our expense the streets for nearly three-quarters of a mile around there; we made all the streets, filled them, and not a dollar did we ever get from anybody else, from the city. For all the taxes that we paid in we never got a bit of fire protection, police protection, water, city light or anything else-- or streets. Everything that has been done around there for a mile and a half has been done out of our own pockets.

Mr. Raker. Wouldn't that kind of arouse ^{you} to thinking about something if you had no police protection?

Mr. Fox. How do you mean?

Mr. Raker. Wouldn't you get busy to see that you did get police protection, if you didn't have any?

Mr. Fox. Well, we never had much call for police protection out there.

Mr. Raker. Well, you said you didn't have any police protection.

Mr. Fox. No, the police never walked the beats out there.

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Mr. Raker. Did you need police protection?

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Raker. Did you call upon the Mayor of the city or the chief of police saying, "We want more police protection here"?

Mr. Fox. I think I did.

Mr. Raker. When was that?

Mr. Fox. I think I called on the chief about a year ago.

Mr. Raker. Not since that time?

Mr. Fox. No. He said they didn't have enough men to go out there. He sent some men out once or twice. Some of our men going home at night were being held up and their pay envelopes taken away from them.

Mr. Raker. By thugs, hold-ups, criminals?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And that is the only thing you did to protect your men that were going to and from the plant--- particularly from the plant--- after they had gotten their pay checks, was to go to the chief of police about a year ago and tell him some of your men had been held up?

Mr. Fox. And we proceeded to get the street car company to try and put a car line out there closer to the scene, so the men could get on the street car from the ^{time} ~~plant~~ office. We installed a number of lights along the street.

Mr. Raker. Of course the main thing was to get the men in the plant to work and get the work, and then out again? That is the real condition, is it?

Mr. Fox. Well, that is what our business is, you know.

Mr. Raker. Certainly. What is your remedy for the

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conditions that have existed in East St. Louis for the last couple of years, and particularly up to the third of July this year? Have you any to offer to the committee?

Mr. Fox. I don't think I have any at all.

Mr. Raker. None whatever?

Mr. Fox. I read the Grand Jury report and the recommendations that they made seem^{ed} to me to deal with the situation just as well--- they included all the recommendations I could make.

Mr. Raker. Then you would refer us to the Grand Jury's report?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You would say that those were your sentiments?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Have you done anything to carry out those recommendations?

Mr. Fox. Well, I say we gave \$10,000 along with the others.

Mr. Raker. Have you done anything else to carry out those recommendations?

Mr. Fox. Well, Mr. Rucker, my assistant, attended a great many of these meetings of this Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Raker. Have you done anything else?

Mr. Fox. That is all that I have done.

Mr. Raker. This sick fund that you speak about is paid by the men themselves?

Mr. Fox. No, it wasn't; it was paid out of our own pockets.

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Mr. Raker. I thought you said you took 2-1/2 per cent out of their wages?

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't. I said we add 2-1/2 per cent and put it in the book. That is plain enough right there in the testimony.

Mr. Raker. You added 2-1/2 per cent to what would be their wage?

Mr. Fox. To what was their wage; and put it in as a permanent employment fund--- that was the name of it-- so that a man would have a little if anything happened to him, if he stayed there any length of time.

Mr. Raker. That is given him as a bonus?

Mr. Fox. That was given him as a bonus.

Mr. Raker. Was there any deduction from the men's wages for hospital funds?

Mr. Fox. No deduction whatever. It was a very clever arrangement. If a man was discharged that money, in order to obviate the charge that it would go to the company, was put into a sick benefit society, administered by the men themselves. If a man quit and went away and paid no attention to this money and without giving any notice, and didn't draw it, it went to the sick benefit society. That is the way the sick benefit society got its funds, plus donations from the company. But after the permanent fund was organized, then we wanted to protect ~~xx~~ ourselves as well as the men against any charge that we would fire a man in order to get his permanent employment fund, so we put it into the sick fund.

Mr. Raker. And you used that to provide necessary medicines?

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Mr. Fox. Well, at that time the sick benefit society hired a doctor to look after the men, and he gave them medical treatment, and in addition I think the man drew some five or six or eight dollars a week.

Mr. Raker. That would be your doctor then, the company doctor?

Mr. Fox. Well, they ^{could} ~~could~~ their own doctor. In fact, they did, once here.

Mr. Raker. And pay them out of this fund?

Mr. Fox. Pay them out of this sick fund.

Mr. Raker. Now, once again, so that I may not overlook it, I am going to repeat, Whom do you lay this riot to of July 2nd, 1917?

Mr. Fox. Well, I think it was a culmination of the lawless conditions, lack of law enforcement.

Mr. Raker. You don't care to change that in any way?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Who were the responsible parties for this strike that occurred in April?

Mr. Fox. There was a man named Wolf, a man named Lehman, and I think a man named Simon.

Mr. Raker. Is it your view that the strike had anything to do with the following riots?

Mr. Fox. Very little if anything.

Mr. Raker. Well did it, in your mind, have anything to do with it?

Mr. Fox. I suppose it added a little by creating disturbance and what lawlessness occurred.

Mr. Raker. I can't quite draw the distinction.

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I have repeated it so as to get down to this question definitely, that the riots occurred by virtue of the want of enforcement of the law, and lawlessness. Now I have asked you if you attributed the strike to any of the causes of the rioting, and your answer is?

Mr. Fox. Attribute the strike to the rioting, or the rioting to the strike?

Mr. Raker. The rioting to the strike.

Mr. Fox. No, I would ^{not} attribute the rioting to the strike.

Mr. Raker. In other words, the rioting hadn't anything to do--- was not ^{the} cause at all of the strike?

Mr. Fox. Not that I could see. The strike was all over and had been declared over by the committee long before the riots occurred.

Mr. Raker. Well, doesn't a riot like the one that occurred here in May of this year, and in July of this year, affect your welfare?

Mr. Fox. Of course it affects everybody's welfare that lives or works in the community.

Mr. Raker. You haven't gone to the Mayor to have things changed since July 2nd?

Mr. Fox. I have talked with the Mayor two or three times since then.

Mr. Raker. Since that time?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir; perhaps more than that.

Mr. Raker. And made suggestions as to what should be done?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

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Mr. Raker. What have you suggested, now, that the Mayor should do?

Mr. Fox. The principal suggestion I made to him was that the police force should be built up to a higher morale than what he had before.

Mr. Raker. That was the matter with the old one?

Mr. Fox. Well, they haven't had a good police force here, I don't think, since Chief Purdy's time.

Mr. Raker. What was the matter with them?

Mr. Fox. Well, they didn't enforce the law. The character of the men wasn't a high grade of policeman.

Mr. Raker. What was the matter with the character of the men?

Mr. Fox. They were not high-grade policemen.

Mr. Raker. What was the matter with them? What made them not high-grade?

Mr. Fox. I don't know.

Mr. Raker. What was charged against them?

Mr. Fox. Well, they didn't stand up like the police would do in cities like New York or St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. What do you mean by "stand up"?

Mr. Fox. Well, I mean they didn't seem to enforce the law. They, for one detail--- I am afraid to say anything about details for fear I will get into the suspender proposition like I did on the other.

Mr. Raker. You needn't be afraid of me.

Mr. Fox. I am not; but you know a well dressed, well set up soldierly looking man is a different kind of a man from one that doesn't look that way.

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Mr. Raker. Weren't the policemen well dressed and well set up.

Mr. Fox. They didn't seem to me like it.

Mr. Raker. They dressed poorly?

Mr. Fox. Well, they didn't take care of themselves.

Mr. Raker. They looked slouchy?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Greasy, dirty?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Their uniform wasn't kept in shape?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Have you got anything to say against the police force?

Mr. Fox. Well, that is about all.

Mr. Raker. That is the only thing you have got now to charge against the police that existed before July 2nd?

Mr. Fox. I used to see policemen hanging around saloons.

Mr. Raker. Well, anything else? You are not afraid to tell what you have heard, are you?

Mr. Fox. That is about all I heard. I had very little to do with the city government. I never talked with anybody much about it.

Mr. Raker. But still you charge these riots all to the want of enforcement of the law?

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Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And you didn't pay any attention to it and didn't know much about it?

Mr. Fox. I read the paper every night and every morning, and that is the way the most of us are kept informed as to what

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is going on.

Mr. Raker. Was any charge made against these policemen that they were grafters?

Mr. Fox. I saw in the paper--- we had several changes of the police force.

Mr. Raker. Was any charge made that you heard, from any source, against these policemen as grafters? Now that can be answered by yes or no very easily.

Mr. Fox. I would like you to repeat the question.

Mr. Raker. I will put ~~the~~ question. Did you hear through any source that these policemen were charged as grafters?

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't.

Mr. Raker. You never heard that?

Mr. Fox. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. ^{Did you see} that they were cowards and unable to arrest ^{them} and bring ^{to} justice, because they were timid?

Mr. Fox. Well, I have heard they were cowardly.

Mr. Raker. You heard that they had been receiving tips, as it were, not to enforce the law; not ~~ax~~ to arrest this man or that man; that certain individuals had an influence over them by which they wouldn't enforce the law?

Mr. Fox. I suppose I have heard that in a general way ever since I have been here.

Mr. Raker. Well now, that goes to the general condition. Did you think it existed?

Mr. Fox. I think it existed pretty nearly in every city.

Mr. Raker. Well now, did I ask you about any other city?

Mr. Fox. You said do I think.

Mr. Raker. Did I ask you about any other city?

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Mr. Fox. I don't remember.

Mr. Raker. You don't? You know just as well as you are living that I never asked you about any other city except East St. Louis, don't you?

Mr. Fox. Well, I have been cross-questioned so much here---

Mr. Raker (Interposing). It don't make any difference how much you have been cross-questioned. I am going to try to get the truth out of you. There is no need of your sitting there and evading my questions. I never asked you anything about any outside city, did I?

Mr. Fox. I don't remember. I don't remember you asking me about any outside city.

Mr. Raker. You know I was talking about East St. Louis and about the police force, because you said that these riots were occasioned by virtue of an absolute abandonment of law and order, didn't you?

Mr. Fox. I didn't use just those words.

Mr. Raker. Not exactly, but in substance and to that effect. Isn't that right?

Mr. Fox. It was partial abandonment of law and order; lack of enforcement of the law; that is what I said.

Mr. Raker. Well now, getting back to the police. You heard that they were taking tips from men and institutions for the purpose of not enforcing the law in East St. Louis?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Is that right?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You did nothing to avoid that, to prevent it,

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did you?

Mr. Fox. Well, I heard about gambling games and I didn't do anything to prevent that, because I think a man is foolish that gets into a gambling game.

Mr. Raker. And simply because he is foolish to get into a gambling game and your boy or other boys might get into it, you simply think he is foolish and pay no attention to stop it?

Mr. Fox. I just had all I could do attending to my own business, my private business.

Mr. Raker. You know that gambling corrupts, not only the government but every individual, don't you?

Mr. Fox. I don't know that; no.

Mr. Raker. And that the man that ~~xka~~ gambles will go wrong 99 times out of 100--- that gambles around these saloons? Isn't that right?

Mr. Fox. Well, we never like to have a man in our employ who is a gambler, with any responsibility.

Mr. Raker. you heard that was going on here in East St. Louis, in these saloons, didn't you?

Mr. Fox. yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And you did nothing to avoid it or stop it?

Mr. Fox. I didn't feel that was my job.

Mr. Raker. You didn't do anything to stop it? Why can't you say whether you did or not?

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't do anything to stop it.

Mr. Raker. That is what I want to get at. I want to find out what you have done, one of the citizens, a man who is superintendent of a million-dollar plant, to try and protect these mothers and daughters and young men in East St. Louis,

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and their property. You did nothing except what you have told. Isn't that right?

Mr. Fox. That is right.

Mr. Raker. And you know that if they continue it is bound to bring on riots, ~~and~~ ^{and} people are bound to be killed, and their property burned, don't you?

Mr. Fox. I perhaps didn't know it then like I know it now. It is the first riot I ever saw.

Mr. Raker. You did nothing after the first riot, May 28th and 29th?

Mr. Fox. No, but others were doing something.

Mr. Raker. You know we have been trying to find out here now ^{for} about two weeks what was done between May 28th and July 2nd, and we haven't been able yet to find out anything that was done, except by the Industrial Y. M. C. A. I am not criticising the people of this town nor the town. I am not criticising anybody, but the question here is, whether or not there was an absolute breaking down of the law or whether or not it was a race trouble or industrial, by which interstate commerce was interfered with, by which interstate traffic was interfered with; by which street cars were stopped and men taken off of them and killed; by which property was destroyed? And you have no suggestion for the relief at all?

Mr. Fox. Only those that I have said.

Mr. Raker. Did you instruct these men out there what should be done with these pick handles?

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't.

Mr. Raker. Did your assistant do it?

Mr. Fox. I don't think so.

