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MARION M. JACKSON, sworn, testified:

EXAMINATION BY MR. DALY.

Q Where do you reside?

A Atlanta, Georgia.

Q What is your address?

A My business address is 1401 Hurt Building,

Q What is your business?

A Lawyer.

Q You are a member of the Bar of the State of Georgia?

A I am.

Q How long have you been a member of that Bar?

A I was admitted either in 1896 or 1897. I think 1896.

Q You have been practising ever since?

A Yes Sir.

Q You are also Executive officer of the Men and Religion Movement?

A I am a member of the committee and Vice-Chairman,

Q Vice-Chairman of the men and Religion Forward Movement in Atlanta, is that the proper name of it?

A Yes.

Q How long has the Men and Religion Movement obtained in Atlanta?

A It started out at the same time that the National movement began, I believe it occurred in 1912.

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Q About three years?

A Yes Sir.

Q How many churches are connected with this movement in Atlanta to the best of your knowledge?

A To the best of my knowledge there are between seventy and one hundred. I could not give definitely all the members of the Evangelical Ministers Associations connected with it. The committee is the creature of the Evangelical Ministers Association. The Association is supposed to consist of the pastors of the Evangelical Churches of the city of Atlanta.

Q You are the Vice-Chairman?

A Yes.

Q What is the scope of the work of this movement in this city?

A The scope of the work as we conceive it is to preach Christ especially through the churches; to press forward the churches as the medium of saving, led through the preaching of Christ, and in order to do that we believe that the members of churches as well as the preachers have to live His teachings, try to live His teachings, and the scope of our movement, has as we conceive it, to bring that truth to bear on the public in getting them into the churches.

Q Has your association, with that statement in

mind, paid any particular attention to industrial conditions as a practical movement?

A Well, the industrial conditions I think are now in the minds of a majority of the members of the committee and of the organizers of it and were from the very start. We realize that there is a connection between the industrial world and the Church of Christ and the members of the Church of Christ that cannot be separated. We do not believe in the intermingling of Church and State as organizations, but we do not believe that the Church members and members of a corporation can practise one policy in his church and another one in the corporation, or as officer or stockholder in it.

Q Then you lay stress on the outward or economic conditions as well as spiritual conditions, as I understand it?

A We do, yes.

Q Your organization has also paid some attention to the suppression of vice in the city of Atlanta as part of its work?

A Yes, at the outset the most glaring evil that struck us in the life of the city was the protection of vice, the social evil, in defiance of the law of the State and the ordinances of the city. It was determined by the pastors of the churches that through the com-

mitted they would make a move to abolish the segregated district in Atlanta. Before we began that work we had an investigation made of conditions in Atlanta, and we were struck with the fact that so many of the inmates of the district were from the industrial class of life. Quite a number of them came from the mill settlements. I might state here that we have never believed, and we have never stated that woman's virtue is dependent upon the wage she receives, but in our investigations here and from what we can see throughout the world there is an intimate connection between the woman that falls a prey to the social evil and the conditions under which she is raised and lives.

Q And your investigation of course showed that the environment surrounding these mill girls was not what it should be?

A They showed that it was not what it should be.

Q Does or not a considerable percentage of the girls come from the mill districts? Would a statement that there is be correct?

A It would be a correct statement. I might state there that the largest percentage of girls in the district did not claim to come from that district. It was simply a large percentage, but I do not want to give the im-

pression that the largest percentage of girls, of that district, if you classify them, showed that they never had any occupation.

Q Are you speaking now especially of this particular mill district in this town?

A No, generally.

Q You are not speaking with special reference to the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills?

A No, in other words I might say that our connection which I presume you will take up later, with the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mill strike was not due to a desire to attack that particular mill so much as it was to call attention to conditions everywhere in the industrial world.

Q You are familiar with the conditions surrounding the beginning of this strike, are you not? at the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills of Atlanta?

A Yes Sir.

Q In what way was the Men and Religion Movement identified with the circumstances surrounding the strike at its inception, or what interest did they take in it and what was their attitude towards it?

A As I recall it now, the first connection I had with it was that my attention was called to it as a

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member of the committee and particularly as the one preparing our publicity, to the fact that the strike was on. My attention was called to it by Mr. Schaeffer, the pastor of the Lutheran Church in Atlanta, and a member of our committee who, as a representative of the Ministers' Association, is a member of the Federation of Trades. He asked me to attend a meeting of the Federation of Trades here in Atlanta at which the attitude of that body would be discussed and determined. Up to that time I was practically unaware that the strike was on, as I had seen little or nothing. I can remember seeing nothing in the papers concerning it. If it had been mentioned it must have been mentioned so inconspicuously it had made no impression upon me. I attended that meeting, and it was my opinion from what I heard there that there was at least cause for an investigation.

I might say here that this is the first direct contact I had with the strike, and my impression of the meeting was that the mildness of the demands, the mildness of the attitude of the laboring people, was remarkable. I was also impressed with the fact that the public was not aware of what was going on. As a result of attending that meeting it was my individual opinion

that, representing the forces that we did we ought to try to get the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills to do what their laborers were requesting, that is, consent to an investigation of their difficulties and arbitration.

I was struck with the fact stated, that the original trouble was the discharge of workers for joining the Union.

Q You are not a member of the Union yourself, are you?

A No, I am not.

Q Do you believe that every workman should have the right to join a labor union?

A I most unquestionably do.

Q Go ahead, if you have anything else to outline on that point.

A I was struck with the fact that their complaints that were made by the strikers as to the form of contract which they were required to sign, the unspeakable sanitary conditions of the mill district, and the system of fines were brought in after the strike was caused by the discharge of the laborers. I carried the facts to our executive committee, and it was determined that we, as a committee, could not and should not take sides either with the mill or with the laborers, but that it was the province of our committee, and the Christian

churches, to ask that the causes for the dispute be investigated and a peaceable settlement made.

Q What were your views as to the method of procuring a peaceable settlement? Arbitration of the troubles?

A That question is best answered by the fact that after it was known that we were going to give publicity to the matter I received a visit from Mr. Johnstone at my office. Mr. Johnstone, I believe, is manager at the mills. Mr. Johnstone stated to me that he had always been friendly with the purposes of the Men and Religion Movement and that he had come to me, as a friend of that movement, and that he worked to keep us from making what he conceived to be a mistake. I then went into his statement of what he conceived to be the side of the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills.

Q Where did this conversation occur?

A In my office. I told him that his statements, as he made them to me, seemed fair to me and that on account of this I could not conceive of any reason why the mill should object to an investigation of conditions by an impartial group of men. While arbitration had been mentioned and I had not discussed the matter, if my recollection is correct, with any of the laboring men, I assured him of my belief that if the Directors

of the mill would consent to an investigation conducted by leading men in the city of Atlanta whose standing and position could not be questioned, that their report of conditions at the mill and matters which caused the strike and were being complained of by the laborers would be final insofar both as the laborers and as the public were concerned. Mr. Johnstone said he was not in position to accept, but that he would take the matter up with his board of directors. Subsequent to that conversation I met on the streets of Atlanta Mr. Ben Phillips who at that time was a member of the firm of Slaton & Phillips and is a director, if my recollection is correct, of the mill. My relations with Mr. Phillips have always been pleasant and friendly.

I do not recall whether he opened the conversation or I, but I recounted to him my conversation with Mr. Johnstone and stated to him that our committee did not intend and would not be led into making a fight on the mills; but that we were clearly of the opinion that the conditions were such that the only thing that would quiet the situation and remove the difficulties was an investigation by an impartial committee. I suggested to him that if the mill would appoint Rabbi

Marx we would endeavor to get the laboring people to appoint Dr. Wilmer and that the two could appoint a third and that their report to the public would set at rest all questions.