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Mr. Raker. You just took them out there and gave them a pick handle, and expected them to stand idly by with the pick handles?

Mr. Fox. No, they were to patrol the fence.

Mr. Raker. And what did they have the pick handles for?

Mr. Fox. For self protection, in case they were attacked.

Mr. Raker. Against the fence?

Mr. Fox. No, in case men came through the fence to attack them.

Mr. Raker. ~~Then~~ they were to use the pick handles?

Mr. Fox. Yes, of course.

Mr. Raker. No man ever broke through your fence before ^{that time} had he?

398 Mr. Fox. Yes, some of them had climbed over the back fence and had fired shots at some of our workmen.

Mr. Raker. When?

Mr. Fox. The night of the strike, the following night --- throwing rocks at them.

Mr. Raker. And that is what you got these men in there for, was to use these pick handles; and if a fellow got on the fence, knock him off?

Mr. Fox. No, we got them as a measure of precaution.

Mr. Raker. And not to use the pick handles?

Mr. Fox. Oh, yes; if necessary.

Mr. Raker. Well they were instructed, if anybody got on the fence or broke through the fence, to use the pick handles on them, weren't they?

Mr. Fox. No, I don't think they were.

Mr. Raker. Were they to use them just as toothpicks?

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Now what did you do with those rifles?

Mr. Fox. The rifles were put in a case.

Mr. Raker. They were in a case out there. What have you done with them since, the rifles?

Mr. Fox. I think they are still there.

Mr. Raker. Don't you know?

Mr. Fox. The last time I saw them, they were there.

Mr. Raker. How long ago is that?

Mr. Fox. That is probably a month ago.

Mr. Raker. And you haven't looked to see what became of those rifles since a month?

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Raker. Nor the cartridges?

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Raker. Isn't that rather dangerous to have a lot of rifles and ammunition laying around your plant without knowing where it is?

Mr. Fox. They are in good hands. I have plenty of assistants that are just as good as I am, just as capable. I can't do everything you know. I can't look after everything in every particular.

Mr. Raker. You mean by that now, that somebody else has got charge of them?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Why didn't you tell me? I thought you were the man that was handling the rifles-- that is, taking care of them and knew where they were.

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Raker. Do you know where these rifles were bought?

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Mr. Fox. They were not bought, as I understood it; they were only loaned.

Mr. Baker. By whom?

Mr. Fox. This man, as I told you, Mr. Sorrells.

Mr. Baker. Where did Mr.--- W. M. Sorrells, isn't it?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Baker. And J. E. Weinel. They were the officers of these clubs?

Mr. Fox. I didn't ^{know} them. I know Weinel now, but I didn't know him at that time.

Mr. Baker. Well, Sorrells borrowed these rifles of the club? Is that right?

Mr. Fox. I think so.

Mr. Baker. And where did the club get them?

Mr. Fox. I don't know.

Mr. Baker. What purpose did the club have for these rifles?

Mr. Fox. I think they used them in target practice. I had never heard of the rifle club before.

Mr. Baker. You don't know where the club got them or what purpose they had them for?

Mr. Fox. I don't know. I suppose they had them for target practice, because they asked us to donate something towards ~~the~~ building a range out here near Pittsburg Lake.

Mr. Baker. Both of these men were your employees?

Mr. Fox. Mr. Weinel was not, and the other I don't believe was an employee at that time.

Mr. Baker. Well, this man Sorrells was secretary of the Commercial Club prior to the Aluminum strike, wasn't he?

Mr. Fox. I think he was-- secretary of the Chamber

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of Commerce.

Mr. Baker. Then the Chamber of Commerce was very anxious to avoid all trouble?

Mr. Fox. In what way?

Mr. Baker. In any way. Mr. Sorrells being their secretary, and Mr. Sorrells being an officer of the club, Mr. Sorrells furnishing rifles to your institution, was desirous and anxious at all times to maintain law and order?

Mr. Fox. I don't think the Chamber of Commerce knew anything about them. I didn't know anything about them.

Mr. Baker. Just one word now, back to your assessment. You were assessed for something like \$699,990; and then had them revised until you got them down to \$200,000? Is that about right?

Mr. Fox. I don't know whether that is right or not. I have got the taxes we paid.

Mr. Baker. Well, tell us.

Mr. Fox. What year were you speaking of?

Mr. Baker. 1914, which were supposed to stand for four years.

Mr. Fox. 1914, we paid \$9,748.57 taxes; in 1915 we paid \$12,946.56; in 1916 we paid \$20,087.06.

Mr. Baker. You don't know anything about having your figures for assessments in 1914 reduced from \$699,000 down to \$200,000; which, in effect, when once established ^{for} ~~in~~ 1914 made the rate for four years following?

Mr. Fox. I remember the assessor, or the man in charge of the books, admitted a mistake had been made in the decimal place and put at a million in place of \$10,000 on one of the

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assessments.

Mr. Baker. Now this man Graham, whom you have talked with about the men coming down here, he was supposed to be the greatest strike breaker in the world at that time wasn't he?

Mr. Fox. *No*, you have him mixed, I think, Mr. Congressman, with another man named Waddell.

Mr. Baker. Well, didn't the papers publish here that the Aluminum Company had the greatest strike breaker in the United States at that time?

Mr. Fox. I think they did write him up--- mentioned his name.

Mr. Baker. As a real strike breaker?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Baker. And you didn't deny it?

Mr. Fox. No, I don't think I saw the paper. I think I was out of town.

Mr. Baker. Well, your company didn't publish an adverse statement?

Mr. Fox. Oh, he was here. I sent for him.

Mr. Baker. I mean your company didn't publish an adverse statement, or have it published, that this man was not a strike breaker? He was just here to guard the Aluminum plant out there within the fence?

Mr. Fox. We didn't publish anything.

Mr. Baker. You thought that kind of a statement would not be bad to let go abroad?

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Mr. Fox. Why, no; Waddell had handled strikes down in New York City. He was a well known man.

Mr. Baker. I am talking of Graham now.

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Mr. Fox. Well, Graham was not the strike breaker.

Mr. Baker. Was Waddell out here?

Mr. Fox. Waddell, yes.

Mr. Baker. Oh, you had him here?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. The greatest known strike breaker up to date?

Mr. Fox. Well, I didn't know whether he was the greatest or not. I met him one time and thought he was a pretty smart fellow, so I just telegraphed him to come out here.

Mr. Baker. I see. You had met him before the strike?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And had talked with him?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And heard of him?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You had seen it published in the paper that he was a great strike breaker?

Mr. Fox. I saw an article in the Metropolitan Magazine. That is what brought him to my attention.

Mr. Baker. And when you got into trouble you said, "Here goes for Waddell." Is that right?

Mr. Fox. No, let me correct that. I think the ~~and~~ second night of the strike I called my foremen together and I said to them, "Now do you think we need send for Waddell? Because I have had an interview with him and he strikes me as a pretty smart fellow, a good high grade man". And they said, "No, I don't believe we need him, but I think it would be a safe thing to get him out." So I telegraphed to him to

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come. ~~out.~~

Mr. Raker. Now Waddell had been written up in the magazines as a brilliant strike breaker?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. I use that word "brilliant" because he was brilliant in his capacity and his vocation.

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. You had talked with him personally?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And had come to the conclusion that he was not only fine looking, but that he was smart?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Raker. You came to the conclusion that he understood how to break strikes?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. That is right, isn't it?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And he was here on the ground?

Mr. Fox. He was here on the ground.

Mr. Raker. Out at the Aluminum works?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Superintending and directing the guards?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Now these men that were there, that you told the committee about before, this forenoon, were these men those under the employ of Waddell?

Mr. Fox. No, they were not. They were, as I said--- they were under the employ of the Interstate.

Mr. Raker. I didn't mean employ; I meant under his

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direction?

Mr. Fox. After he came I turned all the guard question over to him.

Mr. Baker. Then Waddell, the strikebreaker had not only,--- was not only present, but had supervision of the breaking of the strike with your sanction?

Mr. Fox. He had supervision of the guards to protect the plant.

Mr. Baker. And controlled them?

Mr. Fox. But had no connection whatever with operating the plant.

401 Mr. Baker. Oh, no; he didn't have to operate the plant.

Mr. Fox. Well, you said breaking the strike. Merely guarding the plant wasn't breaking the strike.

Mr. Baker. All right now. you said this morning to Mr. Cooper, I think it was, that this 75 men were old men?

Mr. Fox. Some of them were old men.

Mr. Baker. They didn't appear to you to be able to do anything, even to handle boys?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Is that right?

Mr. Fox. That's right.

Mr. Baker. Do you want to stay with that?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. They were old, decrepit people, incompetent men? As you say, they weren't even able to deal with 12-year-old boys?

Mr. Fox. It seemed to me some of them were incompetent.

Mr. Baker. Would that apply now to the general run of

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this 75?

Mr. Fox. No, there were quite a few that were pretty good men.

Mr. Baker. What number?

Mr. Fox. I suppose half of them, or two-thirds.

Mr. Baker. And half were the old, decrepit kind?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Baker. How old were they?

Mr. Fox. Well, I am not a very good judge of age. I would say they had grey hair. Now I am getting a little grey myself, and of course in that kind of work I didn't expect to see grey-haired men on that kind of work.

Mr. Baker. Then if a man has grey hair and is sent for and is under Faddell you would think he is incapable of acting as an efficient guard?

Mr. Fox. That was my impression at that time, but I altered my opinion since.

Mr. Baker. Well, how have you altered your opinion?

Mr. Fox. Well, I mean some men are old and still are brave men, some of them have got plenty of nerve.

Mr. Baker. In other words, when you first saw the men you thought they were like boys 12 years old-- that they couldn't handle boys 12 years of age, but now you revise ^{that} and are of the opinion that they were capable?

Mr. Fox. No, I think those men were incapable, but I say with reference to my statement about a grey-haired man.

Mr. Baker. Oh, well, you did have the opinion that a grey-haired man didn't count to much before that?

Mr. Fox. Well, I rather thought so--- not for guard work.

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Mr. Baker. They were unable to even handle these pick handles--- they were too weak and feeble?

Mr. Fox. Oh, no.

Mr. Baker. They were too weak and feeble to handle these rifles you had there, were they?

Mr. Fox. Yes, these were rifles. They didn't look to me as being capable of handling them?

Mr. Baker. And you now tell the committee that you had Waddell and he was there in charge of this incompetent squad of men you have told us about?

Mr. Fox. He didn't come until after the men ^{came} and he began to weed them out after he came.

Mr. Baker. That is a new phase of it. So he got out all of the poor ones and kept the good ones?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well, when he got in charge of it he formed a real, genuine, strong, flying-squadron that he felt satisfied *that he* could cope with the situation, didn't he?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. How much did you pay these men, these guards
402 --- I mean these watchmen.

Mr. Fox. I think they were paid by the agency. We paid the thing in a lump sum.

Mr. Baker. You don't know how much you paid them apiece?

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Baker. You have paid him for the job? Is that right?

Mr. Fox. No, they were paid so much per man. I have a recollection of about what the bill for the whole thing was,

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but how much each man was paid I don't remember. I think it was about \$5 a day.

Mr. Raker. None of these men worked in the plant?

Mr. Fox. No.

Mr. Raker. They were there simply and solely for the work that they could do in handling pick handles, and these rifles that were there, or any other instrument that would prevent men from interfering with your men?

Mr. Fox. Will you please repeat that question?

(The question was read as follows:

"Mr. Raker. They were there simply and solely for the work that they could do in handling pick handles, and these rifles that were there, or any other instrument that would prevent men from interfering with your men?")

Mr. Raker. With your help, I will put it, and guarding the plant?

Mr. Fox. I should say in a general way that is what they were there for.

Mr. Raker. I think that is all.

Mr. Cooper. This morning you testified, as I understood you and as the Chairman understood you, that nobody at your plant, nobody connected with it, asked these strike breakers to come in the first instance; but that they communicated with you and said that they had read about your trouble here, and thought you needed help.

Mr. Fox. No, that isn't what I said at all.

Mr. Cooper. Didn't you testify to that this morning?

Mr. Fox. No, I didn't say it. I testified that on the night of the strike this agent called me on the telephone and said

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"Your men have gone on strike"-- gave me the information, and then said---"Now you need men to protect your plant. How many do you want?" That is how that happened.

Mr. Cooper. Well, but then-- you now say that ^{the} first request or suggestion that you needed help came from the agency at Chicago?

Mr. Fox. Yes, their man was here in town at the time.

Mr. Cooper. Waddell?

Mr. Fox. No, Graham. Waddell had nothing to do with the other end of it. He has his own.

Mr. Cooper. Where is he located?

Mr. Fox. In New York.

Mr. Cooper. Have you ever known of the Waddell strike-breakers going out unless they were arrested?

Mr. Fox. I don't know anything about his strikebreakers. We had nothing but himself here.

Mr. Cooper. I want to ask you one or two questions about your plant. What do you do with this particular plant? Just what is the work?

Mr. Fox. We refine ore.

Mr. Cooper. Where do you get the ore? From Arkansas?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You bring it up here in what shape?

Mr. Fox. Sort of a clay.

Mr. Cooper. What condition is it in?

Mr. Fox. We take the impurities out of it and make a pure aluminum oxide.

Mr. Cooper. A powder?

Mr. Fox. A powder, yes, sir.

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Mr. Cooper. Now how is that produced?

Mr. Fox. It is produced by grinding the raw ore to begin with, and then treating it in digesters with caustic soda. That dissolves the alumina out and puts it into the shape of a solution. The liquor is then filtered, the impurities caught on the filter, and the clear liquor comes through, and the pure alumina is precipitated out of the liquor, and after your pure alumina has been precipitated, then you allow it to cool and dry. Then we filter it from the liquor.

Mr. Cooper. You filter it from the liquor?

Mr. Fox. We filter it again, yes. Then this material that is caught on the filter is put through calcine to drive off all the water, and then it is shipped to the reduction plant.

Mr. Cooper. Do you have men working on Sundays?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. All the time?

Mr. Fox. Well, every second Sunday they get off.

Mr. Cooper. Every second Sunday?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. But there is somebody working on Sunday?

Mr. Fox. Continuous process, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And two Sundays out of every month these men work?

Mr. Fox. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. All of them?

Mr. Fox. Well, the day men don't work on Sundays at all. They work six days in the week.

Mr. Cooper. The night men work on Sundays?

Mr. Fox. When I say "day men", I mean men that work on

the day force. The operating force, made up of about 1100, changes. The man will work from 7 to 3 on one two-weeks; the next two-weeks, he works from 3 to 11; the next ^{two} weeks he works from 11 to 7 in the morning.

Mr. Cooper. But the man that work from 7 to 3, works on Sundays?

Mr. Fox. Yes, he is the one that in the change of shifts off gets /every second Sunday.

Mr. Cooper. So they work seven days for two weeks at a time?

Mr. Fox. Yes. And then I think they get Sunday off. They get two days off.

Mr. Cooper. The same wages on Sunday as any other day?

Mr. Fox. Well, the day men we pay time and a half on Sunday.

Mr. Cooper. How is it with the night men?

Mr. Fox. Well, the shift men, who works sometimes days and sometimes nights, they get the same rate all the way through.

Mr. Cooper. They have to do just as hard work?

Mr. Fox. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. And just as much of it?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Why shouldn't they get the same pay?

Mr. Fox. Well, they have a continuous job. The man that works on the day he isn't essential to the operation of the plant, and don't get as continuous work. He hires to work six ~~days in the week;~~

404 days in the week; consequently, if you ask him to work on Sundays it is only right that you should pay a penalty: The other man hires to work seven days in a week and knows just what the conditions are, and he gets more compensation because he has more continuous work on his job.

Mr. Cooper: Couldn't you in any way arrange the business so that no man would have to work Sundays?

Mr. Fox: Well, that is a condition that we have given a good deal of thought to.

Mr. Cooper: You gave a good deal of thought to it. Well now, if that is so, there must be somebody around your plant that thinks you could fix up a way by which men wouldn't have to work on Sundays.

Mr. Fox: Well, I am the man that thought of it.

Mr. Cooper: You are the man that thought of it?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well now, that would be, if you could carry it out, a most humane thing to do.

Mr. Fox: It would.

Mr. Cooper: It gives a man at least one day in seven an opportunity to be with his wife and children, but that never has been done, has it?

Mr. Fox: Well, they used to work every Sunday. As I say, now they get every second Sunday off. The shifts have been so arranged.

Mr. Cooper: At first I suppose there were some that thought you couldn't give them every second Sunday off?

Mr. Fox: Yes, there were.

Mr. Cooper: They thought that would be impossible?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: They finally found that could be done. Now

don't you think that that business, which doesn't seem to me at this particular place to be very complicated in character, could be so arranged that men needn't work on Sunday?

Mr. Fox: Well, it may not appear complicated, but their material is all in solution, you understand. You are dealing in large quantities, almost a river of this stuff flowing through there all the time, and it is like all chemicals; it has to be handled at the proper time, just like holding hot metal in a blast furnace.

Mr. Cooper: You have a monopoly of all that tremendous business in all of the United States. What is the aggregate of your business?

Mr. Fox: Well, that is of course in a field that I am not very familiar with. I could make a guess at it.

Mr. Cooper: Make a guess.

Mr. Fox: Somewhere between fifty and seventy-five million dollars.

Mr. Cooper: Somewhere between 50 and 75 million dollars. What dividends did they declare last year?

Mr. Fox: I think they paid ten per cent.

Mr. Cooper: How much surplus have you built up?

Mr. Fox: I really don't know.

Mr. Cooper: Approximate.

Mr. Fox: Well, I think I read in the Congressional Record where our President testified that the company had some 80

million dollars invested in the plants throughout the country.

Mr. Cooper: Now they paid 10 per cent, 8 per cent, 6 per cent dividends, and they have now an investment of 80 million dollars, and a capitalization of 20 million dollars?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well, there are a very good many millions of dollars that have gone into the investment?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

405 Mr. Cooper: Quite a surplus, isn't it, they are putting into it?

Mr. Fox: I think so. I have been a stockholder for some time.

Mr. Cooper: What is the stock held at now?

Mr. Fox: There doesn't seem to be any market quotation put upon it. It is not listed.

Mr. Cooper: Practically in very few hands, isn't it?

Mr. Fox: Comparatively few.

Mr. Cooper: Comparative few. What do you consider your shares in that company worth now? They aren't on the market, are they?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Cooper: Do you mind telling what you gave for it, or was it presented to you?

Mr. Fox: No, the last I bought I paid \$415 a share for it.

Mr. Cooper: \$415 a share, and the par value is \$100?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: What is it worth now?

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Mr. Fox: Well, that is worth--

Mr. Cooper (interposing:): It is worth a good deal, is it?

Mr. Fox: I understand some has been sold at \$350 a share.

Mr. Cooper: So it is worth \$350, and the par value is \$100. Now don't you think that a corporation that has a capitalization of \$20,000,000, and an investment of \$20,000,000, with a monopoly of that business in the territory bounded by the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, and the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, could in some way arrange so that the other men in their employ-- so that no men in their employ need to work on Sunday in this plant here?

Mr. Fox: Well, there are some things which even an eighty million dollar company can't do.

Mr. Cooper: But-- perhaps you don't want to answer this question?

Mr. Fox: I think it is physically impossible to stop the operation out there.

Mr. Cooper: But couldn't you arrange the flow of that liquid and have receptacles into which it goes so that the men needn't work on Sunday? So that they could go to church occasionally and see their families?

Mr. Fox: That is a hard question to answer.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, that is a rather hard question to answer. Now do you work on Sundays?

Mr. Fox: I have worked on Sundays, yes.

Mr. Cooper: You have, but have you since you have had

your present position?

Mr. Fox: I worked yesterday.

Mr. Cooper: Getting ready for this testimony?

Mr. Fox: No, sir; I have worked part of every Sunday, practically, for twenty years.

Mr. Cooper: Now I want to say, Mr. Fox, you have made an excellent witness. I think you are a fair-minded man, and I think you are inclined to do the right thing wherever you can. How many shares of stock have you in this company?

Mr. Fox: Do I have to answer that question?

Mr. Baker: I think you ought to, Mr. Fox, because you told us early in the day that you were just a laboring man, making your way out an existence here, and I think under the circumstances you ought to tell the Committee how many shares of stock you have.

Mr. Fox: Perhaps if I tell the income from the stock that would do just as well, wouldn't it?

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Mr. Baker: No, his idea is you ought to tell the number of shares. That won't hurt you any.

Mr. Fox: I would rather not do so. I would be glad to tell how much net income I get from the stock.

Mr. Cooper: Well, how much?

Mr. Fox: About \$1200 a year.

Mr. Baker: Upon that you were paid 10 per cent, on the par value of the stock or on it?

Mr. Fox: That would be the equivalent of 120 shares. If it paid \$10 a share it would be equivalent to 120 shares.

Mr. Baker: Is that what you have, 120 shares?

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Mr. Fox: No, it isn't.

Mr. Cooper: No, because it is worth \$50. You don't have to have that much to get that dividend.

Now, Mr. Fox, you said in reply to Judge Baker's question that you noticed that the policemen before the riot, on the street, didn't look well; they didn't look well dressed. Now at that time they were getting the magnificent salary of \$70 a month, about \$840 a year, living in East St. Louis. You were getting \$500 a year in East St. Louis and couldn't save a cent, you said. Do you suppose the policemen could save on \$70 a month, and how well could they dress? You wouldn't expect them to be Beau Brummel?

Mr. Fox: No. I would expect such things as uniforms, and things like that to be supplied by the city, as we do to our own gatemen, and so forth.

Mr. Cooper: Well now, assuming, as is customarily the case, that the policemen supply themselves with their own uniforms: The policeman has a house to rent, food to buy, food to buy, clothing to buy for himself and children and his wife; doctor bills to pay, possibly a little to put into the contribution box, a few pennies when it is passed around in the church-- about how much could that officer save of his salary, and how much could he "dude up" on the street? In other words, the men were grossly underpaid here, weren't they?

Mr. Fox: It seems to me like it.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, they were grossly underpaid, and they were performing a very dangerous and responsible duty.

Mr. Fox: It is responsible duty.

Mr. Cooper: No, that amount of money wouldn't be expected

generally to get the kind of men that ought to be on the police force?

Mr. Fox: No, I think not.

Mr. Cooper: You said something about your Mr. Rucker, one of your men, associates in your plant-- by the way, what is his business?

Mr. Fox: Assistant superintendent.

Mr. Cooper: Assistant superintendent of your plant in this city, telling you that Mr. Wolf of this city, a labor leader, union man, had been to you-- or been to him, rather, at some time, and proposed that if Mr. Rucker would give him ten thousand dollars-- get ten thousand dollars-- that Mr. Rucker could control the labor organization in your plant?

407 Mr. Fox: No, I think you asked me that question exactly the same way, and I answered not that he expected to control the labor in our plant-- the labor organization-- but that he would keep the American Federation of Labor out. He was not a member of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Cooper: Wolf wasn't?

Mr. Fox: No; he never had been, I don't believe.

Foss:

Mr. ~~Cooper~~ I misunderstood you, then.

Mr. Cooper: He was an officer in this Employees' Association which got the charter, the State charter? He was an officer in the employees' association in your plant?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Confined then to the officers in your plant?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: And not a member of the A. F. L.?

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Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Cooper: So the report that came to you from your assistant superintendent was that ^{if} he, the assistant superintendent of your company, would give Wolf \$10,000, he would, in consideration of that, keep the Federation of Labor out of your plant?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Now you don't think that the laboring men there would stand for a thing like that, if they knew it, do you?

Mr. Fox: I don't think so; not if they knew it.

Mr. Cooper: Now there you come to another vital place in this whole controversy, and that is the keeping secret of such things as that. Don't you think that the greatest remedy for these ills that now afflict the industrial world would be a full, fearless, absolutely honest publication in all newspapers of the country, of the exact facts on both sides, in order that public opinion might be apprised in all details of the situation, and then, under an enlightened public opinion, the strongest force in the world, compelled ^{men} to be square or lose their jobs?

Mr. Fox: I think that is largely true.

Mr. Cooper: Instead of that there is a ^{disposition} ~~condition~~ all around, isn't there, sometimes at least-- and it's notoriously displayed in certain cases-- of a hushing up, a burying of the facts from the public? Isn't that so?

Mr. Fox: That is quite true.

Mr. Cooper: Do you suppose that if the laboring men in any plant in the world, even in this town, knew that anybody in a responsible position, so far as they were concerned, was attempting in any way or manner to betray them, that they wouldn't rise against him and depose him instantly?

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Mr. Fox: Well, I couldn't say instantly.

Mr. Cooper: Well, very soon, if they could be convinced of the truth of the statement?

Mr. Fox: It would take some time to convince them, though, sometimes.

Mr. Cooper: It would, because there has been so much of the hushing-up on both sides of the facts. Publicity in a republic is the cure, and absolutely the only cure, in many instances, for the evils that afflict the industrial world and the body politic. Isn't that true?

Mr. Fox: That is absolutely true.

Mr. Cooper: Well now, then, if employers hush up the facts and the newspapers don't print the facts, and neither the rank and file of the people at large nor the laboring men know anything about the facts, aren't you going to have riots and everything else, because they don't understand the facts?

Mr. Fox: Yes, that is the probable result.

Mr. Cooper: Did you ever tell the workmen anywhere that any such proposition had been made to your company?

Mr. Fox: I testified on the stand right here in this room.

Mr. Cooper: I don't mean that, Mr. Fox. I mean did you at that time make known to the people of East St. Louis or to the workmen in the employ of the Aluminum Company that any proposition of that kind had been made to your people?

Mr. Fox: The reporters for the papers immediately interviewed us and got it.