Q Why did you suggest Rabbi Marx, Mr. Jackson? Did you have any particular reason for that suggestion?

A Because of my unqualified respect for Rabbi Marx and to meet the situation and the suggestion that some one had made that the attack on the mill by the laborers and our interference, as it was termed, had been dictated by religious prejudice; Rabbi Marx, by religion and birth, being a Jew.

Q What is the religion of the owners of this mill?

A They are Jews, and my respect for that race is unbounded.

Q On the other hand, is there anything in the claim that some people made that owing to the fact that these people are Jews they are not able to get the class of labor in their mills that can be obtained in localities where the proprietors are not of that religion?

A Absolutely not. I believe that the difficulties in obtaining labor --

Q Let me ask you another question before you get to that. Have you ever visited the mill village in

which the people of that mill live?

A I have.

Q How many times, Mr. Jackson, if you recollect?

A I could not say.

Q More than one time?

A More than once.

Q Did you visit the village before this trouble about which this deposition speaks?

A No, I had heard reports and had passed them, but I had never been through it.

Q Then your visits were after the strike began?

A Yes Sir.

Q Will you please explain the living and sanitary conditions of this village as you saw them upon your visits, speaking of the appearance of the homes and the appearance of the mothers and children that you saw, working people generally?

A The buildings were framed tenement houses, and crowded together; the most unspeakable things were the toilets and sanitary conditions; lack of privacy and the lack of cleanliness in the toilets were revolting. They were such that the Sanitary Department of the city of Atlanta condemned them, and if the strike accomplished nothing else it did start some improvement in the pitiful conditions here. I am unable to state whether or not

they have been carried far enough to do any material good, but I am afraid not.

Q Did you notice on your inspection of this village whether more families than one lived in the same house?

A Yes Sir.

Q And if so how many families did you see?

A I could not answer that definitely at this time, but the impression was that all the buildings were overcrowded. The tenements were framed houses joined together. If my recollection is correct I believe there were four houses to the usual building. They were the up-and-down frame houses, the most of them; no yard space. I would state also that Mr. Johnstone, the manager of the mill, in his conversation with me agreed with me absolutely as to conditions in the mill settlement, and stated to me that regardless of the strike it had been Mr. Elsas' intention to correct these conditions. I have since heard that some houses of the same class have been built and were being built at the time of the strike, or only a short time thereafter.

Q If those houses were put in a proper condition and made sanitary, do you think that this class of people that work in these mills would appreciate that condition and take care of them and that they would improve in their living conditions?

A It is my belief that they would. I do not believe that any man, a member of the Anglo-Saxon race -- and my understanding is that the majority of these men are of that nationality -- but would be properly influenced by having decent surroundings.

Q What was the physical appearance of the people you saw there? Did they seem to be well physically, well-fed and so on, or did you pay any particular attention to that situation?

A I never saw the workers of the mill, their wives and their children that I was not impressed by their unhealthy and rather hopeless appearance.

Q What have you to say as to the clothing they wore?

A Poor, miserably poor.

Q Was their whole appearance one of poverty and degradation, or not?

A Everything pointed that way. One of the most pathetic sights I ever saw in my life was the parade of the strikers through the city of Atlanta, the condition and the hopeless appearance of them; but through my contact with them there was not any sign or evidence of violence or violent feeling.

Q Do you know Mr. Louie Marquardt, of the Federation of Trades?

A I do.

Q Do you know Mr. Shuford B Marks, of the Federation of Labor?

A I do.

Q Do you know Mr. Jerome Jones, Labor Chairman?

A I do. I might add to that that I met all of these gentlemen here with the exception of Jones after the inception of the strike.

Q Do you know anything of their reputation in this community for good order and citizenship?

A Yes Sir.

Q How do they stand in the community?