Mr. Cooper: Did they print it?

Mr. Fox: They printed it; yes.

Mr. Cooper: Was it printed in full?

Mr. Fox: Well, there was-- I don't know that any detail was furnished, but it was in the papers.

Mr. Cooper: Well, was it printed in full, the conversation and all the facts, and was it given prominence so that public opinion could be enlightened?

Mr. Fox: No, it wasn't given prominence.

Mr. Cooper: It wasn't given prominence?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Cooper: News of much less importance was given prominence?

Mr. Fox: Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper: There isn't any more important news ^{much} that could be published in an industrial community like this, than that, is there?

Mr. Fox: Well, from the standpoint of the man that wants to be honest and straightforward, that is what we ought to have.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you as an employer, a man who has himself locked in the ranks with the rest of labor, and by industry and competency gotten to the front-- don't you think that 99 per cent of these troubles could be avoided if there was publicity given-- sufficient publicity-- so that the general public could become informed, and all laboring men could become informed of the exact facts?

Mr. Fox: Sometimes it does improve conditions.

Mr. Cooper: I know that publicity is given sometimes, but then the ~~truth~~ truth of the statement is denied and immediately there is a hushing up after that, crimination and recrimination; nothing like a frank, open, candid, fearless discussion. Isn't that so?

Mr. Fox: Yes; that is quite true.

Mr. Baker: Did you give to the papers, and have it published, during the time that you had these men inside carrying pick handles?

Mr. Fox: I think the papers published that we had guards.

Mr. Baker: Well, I asked if you gave it to the papers that you had those men inside carrying pick-handles?

Mr. Fox: I don't think so.

Mr. Baker: Did you give to the public or to the press or to the men on the outside, that you had these rifles in there with ammunition?

Mr. Fox: I did not. There were very few in the plant that knew it.

Mr. Baker: That's all.

Mr. Fox: Not more than eight or ten.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Fox, you have said that negro labor was not employed in your establishment in any character of work except in what you call unskilled labor, because of their lack of intelligence. Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: If they had sufficient intelligence for

skilled work and for better paying positions, would they get them, in your place?

Mr. Fox: Well, I am not sure about that.

Mr. Johnson: You doubt that they would?

Mr. Fox: I am a little doubtful.

Mr. Johnson: Why do you doubt it?

Mr. Fox: Well, I don't think it is advisable to employ colored men in places that white men can fill acceptably and are willing to fill, and where there are enough of them to fill them.

Mr. Johnson: Well, why, now?

Mr. Fox: Well, I wouldn't like to put-- I prefer to see a white population here rather than a colored population.

Mr. Johnson: Do you mean by that that you entertain race prejudice against the blacks?

Mr. Fox: No.

Mr. Johnson: Then what do you mean?

Mr. Fox: I feel that the white man is a higher grade man than the colored man, better for our manufacturers and better for our living conditions.

Mr. Johnson: If a colored person came to you for employment as a skilled laborer, as a high class mechanic, and was fully competent, in your judgment, for the work you wanted done in that branch, would you give him employment?

Mr. Fox: Well, I wouldn't like to say about that.

Mr. Johnson: Why do you hesitate?

Mr. Fox: Well, there is a hesitancy about putting a colored man in to work with white men.

Mr. Johnson: What causes hesitancy about putting him to work with white men?

Mr. Fox: Well, I have respect for ^awhite man's feelings.

Mr. Johnson: And you think it would be injurious or harmful to his feelings to associate him with a negro in that way?

Mr. Fox: Well, it takes time to assimilate colored people.

Mr. Johnson: You didn't answer my question.

Mr. Fox: Please repeat the question.

Mr. Johnson: Read the question.

(The question was read, as follows):

"Mr. Johnson: And you think it would be injurious or harmful to his feelings to associate him with a negro in that way?"

Mr. Fox: Well, I rather think it would.

Mr. Johnson: You rather think it would. Is that merely an inclination to think so, or are you positive and certain about it?

Mr. Fox: Well, that is merely an inclination, because I have seen white men and colored men working alongside one another without any feeling of any kind.

Mr. Johnson: You don't see it done in your place, though, do you?

Mr. Fox: Well, I see hod-carriers right alongside of bricklayers; and a hod-carrier, in a way, is a mechanic, compared to a laborer, common laborer.

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Mr. Johnson: But you, as the manager of the plant, wouldn't employ negroes to do the high-priced labor along with white men?

Mr. Fox: We haven't done so.

Mr. Johnson: You, as manager, haven't done so and don't now do so?

Mr. Fox: We don't now do so.

Mr. Johnson: I would be glad if you would, without any sort of equivocation, state exactly why you don't do so.

Mr. Fox: Well, I really think I have answered that.

Mr. Johnson: Well, by answering-- favor me by answering it again, please.

Mr. Fox: Because, as a class, the colored man is not as efficient as a white man in intelligent work, high-class work?

Mr. Johnson: You don't deal with them as a class, but you deal with each individual as to his efficiency and skillfulness, do you not?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: When you come to skillfulness you deal with the individual and not with the class?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: If you hire an Armenian to do a piece of skillful work, you don't hire all Armenians to do the same character of work, do you? In other words, you don't deal with Armenians as a class, or with Greeks as a class, but with each individual of that class? Isn't that right?

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Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: You will hire a Greek or an Italian or an Armenian or anybody else of the Caucasian race to do skillful work, higher ^{priced} ~~class~~ work?

Mr. Fox: If they are what we might call "Americanized" sufficiently to do so.

Mr. Johnson: Well, without going over their nationality you do hire Caucasians of the various nationalities to do the higher priced, skillful work?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: But you don't employ any negroes for that?

Mr. Fox: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Johnson: Well, it would certainly come within your knowledge if you did?

Mr. Fox: I should think so. I don't know what every man in the plant is doing, but so far as I know there isn't a colored man employed on high-class mechanical work.

Mr. Johnson: You say that you have between 25 and 30 white women at work in the office?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: What are they doing?

Mr. Fox: This kind of work.

Mr. Johnson: You mean doing stenographic work?

Mr. Fox: Stenographic work.

Mr. Johnson: Typewriting and book-keeping?

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Mr. Fox: Some book-keeping.

Mr. Johnson: And attending to the telephones?

Mr. Fox: Yes, the switchboards; some of them work in the chemical laboratory as chemists.

Mr. Johnson: You have no colored women in there at all?

Mr. Fox: No, not a single colored woman.

Mr. Johnson: The State of Illinois is full of colored school teachers, men and women, is it not?

Mr. Fox: There are some here in East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson: Well, you know that they are all over the State?

Mr. Fox: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: You know that they are highly educated, do you not?

Mr. Fox: They are pretty well educated.

Mr. Johnson: And then you have sufficient knowledge and information to know that there are great numbers of colored people who are highly educated, and who are not teaching school; they can read and write; they know the multiplication table and can deal in fractions and keep books and tend to the telephone exchanges and that kind of thing, do you not?

Mr. Fox: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You don't employ any of them?

Mr. Fox: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: No. Isn't it a fact that ^{what we} ~~to~~ ^{to} come right down to the thing in a nutshell, it is-- if you don't employ them-- it is simply because they are colored folks?

Mr. Fox: I don't think we ever had an application

from a colored girl to go to work for us.

Mr. Johnson: Don't they know that it is useless to apply to you?

Mr. Fox: No; I don't know how they would know. The question never came up.

Mr. Johnson: If one comes over there tomorrow, who is efficient as a stenographer, or as a typist, or as a book-keeper or clerk, in your establishment at all, and there is a vacancy, would you give her employment?

Mr. Fox: I am afraid we would have to wait and see her when she came in.

Mr. Johnson: You take that method of evading a direct answer to my question?

Mr. Fox: I am unable to answer that.

Mr. Johnson: What I am driving at is this: That you people of Illinois do a great deal of talking about the Southern people in regard to race prejudice, and that you don't show them any more preference or give them any more advantages than the people in the South do.

Mr. Fox: I never said that.

Mr. Johnson: Is that true? I am asking you?

Mr. Fox: Well, that is the old question that was raised at the time of the civil war, practically, as to whether the North thought as well of the colored people as the South did.

Mr. Johnson: Well, what do you think about it now?

Mr. Fox: Well--

Mr. Johnson (interposing): Might not your answer be that you yourself, as the employer of labor, will not give them

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skilled work, and you will not give them clerical positions in your establishment? That you draw the color line against them?

Mr. Fox: Well, I think that is true.

Mr. Johnson: Yes, it is true.

Mr. Fox: In the North just as well as in the south.

Mr. Johnson: You may stand aside, sir.

Is the negro girl, Mineola Magee, in the audience?

(Mineola Magee rose in the audience.)

Apprehending that the point may not be clear, I wish to ask you whether there was anybody, particularly any colored persons, between you and the soldier who shot you?

Miss Magee: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: So that they could not possibly have shot at somebody else and accidentally shot you?

Miss Magee: No, sir; there wasn't anyone.

Mr. Johnson: That's all.

Dr. McQuillen, will you take the stand?

STATEMENT OF DR. ALBERT B. McQUILLAN,

3138 Virginia Place, East St. Louis, Ill.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Johnson: Doctor, please give the stenographer your full name?

Dr. McQuillen: Albert B. McQuillen.

Mr. Johnson: Where do you reside?

Dr. McQuillen: At 3138 Virginia Place.

Mr. Johnson: What is your occupation?

Dr. McQuillen: I am a physician.

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Mr. Johnson: The Committee has been told, Doctor, by another witness, that in the late afternoon or early evening of July 2nd, some negroes fired some shots at you and at some other white persons. If there is any foundation for that the Committee would be glad to have you, in your own way, tell just what occurred.

Mr. McQuillan: On the evening of the riot, July 2nd, Mrs. McQuillan and I went down Bond Avenue, approximately, I would say, at a quarter to seven, or seven o'clock-- in the early evening. We got down to Tenth Street, and an officer told us to go back. He told us that we had better not go any further, that they were shooting negroes. So we turned around and went east on Bond Avenue. That is the direction we came from, and met Mr. Canavan and his son and grandson, I would say about 12th and Bond. I told them they had better not go any further, and they turned around and went with us, or started out. About 14th Street-- we were approximately at 13th Street-- between 13th and 14th, or ^{between} 14th and 15th-- we were between 13th and 14th, and between 14th and 15th two men were walking down the street.

Mr. Johnson: White men?

Mr. McQuillan: White men, and we saw some negroes rise out of the weeds and shoot them down. We turned around then-- I thought I would go around those-- we turned around and went down to about 12th Street, over to Market Avenue, and up Market Avenue to 15th. As we turned--

Mr. Johnson: Before you leave those two men, Doctor, who were shot down, tell whether, if you know, tell whether or

not either one of them was killed.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I didn't know but that both of them were killed. Later on I saw one of these men daily in a hospital. He lay in a bed right alongside of another case of mine.

Mr. Johnson: What was his name?

Dr. McQuillan: I think it was Herr. One of them died, I believe, and one got well.

Mr. Johnson: Yes. It has been said here that Murray died and Herr was wounded.

Dr. McQuillan: Yes; Murray died. He was a fireman on the Southern, I believe. That is the man that died, anyhow.

So as we turned onto Fifteenth Street and were about to turn onto Bond, we were shot at from the rear, not having seen any negroes.

Mr. Johnson: Once, or oftener, were you shot at?

Dr. McQuillan: No. I would say that the first time they shot at us, they fired approximately 15 or 20 shots.

Mr. Johnson: When these two men were shot down, how many shots were fired?

Mr. McQuillan: I would say about six or eight. And the first volley, the bullet went through the top of the machine, the rear fender, and the second volley went through the top and the wind shield, and one hit me in the ^{head} ~~side~~. It went through my scalp, entered here and came out at the top (indicating). It sort of knocked me unconscious and my machine ran against a telephone post.

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Mr. Johnson: You were driving?

Dr. McQuillan: I was driving; yes, sir. And in a moment the negroes were on us and dragged us out of the car and commenced beating us up, and insisted on killing us. One negro pointed a Winchester gun at my temple, right against my temple, and cocked the trigger, and made the boast that he was going to blow my brains out. Mrs. McQuillan grabbed that gun, and another negro at the same time tried to shoot me with a revolver. At this very time one hit me in the jaw with the butt of a revolver, and another one hit me in the left chest with the butt of a shot-gun, breaking two ribs. It was at this
414 time that I was recognized by one of the negroes in the party; he recognized me, saying that I had treated him square when he was hurt out at the Aluminum Company, and he knew I was the foreman for the Aluminum Company, and in that way he managed to get off.

Mr. Johnson: The fact that you were employed by the Aluminum Company was sufficient to rescue you from a negro mob?

Dr. McQuillan: No, ^{it wasn't} but this man knew me from ^{he} having been there ~~long~~ I would judge, because he said I had treated him square when he was hurt out there, and he knew me and vouched for me. However, before they had a chance to think it over, I commenced to boss them and finally got out.

Mr. Johnson: What do you mean?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, they had broken my seat ^{out,} torn my seat out of the automobile, and the curtains out, and the floor, and it was up against the post there.

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Mr. Johnson: You mean that the negroes had thrown them out, or they jarred out?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, they searched the machine and searched us. So the minute this fellow sort of quieted down for an instant I just commenced to talk to them. I said "Now, you are a nice set of fellows. Here I take care of you when you are hurt, and you are going to kill me." One fellow says "That's right, Doc." "Then get busy and push over my machine off of that post." About four or five of them got up and put the machine off the post", and I said "Put that seat in there now." So they put the seat in, and I got in. The blood was running down into my eyes and down my back, and one fellow helped Mrs. McQuillen in just as nice as could be. Of course they threw the seat in upside down, and we rode home on the springs all the way. We never changed the seat.

Mr. Johnson: It is quite evident from your recital that the assault on you was merely because you were a white man?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, as a reprisal. However, I think that these negroes were just more or less of a frantic mob that had been gradually driven down that way, because unquestionably had they been organized for trouble or had they been deliberately out to murder us, nothing would have stopped them.

Mr. Johnson: Well, nothing would have stopped them if that bullet had entered your skull, would it?

Dr. McQuillen: No, it would not.

Mr. Johnson: And nothing did stop the murder of Murray, did it?

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Dr. McQuillen: No, but it wasn't the same crowd that murdered Murray, I don't think, because when they murdered Murray they started down the street after us, down our way.

Mr. Johnson: If I understand you correctly, there was a negro mob shooting at white people at the place indicated by you, and your information was that further downtown there were white mobs shooting at negroes?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: We were told of some man being shot in the rear as he drove by this place where you were shot. Do you know anything about that?

Dr. McQuillen: No; I heard that he was.

Mr. Johnson: Who was that?

Dr. McQuillen: I have forgotten his name. Just at the time that these two men were shot, and as we-- we had just stopped when we saw them, it was so close in front of us. The ambulance passed by-- I think it was Murray-- now I won't be certain, but an ambulance passed by and he went almost up to these men before he could stop, and the negroes commenced shooting at him and he turned around and went down the street with us.

Mr. Johnson: That was a white man?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes.

Mr. Johnson: Doctor, you had never had any trouble with the negroes up to that day, had you?

Dr. McQuillen: Absolutely none.

Mr. Cooper: And you said, in reply to the Chairman, that as soon as they recognized you-- this man recognized you

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as having been kind to him and having treated him over at the Aluminum works, they stopped doing anything to you?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: You said that the assault evidently was made as a reprisal; that the negroes had been driven down there. Now what did you mean by having been driven down there? Had you seen mobs up in the other parts of the streets during the day?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: What did you see, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I saw the mobs up and down Collinsville Avenue, searching the cars and beating up negroes. Now I saw this from my office window. I have my office in the Cahokia Building up here, here at Missouri at Collinsville. I saw that hanging, I saw the men search the cars right along. They had quite a few soldiers around.

Mr. Cooper: Did you see the soldiers doing anything to prevent the rioting?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I didn't.

Mr. Cooper: Did you see them doing anything to assist the rioting?

Dr. McQuillan: No, except being also utterly passive.

Mr. Cooper: Now while those soldiers stood around there a completely passive, what was the mob doing?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I could see them occasionally up and down the street stopping street cars, and see them beating negroes, and as the cars passed down, every car, there would

be some men jump on them and search the cars.

Mr. Cooper: What time of day was that?

Dr. McQuillan: From noon on.

Mr. Cooper: On July 2nd?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: How long did you remain in your office that day?

Dr. McQuillan: Till about 5 o'clock, I think.

Mr. Cooper: In the evening?

Dr. McQuillan: In the evening, yes.

Mr. Cooper: And then you went home. Did you see any negroes killed that day?

Dr. McQuillan: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now you said that there was not an organized mob of negroes that assaulted you, but they had been driven down there. What did you mean by saying "They had been driven down there"?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, south of 15th and Bond is a negro section, and these people had evidently come up from there, and when they had surrounded us they said, "Well, we'll kill you because your folks are killing us"-- words to that effect.

Mr. Cooper: They said "we will kill you because you folks are killing us"?

Mr. Johnson: Did they say that or infer that?

Dr. McQuillan: No, they said "A life for a life", and cursed us and swore at us, swore at Mrs. McQuillan.

Mr. Cooper: This colored man you had arrested, where

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as he when they were swearing at you, right there in the crowd?

Dr. McQuillan: Why, I think he was on the outside of it. That is my recollection.

Mr. Cooper: Do you remember who he was?

Dr. McQuillan: No; I understand from the State's Attorney, or Attorney General, that his name was Joe Black, that his wife has told so, but he left town^{the} next day. That is my understanding.

Mr. Cooper: Now when they said "A life for a life; you have been killing us; we will kill you", about how long after that was it before this man discovered you-- who you were?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I would judge it was about 15 seconds. It seemed to me about an hour.

Mr. Cooper: What did he say, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: He said "He's all right; he treated me white when I was hurt out at the Aluminum Company."

Mr. Cooper: Then what happened?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, they sort of quieted down, you know, just for an instance, and then knowing a good deal how negroes are, I began to talk to them, and I talked to them in sort of an authoritative way, and immediately the thing calmed down.

Mr. Cooper: What did you say?

Dr. McQuillan: I said to them: "Now you are a nice set of fellows here shooting me. When you get hurt out there I take care of you. When you get to the hospital I take care of you,

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and here you are trying to kill me." One fellow in the crowd said "That's right, Doc." Then I said "Now you push that machine off that post." So about four of them got together and pushed it off, and I said "Put in those seats and covers", and they did. One fellow says "I'll crank it for you." I had a self-starter on it, but let him crank it just the same, and I left.

Mr. Cooper: So this crowd that were out talking about a life for a life and saying "You kill us and we'll kill you", just the minute they saw that you weren't out to kill them and saw that you were a kind man and had treated well at the hospital, one of them helped you get your machine, and offered to crank it up, although it was a self-starter?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: And you went away. Do you think they would have shot you if they had known who you were to start with?

Dr. McQuillan: In the beginning?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't know. Haven't any idea. I think possibly they would.

Mr. Cooper: Now you spoke about that man in the hospital. What hospitals are you associated with?

Dr. McQuillan: There are two here, St. Mary's and the Deaconess Hospital.

Mr. Cooper: Now, Foster, can you, from your experience in the hospitals, tell about how many of the wounded received treatment in them?

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Dr. McQuillan: No, I can't.

Mr. Cooper: Wounded as the result of the riot on the 2nd of July?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I can't.

Mr. Cooper: How many did you see in there, do you think?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I had left the hospital that day before the rioting commenced, and I didn't go back.

Mr. Cooper: Did you the next day?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't recollect. I don't think I went for a day or two afterwards.

Mr. Cooper: Your own ribs were broken?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: And you were shot in the head, and you were taking care of yourself, rather than the wounded in the hospitals?

Dr. McQuillan: I did.

Mr. Cooper: Have you any means now by which you could reach a conclusion as to the number wounded on that day and that night?

117 Dr. McQuillan: No, I haven't.

Mr. Cooper: That is all, I think.

Mr. Baker: Doctor, as your wife injured any on this occasion?

Dr. McQuillan: One of them hit her over the arm with a gun-barrel. That was all-- bruised it up rather seriously.

Mr. Baker: When the machine ran against the telephone pole, did that throw you out, or were you both ~~xxxxx~~ pulled out?

Dr. McQuillan: No, we were pulled out by the mob.

Mr. Baker: How many do you think there were altogether?

Dr. McQuillian: I would say about 25.

Mr. Baker: Were they all grown men?

Dr. McQuillian:
XmxmRakmxm Oh yes, every one of them.

Mr. Baker: Armed with rifles?

Dr. McQuillian: Armed with everything, rifles and
revolvers and shot guns?

Mr. Baker: And pistols?

Dr. McQuillian: Pistols, yes.

Mr. Baker: Did they take you and your wife both out
of the car on the same side?

Dr. McQuillian: Yes, they did.

Mr. Baker: Which way did they take you out?

Dr. McQuillian: Well, out of the side door, let's
see-- to the right, the right side.

Mr. Baker: They took your wife out first?

Dr. McQuillian: Yes, they took her out first, then
they reached right in and pulled me out.

Mr. Baker: How many of those negroes did you-- were
you able to identify ~~some~~ after that?

Dr. McQuillian: I couldn't identify any of them.

Mr. Baker: Were you taken to any place to identify
them?

Dr. McQuillian: Yes, I went to the police station, and
I attended the coroner's inquest. Then I have been up to
the county jail in Belleville two or three times trying to
identify them. Mrs. McQuillian and myself both.

Mr. Baker: And ^{neither} ~~none~~ of you were able to identify any of them?

Dr. McQuillan: No.

Mr. Baker: Were they masked in any way?

Dr. McQuillan: No, they were not, but all this happened so quickly, and they were all strangers to us, and I was a little under the weather, you know, from this bullet wound.

Mr. Baker: Sure you were, but then you were able to drive home?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, I was.

Mr. Baker: Now you were sitting in the car holding the wheel, and one of these fellows who had been participating in beating you-- you watched him crank the car?

Dr. McQuillan: No.

Mr. Baker: I was just wondering how that image, face and all, could ever get from your mind. It seems to me you could just see it night and day.

Dr. McQuillan: I can see them this way: I know the positions they were in, and evidently the height, but I couldn't know them well enough to identify them, don't you see? I remember the position of this man cranking the car, just the way he looked and the kind of a hat he had on, don't you see, but I couldn't remember him well enough to make a positive identification. I can see him almost vividly, but I can't see vividly enough to identify the man, especially where they were showing me around back and forth.

Mr. Baker: Well, did your wife, like yourself, go out in the negro quarters at any time since, for the purpose of id-

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identifying these men, or any of them?

Dr. McQuillan: No.

418 Mr. Baker: Did the officers ask you to do it?

Dr. McQuillan: No; but all the men that were suspected, we tried to identify. I ^{have} ~~had~~ been in very close communication with Attorney Middlekauf of the investigation here, and his assistant chief, Mr. Woods, and every time that they have a car-- and every man that was in this mob, apparently, and every time they get one of these men, or several of them, we try to identify them, but we can't, and we have had several trips up there trying to do it, besides going down here to this station whenever they have any suspects down there.

Mr. Baker: How long have you been a physician at the **A**luminum plant?

Dr. McQuillan: Ever since it started, in 1903.

Mr. Baker: How far do you live from the plant?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh, about half a mile.

Mr. Baker: Then you have an office down on Collinsville Avenue?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

~~Dr. McQuillan:~~ You were in the office on the morning

Mr. Baker: of July 2nd?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I never get down to my office in the mornings-- that is, not till late. I was probably down there at half past eleven or a quarter to 12-- not before that, at least.

Mr. Baker: Well, this day what time did you get down?

Dr. McQuillan: My impression is that I got down pretty close to noon.

Mr. Baker: And did you stay there until 5 o'clock?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, except when I went out to lunch.

Mr. Baker: Was anybody in the office with you that day?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, Dr. Wyckoff, the dentist, the office girl, and a few patients that day-- not many, however. We didn't have many patients coming around that day.

Mr. Baker: When did you first learn that the riot was on?

Dr. McQuillan: I first heard about it down at the hospital, I would say about ten o'clock.

Mr. Baker: When did you first hear about Sergeant Copledge being killed?

Dr. McQuillan: I read that in the paper the next morning.

Mr. Baker: Then of the riot starting on the morning of the 2nd, you heard that about 10 o'clock at the hospital?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Baker: At St. Mary's Hospital?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes. A colored man had shot at a white man on the street, and then the police came around and shot at him-- something of that kind.

Mr. Johnson: There was this, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: I heard that at St. Mary's Hospital; that was the first thing I heard of anything/there might be trouble.

Mr. Baker: These two men that you saw there, when you and your wife were driving to the racetrack, going in the

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direction you have indicated, were they doing anything when they were shot?

Dr. McQuillian: They were walking down the street, down the middle of the street. This is a paved street, not in the negro quarters.

Mr. Baker: And these men rose out of the weeds?

Dr. McQuillian: I saw them rise out of the weeds and shoot them, and both men dropped. I thought they were both killed, because it didn't seem to me that the negroes were over ten feet away from either one. They were right on the edge of the street.

Mr. Baker: Doctor, you have your home here?

Dr. McQuillian: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: You own it?

Dr. McQuillian: No.

Mr. Baker: Have you any children?

Dr. McQuillian: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: Do you belong to the committee of 100?

Dr. McQuillian: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: The Chamber of Commerce?

Dr. McQuillian: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: Have you made any investigation to satisfy your own mind as to the cause of the riots on May 28th and 29th of this year?

Dr. McQuillian: You mean have I made any personal investigation?

Mr. Baker: Well, yes.

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Dr. McQuillan: Or just matters that I knew of common knowledge?

Mr. Baker: Well, first did you make any personal investigation? Did you make an inquiry to find out what was the cause of it?

Dr. McQuillan: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: I suppose, then, you did hear general rumors, talk, about what was the cause of it?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Baker: Just state to the Committee what is the conclusion you draw from all that you heard as to the cause of the May riots of this year.

Dr. McQuillan: The May riot?

Mr. Baker: Yes, of the 28th and 29th.

Dr. McQuillan: Why, I will tell you; you know, of course, the laws haven't been very properly applied in this city for quite a long while, and a long time ago-- of course the different political factions, especially one of them, began to import colored people-- or at least so the papers printed, not openly-- for political purposes. Now these men, as I know, these men were given political preference and they were also given various other preferences, until they became more or less tyrannical and began to believe that they would be taken care of, which they were.

Mr. Johnson: When you say "these men" to whom are you referring?

Dr. McQuillan: I am talking about these people that were brought in here for political purposes.

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Mr. Johnson: The influx of negroes?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, and with it came less and less regard for the law, and with that came conditions which we have had for some time and have now, which led up to this affair, in my opinion. It all, I think, is due to the lax laws we have-- or not enforcing the laws-- lax enforcement of the laws.

Mr. Baker: What has been the general statement, if any, in regard to ~~the~~ one of the courts-- that is, the police justice's court-- playing favorites and failing to enforce the law?

Dr. McQuillan: It has always been my opinion, my understanding, that a man or a crook or a person not absolutely on the level, had a far better chance of getting off here than a decent citizen.

Mr. Baker: What was the general impression, discussion from which you drew a conclusion as to the attitude of the police force?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I think that the police force was more or less wholly inefficient and notoriously so, but I don't think that anybody, or the majority of people, realized that they are really as inefficient as they were-- as they proved to be.

Mr. Baker: What was said or discussed in regard to their being approachable?

Dr. McQuillan: Well now, I don't know of any direct occurrence. These things accumulate from past experience and you form your opinions, but I had always heard that the policemen could all be fixed and they were being fixed. I

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can't say that authoritatively, but that is the general impression that I gained, and I think it was usually the general impression around town.

420 Mr. Baker: Well, what was the situation as to this being sort of a safe place for stick-ups and yeggmen and loafers generally to come to, East St. Louis?

Dr. McQuillan: Personally I found it had that reputation for some time, of being a good place for that type of men.

Mr. Baker: Now, getting down to the 2nd of July, have you made any inquiry or investigation personally as to the cause of that riot on the 2nd of July?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I don't think I have. You mean personally-- no.

Mr. Baker: Well, you have heard a good deal said about it?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: What is your conclusion now from what you have heard as to the cause of it?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, of course it all reverts back to the law enforcement of the law, first of all.

Mr. Baker: Well, your prior answer is as to the conditions?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, reverts back to that. However, there seemed to be a certain amount of labor antagonism and a certain amount of race hatred.

Mr. Baker: Well, what did the labor antagonism amount to? Just tell us in your own way.

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Dr. McQuillan: Well, I couldn't state, because you see I am not very familiar with the labor part of it, except what I have heard and what I have known and what I have heard different men express-- different laboring men, express themselves, don't you see. I do know this to be a fact, that every man-- for instance, we examine all our men that are hired out at the Aluminum Plant, and I do know that when we were getting short of labor out there time and time again, we would call for labor, and we couldn't get a white man to take the job. I know that well.

Mr. Baker: Why?

Dr. McQuillan: Why, I think the average white man feels he is above the common labor work, and feel that they are on just a little higher social plane than the ordinary, common laborer.

Mr. Baker: Well, in discussing it with these men now, what was their attitude as to the negro situation?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, most of them just simply didn't want the negro here.

Mr. Baker: They thought he ought not to be here?

Dr. McQuillan: That's all.

Mr. Baker: Now as to the race feeling, just from *what* do you draw your deduction that there was a race feeling in East St. Louis during this time?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, that had been gradually accumulating, I think, for some length of time, and it seemed to me that one of the things that had a tendency to bring this on was the desire of the negroes to get out in white districts, white

residential districts. Wherever they could they would buy
421 a house in a white section, and quite naturally wherever this
developed it aroused quite a considerable amount of antagonism.

Mr. Johnson: You mean race feeling when you say "antagonism"?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir; race feeling.

Mr. Baker: Was there anything about the conditions in the street cars that augmented it?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I understand that conditions on the street cars were very, very bad.

Mr. Baker: Well now, just what were they, as you understood them?

Dr. McQuillan: I haven't ridden on a street car but three times this year, and I can't tell personally because I haven't ridden on the street cars but three times this year.

Mr. Baker: I am asking for your opinion as to what was going on and the feeling among the citizens of East St. Louis.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I understand that they felt that the negro was becoming very bold, were crowding them out, and I understand that time after time that negroes would sit in white women's laps, especially negro women. They became very abusive.

Mr. Johnson: Of the whites, do you mean?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, became very abusive of the whites, and were uncontrollable in their language and actions.

Mr. Baker: That has gotten to be common?

Dr. McQuillan: Very common.

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Mr. Baker: So common that it was frequently discussed?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh, yes, all around town.

Mr. Baker: When was met and when they gathered together, when they were talking about the situation here?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, no question about it.

Mr. Baker: Were there any other acts that were discussed?

Dr. McQuillan: None that I know of.

Mr. Baker: What about drinking, both whites and blacks? Was that discussed as having anything to do with it?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I know very little about that, except, of course, I do know that quite naturally-- I know that the conditions surrounding the law enforcement, or the condition of the saloons, due to the laxity of law enforcement, allowed everybody and anybody to drink in any manner, shape or form, as much as they wanted or to any extent. No, quite naturally--

Mr. Baker (interposing): Was there a great deal of drunkenness visible on the street?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, yes, always has been; but of course less, I think, since we have had our Sunday closing law here.

Mr. Baker: Was that confined to any particular class of people, or did it apply to both?

Dr. McQuillan: I think it applied to both?

Mr. Baker: Now is there any other thing that led up to a feeling against the colored people? Had there been any hold-ups by the colored people?

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Dr. McQuillan: Oh yes, they were nightly occurrences. I should ^{not} say nightly occurrences, but quite frequent.

Mr. Baker: Was that discussed?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, it was, very much, and quite a good many attacks on our people by the negroes.

Mr. Baker: Was that discussed?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, very much, and it became very, very bad a short time before the riots. The people quite naturally were more or less aroused.

Mr. Baker: Now what is your impression as to what started the riot on the morning of the 2nd, in July?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I think that the shooting of these two officers the night before.

Mr. Baker: Fanned the breeze or fire?

Dr. McQuillan: I think so. And while I didn't know it at the time, I think since that both sides were more or less waiting for an opportunity.

Mr. Baker: You mean the colored people were waiting for an opportunity?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Baker: And that the whites were waiting for an opportunity?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Baker: Now can you tell the Committee from what you learned from talking, what you observed, as to who of the white people started and participated in this riot on the 2nd of July?

Dr. McQuillan: Who started it?

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Mr. Baker: Yes.

Dr. McQuilian: No, unfortunately I don't know. I really don't know a person on either side. I wish I did, but I don't.

Mr. Baker: Tell, what I meant was as to the discussion, as to how it started; as to why there seemed to be such a general feeling, and it not only started in one place but it was all over town. Have you heard that discussed?

Dr. McQuilian: Oh yes-- you know, when I said ^{both} sides were ready, I didn't mean to convey the idea that I thought was an organization with that purpose in mind, one way or the other. Of course we understand or have been led to believe anyhow, that the negroes, had sort of an organization of that kind. I don't know. I don't think there was an organization among the white people, but I think that these atrocities had gradually accumulated until they were really like a ball of snow, you know-- just carried it along. It just needed something to set it off, and this murder did it.

Mr. Baker: And the murder of Mr. Corpedge, or Sergeant Corpedge, with the fact fully advertised, and the automobile taken down in front of the police station and standing there all morning with the bullet holes in it-- you think is the thing that just started it?

Dr. McQuilian: I think that was the primary cause, yes.

Mr. Baker: Doctor, if that was the feeling then, it is pretty strong yet, isn't it?

Dr. McQuilian: No, I don't think it is as strong-- a

lot of them pretend to think it is, and I think-- I feel certain now that the town, the better citizens of the town, have been so aroused that this thing will not happen again. Now I think-- well, of course I base my judgment on what I hear and what I know, but I happen to be a member of the Rotary Club here, which received direct information of the workings of the committee of 100, of which some of our members are members, and according to the spirit there displayed, in the committee of 100, and what I know of the rest of the people in town, I don't think that anything like this would ever dare happen again.

Mr. Baker: Well, you have the same Mayor.

Dr. McQuillen: That's all right; we have the same people, but with a different spirit.

Mr. Baker: Well, I gave you that question to give an opportunity for your full swing in answering. That is the reason I put it that way. You have the same justices of the peace and police judges, don't you?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: How can you expect to get results out of those fellows when they will give a yeggman more advantage than they will some of your good, respectable citizens here in West St. Louis?

Dr. McQuillen: Maybe they won't do it now. Isn't that a probability that they won't?

Mr. Baker: Certainly, you are right. I agree with you fully on that, but you would have more security, as it were, and feel better if you just had those fellows out and new ones in, wouldn't you?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, but it takes time. Do you think, after these fellows are removed to the penitentiary, that are going there not daily, and after this investigation--

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do you think that anything but good can come from it? Do you think there is anything but the morale of the town will have to be raised?

Mr. Baker: It is a good start, but I am trying to get at how you are going to get good results until you get rid of the old bunch.

Dr. McQuillen: We don't worry about that.

Mr. Baker: You think it is coming?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir, we will take care of that.

Mr. Baker: Well, are you saying then know that you are going to take care of it?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Has anybody called-- that is the Committee of One Hundred-- I didn't expect this line from you, but it comes in-- you are pretty well familiar with the situation. It has been started for other sections, but I will get this from you-- has the Committee of One Hundred, or a committee from the Committee of One Hundred, called on the justices of the peace and the police judge in regard to the conditions since this riot, that you know of?

Dr. McQuillen: Not that I know of.

Mr. Baker: Well, don't you think that they ought to be apprised of this new civic policy that is going to be carried out here?

Dr. McQuillen: You mean by the Committee of 100?

Mr. Baker: Yes.

Dr. McQuillen: I don't think they need to be. I think they know it now. I think every one of them know it.

Mr. Baker: Well, how about the policemen?

Dr. McQuillan: You mean now?

Mr. Baker: Yes, now.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, of course I don't know very much about it, but I understand that the situation is very, very much better. Now I think that the present chief of police, Mr. Keating-- I think we are going to have a very efficient chief of police, and I think an honest man. With the police board we have, we have every reason to demand just what we think we will get. I mean, with the caliber of the men that we expect a high grade police and fire department.

Mr. Baker: Now what do you expect to get? Just tell us what you expect to get through this police force now.

433 Dr. McQuillan: Well, we expect to get police efficiency. We expect when a man violates the law he shall be arrested, and we also expect that every man gets exactly the same kind of justice, exactly.

Mr. Baker: So you feel now that since this awakening, justice will be administered to all alike in East St. Louis?

Dr. McQuillan: I certainly do.

Mr. Baker: That no distinction will be made as to the rich or the poor, the drunk or the sober, the black or the white?

Dr. McQuillan: No, that isn't what I mean. I mean the morale of the city will be raised so that the citizens will demand that, and will get it.

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Mr. Baker: What I am trying to get at and prove, if I can, is that he has already demanded that thing to be done?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Are you strong enough here now--

Dr. McQuillan (interposing:): Regarding it every day.

Mr. Baker: Are you strong enough here now, men like yourself, to push this thing right through, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Why don't you go to these justices of the peace to start with, and make it so uncomfortable that every biased mother's son of them will resign?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't-- I am not identified with that committee. I don't know what they can do about it. I know that right now the Committee of 100 have their hands pretty full, but I know that every day they are showing results.

Mr. Baker: I find such a fruitful witness, and one I feel confident is giving us what he feels, that I am going to break over what I intended to hold for another one, and get it from you.

Now what has this Committee of 100 done to bring about this change, if you know?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't know very much about it. I have been scheduled to be there several times, and each time I would miss, but I do know-- which is common knowledge-- that they insisted upon the old board of police commissioners resigning. We got those out.

Mr. Baker: That is what I wanted to prove. Now who

of the old police have you got out?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know that. You mean how many of the old policemen are still on the force?

Mr. Baker: Yes.

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know.

Mr. Baker: You know, from the evidence so far, we have been unable to locate those policemen during the day of the riot, whether they have gone back or not. It hasn't been demonstrated to the Committee, and whether they are gone or on the job I don't know.

Dr. McQuillan: You mean on the police force here?

Mr. Baker: Yes.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, my understanding is that most of them are on the police force.

Mr. Baker: You never heard of them doing anything on the day of the riot, did you?

Dr. McQuillan: Not a thing.

Mr. Baker: You heard that the police force broke down completely?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: You don't lack of your own knowledge, or haven't been informed, whether the Committee of 100 have asked the justices of the peace to resign or not?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I haven't.

Mr. Baker: Nor the police judge?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I haven't.

Mr. Baker: Now, you realize that the enforcement of the law after it has been broken amounts to more than any other

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thing that one could do?

Dr. McQuillan: Absolutely.

124 Mr. Baker: And after a mob has once taken charge of the town, like it did on the 28th and 29th of May, nothing was done, so far as it appears not, ~~so~~ *until* it occurred again in its strongest form on the 2nd of July. Nothing had been done.

Dr. McQuillan: Not a thing.

Mr. Baker: And without a vigilant effort to catch every mother's son that was in that mob and prosecute him, even to the extent of hanging, will not break up your troubles? Isn't that right?

Dr. McQuillan: Absolutely.

Mr. Baker: You know we have been here two weeks?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And we have just thrown open the flood-gates to every witness that took the stand, so that if he had anything to say, or any opinion to express, we have given him an opportunity to express it, and there hasn't been a single mother's son of that committee of 100 offered us any assistance. We have had subpoenaed the Chairman, but haven't got to him yet. I am going to put it fair and square, the Committee of 100-- the Chairman we had subpoenaed, and he was here, but we have been so busy that we haven't got to him-- I want them to get this information, that not a single committee or single one of that Committee of 100 has been to this Committee yet, so far as I know, to tender their services or to offer us information

whereby we might assist in finding out the causes of this riot, as well as to find out some of the guilty perpetrators that haven't been arrested already.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I will vouch for some of them, that they will give it to you.

Mr. Baker: Why haven't they been on the job?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know, but I will vouch that they will give it to you, all that they can, any one of them.

Mr. Baker: I am not assuming that they will not.

Dr. McQuillan: I know you are not, but I will just vouch that they will.

Mr. Foss: Mr. Pope came and offered his services, and he has been here several times and was speaking for the whole Committee of 100.

Mr. Baker: Well, he had him subpoenaed, but I didn't know it.

Mr. Foster: He came to us at lunch and said he was ready to assist us in every way he could.

Mr. Baker: Well, I am not criticizing them, but it seemed strange to me that a Committee of 100, that has been working here four months, hasn't been able to run down one of the perpetrators of these dastardly crimes that have been already presented, and particularly here is an opportunity where there is no secret meeting; there is no grand jury proceedings where a man may be hampered by legal evidence or by a trial where he may be hampered, or even a Coroner's inquest, and any police they can catch, they ought to be able

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to take this opportunity, though that isn't our business-- but it gives them a chance to throw it in the limelight and put the light of day on it.

Mr. Foster: I think, in justice to Mr. Pope, that we should say he should come here and offer his services.

Mr. Baker: Yes, certainly.

Dr. McQuillen: The Committee of 100 has aided the Attorney General's office in every manner at their command to secure evidence to do just what they are doing in Belleville today; and I know that every one of those men on that committee would do everything for you they could. Probably they don't know that you want it.

Mr. Baker: Well, you don't want to misunderstand me. I am not criticizing.

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Dr. McQuillen: No, I know what you mean, absolutely. As an investigating committee coming down here and trying to do the right thing, naturally they want the assistance of everybody that is able to give them anything.

Mr. Baker: I am not complaining, and I was only asking the question so as to draw from you what had been done since the riots, and as to what could be done. Now what is your remedy, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillen: Well, our remedy is simply to get men in office who will rigidly enforce the law, and enforce it honestly and impartially. That is the only thing I can see.

Mr. Baker: Then your whole theory is that the interference with interstate commerce, the interference with inter-

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state traffic, the interference with the street cars that are engaged in interstate traffic; the preventing of people stopping these cars and taking men off, men and women off, and killing them; the thing to bring back these people here that have left this town and gone to St. Louis to work, is the rigid enforcement of the law, and the Committee of 100 has that in hand, and can and will do it?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Reber: That's all.

Mr. Cooper: Doctor, how long have you been-- you said since 1903 you have been the doctor for the Aluminum Company?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And do you know about some troops that came here, some Federalized militia, last spring, along in April or May?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Where did they come in, or don't you know?

Dr. McQuillan: I do not.

Mr. Cooper: You saw them in the spring, did you?

Dr. McQuillan: In the spring, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Before the May riots?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I think not. I think it was after the May riots.

Mr. Cooper: Where did you see them?

Dr. McQuillan: Out on Lincoln Avenue.

Mr. Cooper: Near what plant, if any?

Dr. McQuillan: Near the East St. Louis & Suburban Railway Company power-house.

Mr. Cooper: How far from the power-house?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, they were directly, I think, a block to the west, and approximately a block to the south of the southern end of their building.

Mr. Cooper: Were their tents up there?

Dr. McQuillan: Where?

Mr. Cooper: They had a camp there?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know how many soldiers there were?

Dr. McQuillan: No. There was a unit came down later on, much later on, a short time before they left, I would say about 400, and Major Kavanaugh had 300 men, I believe he told me. I am not positive. I would say the first men that came down were between 400 and 500.

Mr. Cooper: The first men were between 400 and 500, you think. They were camped there up to what time?

Dr. McQuillan: Approximately the 1st of September, I suppose.

Mr. Cooper: How many of those soldiers were here on the 2nd of July, those particular soldiers?

Dr. McQuillan: Four or five hundred; this first unit, whatever it was.

Mr. Cooper: Well, Mr. Caravan said he should think there were as many as 200. Was that, did you?

Dr. McQuillan: 200 soldiers there?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

426 Dr. McQuillen: I am confident there were more than that, because, if I am not mistaken, Major Kavanaugh told me he had 960 men.

Mr. Cooper: When did he tell you that?

Dr. McQuillen: That was a short time before he moved away. I would say about the 1st of August, possibly some time in July, they brought down another unit and attached it under Major Kavanaugh's command.

Mr. Cooper: Well, did that unit seem to be as about as large, or number as many men?

Dr. McQuillen: Just about, I would think.

Mr. Cooper: Well, if Major Kavanaugh told you the 1st of September that he had about 900 men, and the second unit came here in August, and it numbered about as many men as the first unit, then the first unit had over 400 men?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, that is my understanding.

Mr. Cooper: Now then, that being your understanding, how long were those 400 men here? Up to the first of September?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes; approximately that time.

Mr. Cooper: So that on the day of the riot, the 2nd of July, in addition to the companies which came in a little after 9 o'clock, and then later on during the day, there were 400 men, in your opinion, up here near the car barns?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know of any reason why they weren't used on that day?

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Dr. McQuillan: Well, I understand that the Major didn't have orders.

Mr. Cooper: But he could ~~not~~ have gotten orders by telegraph in no time, couldn't he?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know. I don't know what that procedure is. I could judge so, of course.

Mr. Cooper: And if that officer, or if anybody else here in this city in authority had telegraphed to the proper officials elsewhere for the right to use those soldiers for the suppression of this riot and the preservation of peace on the 2nd of July, they could have secured it, couldn't they?

Dr. McQuillan: I suppose they could, so far as I know.

Mr. Cooper: Were some of these soldiers camped on the ground or the property of the street car company?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't think so. I never saw or heard of them being there. They may have been.

Mr. Cooper: Did you ever hear of any of them being over at the Aluminum Company plant; and if you saw ~~them~~ any of them there, when did you see them?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know. They were around there, anyhow.

Mr. Cooper: They were around the Aluminum Company plant? When did you first see them around the Aluminum Company plant?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't remember. I think it was after or during the strike at the Aluminum Company. I am not positive.

Mr. Cooper: The 2nd of July?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh, yes, they were around there then.

Mr. Cooper: They were around the Aluminum Company plant on the second of July?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes; they were around there then.

Mr. Cooper: That is some of the original units that were carried over by the street car barns?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: How many of those soldiers did you see about the Aluminum Company plant that day, the 2nd of July?

Dr. McQuillen: Well, I don't know. You see I go in there every day, and I only go from one-- I just simply go through one doorway, one entrance. I don't go all around the plant. You see the plant is half a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide, at least, so you see I would ^{not} be all around it.

Mr. Cooper: Were these soldiers standing outside with their guns and bayonets, keeping guard?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, some of them, along the ~~south~~ ~~side~~ fence.

Mr. Cooper: Some of them were standing along the fence of the Aluminum Company plant with their rifles and bayonets in place? About how many of them?

Dr. McQuillen: Well, I haven't any idea. You see I would probably go by and see two or three, but I wouldn't go anywhere near around the plant or where there would probably be the most soldiers. I think there was always one or two or three around the main office, several of them strung right along the fence on Missouri Avenue. Further than that I don't know.

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Mr. Cooper: That is as far as you noticed it?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Altogether you noticed about how many of these soldiers there at that plant guarding it?

Dr. McQuillen: You mean on the 2nd of July?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Dr. McQuillen: Well, five or six, possibly-- four or five.

Mr. Cooper: How many times were you at the plant that day?

Dr. McQuillen: I was there in the morning. Then I stopped there and washed the blood out of my eyes when I came back after I was shot.

Mr. Cooper: You said it has always been understood here that in a chain of your courts a crook-- I quote your words-- a crook had a better chance than a decent person?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, that has always been my understanding.

Mr. Cooper: Now how many of those courts have been charged since the riot?

Dr. McQuillen: None that I know of. Understand me, I don't need to say that they were all that way.

Mr. Cooper: I know. So then, as a result of your statements, if they are analyzed, you now have certain courts here that a crook would stand a better chance in than an honest person?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, I know that much, that very frequently the ^{majority of the} best class of lawyers and men that have to have

a case in the justice of the peace's court very seldom attend it-- or quite often do not. They simply, if there is a judgment against them, take it to the circuit court. They go to Belleville.

Mr. Cooper: Well, there is nothing more important in a government than the honest administration of justice. Your statement is in accord with the statements made by other witnesses that your courts here for a long time-- not all of them, but some of them-- have had a very bad reputation, and the testimony analyzed ~~am~~urts to this, that you now, after the riot, have some courts that are bad courts for an honest person to be hauled into?

Dr. McQuillen: Unquestionably.

Mr. Cooper: Well, that situation has got to be remedied, has it?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: If it is not remedied, the town will ultimately become impossible for respectable persons to live in? Isn't that so?

Dr. McQuillen: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You have confidence that public opinion has been so aroused that it will force a remedy for this ~~deplorable~~ deplorable situation?

Dr. McQuillen: I certainly have. I feel that there are enough good citizens-- a lot of good citizens-- as good citizens in West St. Louis as we have in any other place in the world, and through long periods of suffering, you know, we have gotten to be more or less calloused to the fact-- more calloused

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to the fact-- ~~that~~ ^{and} it took a real tragedy to wake us up. Now we have had a drastic awakening, and I can't help but feel that these very people that endured those troubles for so long, will simply rise up and see that a better condition prevails. That's all. I certainly believe enough in East St. Louis to believe that.

Mr. Cooper: Now once before I called attention to that immortal thing of Lincoln's, that ^{this} is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Well, that call the attention of the good people to the fact that it is part of their duty to participate in that government, perhaps not as candidates for or holders of office, but nevertheless as public spirited citizens, interested in the welfare of the government that is supposed to protect him. That is what it means, doesn't it?

Dr. McQuillen: Absolutely, it does.

Mr. Cooper: A man can be interested in politics and not be a candidate for or holder of office. It is the duty of a good citizen to be interested, isn't it, in politics, to the extent of securing good government?

Dr. McQuillen: I think he realize it now.

Mr. Cooper: The fact is that the good citizens of this town-- and I have no doubt that there are a good many of them, because we have seen some of them on the stand right before this Committee-- the good citizens of this town have been negligent of their duty as citizens of this great republic, haven't they, and citizens of this town?

Dr. McQuillen: Absolutely.

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Mr. Cooper: They have neglected their political duties, haven't they?

Dr. McQuillan: They have.

Mr. Cooper: You know it is sometimes said that a community gets just as good government as that to which it is entitled?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, I have heard that said.

Mr. Cooper: Now that isn't strictly true, because every community is entitled to a good government, but it receives the kind of government that it secures for itself. That is what it gets, doesn't it?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And if there is bad government, the citizens are responsible. There is nothing that can impress this Committee ^{more than} such statements as you have made here under oath, that so accord with statements made by other reputable witnesses, which statements, when analyzed, mean this and this only: That ~~xxx~~ today in the city of West St. Louis there are certain of its courts in which a crook stands a better chance than an honest man. You are not ^{the} only witness that has intimated that, but it is high time that the citizenship of this town takes up. That's all.

Mr. Johnson: Doctor, you said something about negroes having been imported here for political purposes. Other witnesses have told us that they were brought here early last fall. Have you either knowledge or information as to the time that they were brought, and the numbers in which they were brought?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, what I meant was what primarily began to lead up to the beginning of the trouble, tracing back eight, or ten or twelve years. They used to bring them here at every election.

Mr. Johnson: That has been going on for ten or twelve years?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh yes, possibly longer.

Mr. Johnson: How long would they be here before they would vote?

Dr. McQuillan: 24 hours, 36 hours-- something like that. Not very long.

Mr. Johnson: You never heard of any of them being punished for voting without the right?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I didn't.

Mr. Johnson: What length of residence is required here, Doctor, before one can vote?

Dr. McQuillan: I think it is 60 days-- you mean in the city elections?

Mr. Johnson: I mean in any election.

Dr. McQuillan: I think it is 60 days.

Mr. Johnson: Not long for the national election?

Dr. McQuillan: You mean in the State? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Mr. Johnson: Yes, for Governor or President.

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't know. I think it is a year. I am not familiar with that.

Mr. Johnson: It is a year in the State, sixty days in the County, and thirty days in the voting precinct.

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Dr. McQuillan: Sixty days in the city.

Mr. Foster: That's right; sixty days in the city election.

Dr. McQuillan: And a year in the State.

Mr. Foster: For a general election, a year in the State, ninety days in the county, and thirty days in the voting precinct.

Mr. Johnson: But for your city elections you think it is sixty days?

Dr. McQuillan: I think it is sixty days.

Mr. Johnson: Have ~~XXXX~~ ^{they} been brought here, Doctor, for practically all of the elections for the last ten or twelve years?

Dr. McQuillan: That is my understanding. That is what has been charged by the papers.

Mr. Foss: Do you know, what of your own knowledge, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: Just what I read in the papers-- the usual source of information-- and our city paper here has made the accusation openly and broadly.

Mr. Johnson: Do you hear it on the streets among the people?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, certainly.

Mr. Johnson: The statement is generally acquiesced in that what is true?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You said, Doctor, that a political party

brought them here?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I meant this way: I think the original start of it was the republican party. My understanding now is that the democratic party and the republican party both traffic in votes just alike now, but originally they were brought here for republican elections.

Mr. Johnson: Doctor, getting back now to the time and place where you were shot, you say that there was one negro who came up and interfered in your behalf?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did he first say that you had treated him, or did you first say that you had treated him?

Dr. McQuillan: No; I didn't see him. I didn't know he was coming until he came right through the crowd and says "He's all right; he treated me white when I was hurt."

Mr. Johnson: And when you said to the crowd, to the mob that was about you, that they shouldn't treat you that way, that you treated them when they were hurt?

430 Dr. McQuillan: I said, "Here, you are a nice set of fellows. You come along and shoot me when I take care of you when you are hurt and send you to the hospital"-- all that stuff.

Mr. Johnson: You are the physician out at the Aluminum Company-- for the Aluminum Company?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Employed by the year or by the case?

Dr. McQuillan: By the year.

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Mr. Johnson: And anyone that is hurt out there you treat?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did you feel that you were addressing the negroes from the Aluminum works when you said to them "I take care of you when you are hurt"?

Dr. McQuillan: No, but then, you know, I realized the psychology of the negro. As a rule they simply need somebody in authority, or an authoritative tone to talk to them, you know. These people are a good deal like a crowd of hysterical children. They were simply crazy. They were scared to death, and they were out to protect themselves and shoot other people too, but primarily they were scared and out to protect themselves. I know they were, or they would have killed us, because they certainly-- the negroes certainly treated us better than white people would have treated them under similar circumstances.

Mr. Johnson: They shot you and when took chances on recognizing you afterwards?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, but they shot us as we went by.

Mr. Johnson: And they broke your ribs after you were down?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes; but they had the chance when they had us off the machine and lined up the-- they had the chance to kill us, and they were crazy to kill us.

Mr. Johnson: Did the intervention of this one negro saved you?

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Dr. McQuillan: Yes. Now I think if the conditions were reversed-- that is, white people after negroes that day-- they never would have spared them under any circumstances.

Mr. Johnson: Well, Mr. Roger testified here that when the white mob was doing violence around his premises, and when they were about to break into his establishment-- or when it appeared that they were about to break into his establishment for violence-- that one man said "Oh, let him alone; he don't hire niggers", and then they went on. So it looks like, to some extent, both mobs were open to some sort of reason, and that it was clearly and distinctly a race war; that when the negroes came across a white man, ^{that} they were quite sure was not in the mob, undertaking to do them violence, and who had upon some former occasion befriended some one or more of them. They showed some mercy, and that the whites did the same thing? You didn't know of that incident as related by Mr. Roger?

Dr. McQuillan: Which Roger?

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Roger, president of the Faking Powder Company.

Dr. McQuillan: Oh, yes, yes. No, I didn't know that.

Mr. Johnson: You may be excused.

Mr. Cooper: I want to ask one question. Mr. Roger testified that the white mob said "Don't shoot him; he don't hire niggers," indicating that they would have shot him for no other offense except ~~because~~ his hiring of negroes?

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Mr. Johnson: I don't think they threatened to shoot Mr. Roger. They threatened to break into his place.

Mr. Cooper: No, but when they decided to refrain from shooting Mr. Roger, it was because--

Mr. Johnson (interposing:): I don't think there is any proof here that they threatened to shoot Mr. Roger.

Mr. Cooper: I didn't say that, but the witness said-- Mr. Roger-- that one of them spoke up and said "Don't harm him-- or shoot him-- he don't fire-- don't harm his premises; he don't hire negroes." Did you know of any white crowd that day that showed any mercy on the negro?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I don't.

Mr. Cooper: Did you know of any crowd, white crowd, that day, that got hold of a negro that didn't beat him or kill him?

Dr. McQuillan: No.

Mr. Cooper: Did you know of any soldiers shooting people that day?

Dr. McQuillan: No, except out at the plant we have a dispensary, and I had a colored porter in that dispensary who came out the next morning almost clotheless. He hadn't any clothes on at all hardly. He lived in these flats between the old opera house and the library building here on Broadway between seventh and eighth, that were burned down.

Mr. Cooper: Near the opera house?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes. He will swear, or I'll swear-- and I never could bring him-- that when they set those houses

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on fire, he and his wife came out of the door, and one of the other families there with them, that he saw a soldier hand his gun to a white man who had shot his neighbor down right alongside of him.

Mr. Johnson: A negro neighbor?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, who came out of the same door-- and he said these other men with him had guns of the soldiers and shot at him too. I couldn't charge him anyway but what he saw this soldier give this man the gun which killed his neighbor right alongside of him.

Mr. Johnson: Doctor, is there an undisputed rumor that some of the soldiers came here, came from a town or a community where negroes are not permitted to stop?

Dr. McQuillan: So I understand. So I have heard.

Mr. Johnson: What is the name of that town or community?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know. There are quite a few of them.

Mr. Johnson: More than one of such communities?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson: In the state of Illinois?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson: Can you name some of them, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: I don't know as I can, but I know there are lots of these little towns around here that don't allow negroes-- or so I have understood.

Mr. Johnson: Did troops were brought in from those places where race prejudice was running so high, to quiet a

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rade war here in East St. Louis, were they?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't know if those places had troops. I don't know where the troops came from.

Mr. Cooper: Did you examine any of the corpses of the victims of the riot?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I did not.

Mr. Cooper: How many wounded did you see, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: I didn't see very many.

Mr. Cooper: You were wounded yourself. That is right. Now if there had been a post mortem upon the bodies of these negroes, the surgeon's knife would have revealed, wouldn't it, by getting the bullets, whether it was a bullet from a soldier's rifle that killed him, or a bullet from a pistol?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I would judge so. It all depends if all the rifles, the soldiers' rifles, used the same caliber and type of bullet, I would judge so.

Mr. Cooper: Well, a rifle bullet, one of these high-powered rifles, would make a different wound from one of these ordinary revolvers, pistols?

Dr. McQuillan: Civilians may have used the same type of rifle.

Mr. Cooper: Well, but we have it in evidence, and you have just said of the case where civilians used the soldier's rifle. Now I am getting at it to tell whether or not it was a rifle bullet that killed him.

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Dr. McQuillan: Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper: Did you know of anybody that had any rifles that day except the soldiers, or civilians to whom the soldiers tendered their rifles?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I didn't.

Mr. Johnson: Did you know this Aluminum works had some?

Dr. McQuillan: Had some rifles?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Dr. McQuillan: I understood they had.

Mr. Foster: Do you examine all the men employed at the Aluminum Plant, Doctor?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, either as or my assistant.

Mr. Foster: Both white and colored?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Foster: You examine them to see whether they have any physical defect?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Is there any difference in the examination of the two races, white or black?

Dr. McQuillan: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: They all go through the same process?

Dr. McQuillan: The same process, identically.

Mr. Cooper: I just want to ask one question. It has been testified here by many witnesses-- some of these eye witnesses, and others testifying from rumors-- that the soldiers themselves deliberately wounded colored people on the 2nd of July in this city, or the next day, and where they didn't do

it themselves they handed the guns to some other persons who did kill them. Was that talked about in the city here right along, right along after that, about the soldiers?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, I have been told that time after time.

Mr. Cooper: That was a matter of common discussion here in the city?

Dr. McQuillan: That was a matter of common discussion. However, I have asked, many times, to try to ascertain who it was; where they got their information, how authentic it was, but I was never able to find anybody that really knew when it came to sifting it down. However, so many of these people that either were eye witnesses or were in the crowd themselves will positively give you no information whatever.

Mr. Baker: You further learned that the military inquiry was secret, and that the Coroner's inquest was secret?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: And the Grand Jury was secret?

Baker:

Mr. McQuillan: It just seemed to be everything to cover up whatever had been done, and permit the guilty culprits to escape, didn't it?

Dr. McQuillan: Well, I don't know why they were secret. I haven't any idea one way or the other.

Mr. Baker: Well, it would have that tendency, would it not?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, it might possibly. On the other hand, it seemed to me, from what I understood from the Coroner's

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inquest, that this was to be kept secret to try and get evidence against these people, or lots of the men who were not supposedly being shadowed or watched.

Mr. Cooper: But, Doctor, there were four or five of these inquests, including those upon Sergeant Coppedge and Wadley, that were public? Everybody attended them, and the evidence circulated at once through the community; but about thirty of them were in secret, not only in secret but there was no post mortem. No surgeon looked for the balls in the body; no surgeon testified as to the character of the wounds. The best evidence possible was lost when they didn't have any post mortems and find whether it was a rifle bullet or a pistol shot, or a knife or a bludgeon that killed the man?

Dr. McQuilian: Yes, certainly.

Mr. Cooper: So that, soldiers could have killed half of those that were killed, or all of them, and there wouldn't be any evidence at all of that kind?

Dr. McQuilian: Certainly. There was quite a good deal of criticism by the general public and by our daily newspapers regarding these secret inquests, and quite justly so.

Mr. Cooper: Well, the secret inquests--

Dr. McQuilian (interposing:): Would have been all right had the rest been carried out.

Mr. Cooper: If they had had post mortems to determine what killed the victims, but without the post mortem you couldn't tell, could you, so that you could testify to it under oath?

Dr. McQuilian: Not in all cases.

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Mr. Baker: Well, did you further here that they turned out en masse, about 80 of these men, that they did round up here on the Main Street in the mob, without any examination or investigation?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, I heard that.

Mr. Baker: And there was criticism of that, was there?

Dr. McQuillan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Did you learn who was responsible for that wholesale discharge of these men that had been rounded up?

Dr. McQuillan: No, I didn't. There are so many tales, so many conflicting tales, and so many accusations backward and forward through the military and civilians, that really, like you had a close insight at that time into it, it is really very hard to decide definitely in your own mind who was really guilty and who was not. I mean of those in the controversy.

434 Mr. Johnson: But it is not disputed by anybody who pretends to know anything about it, that the soldiers joined in the mob?

Dr. McQuillan: Oh yes, I don't think there is any question about that. I saw the crowd chasing-- I didn't see them, you know, but on a narrow street down here I saw the crowd chasing in both directions ^{down} ~~across~~ the alley, and another crowd going in the opposite direction, the transverse direction, evidently after a negro, with soldiers leading the crowd. I could hear them yell "There he goes, there he goes!" The soldiers were right in the lead-- the leaders of them. I saw that. I

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didn't see the negro, and I didn't see them kill anybody.

Mr. Baker: What alley was that?

Dr. McQuillen: That was down here on Fourth Street, right across the railroad tracks of the Southern Railroad. It is where the old Rock Road used to come in. I don't know what the designation of it is now.

Mr. Cooper: To sum it all up, from morning till night on the 2nd of July the soldiers were aiding the mob and deliberately murdering negroes in this city on the streets, and the police had broken down?

Dr. McQuillen: Unquestionably. The negroes absolutely had no protection at all.

Mr. Baker: And the justice courts turn the crooks loose and go after the respectable citizens?

Mr. Johnson: The Committee will adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p.m., the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, October 30, 1917, at 10 o'clock A.M.)