A It is my belief that they have the respect of the community. I might add there that my only criticism of any of them would be the question as to whether or not they pressed this strike vigorously enough from the standpoint simply of the laboring man, because I know if I had been in their position I should have been inclined to have been much more vigorous.

Q Your experience with these men, then, has made you know practically that they have advised against any disorder or anything of that kind?

A That is not only my judgment, but I know it as a matter of fact.

Q Now, coming back to the publicity part of this matter, what was the attitude of the newspapers as to this strike prior to the time that your attention was called to it, if you know?

A My impression of it was that the newspapers had determined to say as little concerning the strike as possible. This impression was confirmed by my not seeing much of it in the newspapers concerning what seemed to me at the time one of, if not the most important piece of news in the city of Atlanta.

Q What did the Men and Religious Movement do towards giving publicity to these conditions at the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills?

A We published display advertisements calling attention to the charges made by the working men and calling upon the owners of the mill and the working men to consent to an arbitration and investigation of conditions, setting forth the fact that we believed the owners of the mill and the laborers, if the facts were really known and brought to the public, would do the right thing. We also had one mass meeting at the Grand Opera House calling for an arbitration. The laborers, or rather the Union, stated to our committee that they would be glad to submit the conditions to arbitration

and finally settle and dispose of it by a committee appointed by the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. They made this suggestion as they felt that the committee was a representative body of men who were impartial, and, on account of the number of ministers of the Gospel, would not be accuated by any ulterior motive. Our committee did not press this upon the mill owners, but called it to their attention as showing the fairness of the strikers and asking that they make a counter proposition, or that either side choose a man or more, that is, choose the third arbitrator of their differences, it also being our plea that neither side should fear the truth being brought to the attention of the public.

Q Then, as I understand it, your organization had no status in the matter.

A Absolutely not, excepting to state the charges that were made, and we endeavored, insofar as we could, to put before the public the claims of both sides.

Q Did your organization contribute to the support of the striking men or not?

A As an organization we did not, and as individuals if anything was contributed I do not know of it. I would

state there that through the churches clothes such as shoes and garments, and in one case that I recall at present clothes for a dead baby to be buired in were furnished through the churches.

Q Mr. Jackson, it is claimed, and I am sure that this is correct, that throughtout the mills in the State of Georgia, leaving out of consideration the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills, that there is a large yearly change among the help of these mills of at least 15% of the number employed, and it is also a correct statement to say that in the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills in 1913, to come down to the exact time, that where the normal complement of the mill was 1200, perhaps as high as 1500 people, that the number of people that went through that mill in the course of the year 1913 were over 5,000. Could you give me, that is a very important inquiry, any reasons for such a condition? From your contact with the strikers and your knowledge of the situation, what reasons could you give for such an unheard-of situation?

A Dissatisfaction onthe part of the workers in the mill. my own attention has been directed to that fact also by the running advertisement which the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills keep going in the papers calling for

whole families of workers for the mill, showing that they were continually in need of more workers. My own estimate of the reasons of it would be, as stated, dissatisfaction caused by the terms of the contract which the workers were made to sign and the system of fines and the generally uncomfortable conditions about the mill village and in the mills.

Q Would in your judgment the lowered vitality of the workers in these mills, owing to these unsanitary conditions and their poverty, have anything to do with that, in your judgment?

A I am not a physician, and I could not answer as to the facts of their vitality, but I can answer as to these conditions affecting the normal man or woman to try to better his condition by going away somewhere else.

Q Your reasons for this strike you have already covered, but to make a summary of it the actual cause of the strike, as you understand it and as you saw it from the information you have from coming in contact with the strikers was owing to the fact that numbers of people were discharged because they belonged to the Textile Union; is that correct?

A Yes, that is correct as to approximate cause.

Q Now then, by cause, or contributing causes, I understand you to mean bad sanitation, withholding wages under the contract, fines and deductions under the contract, and strict enforcement of these rules and regulations at the mill without explanation of them; Is that correct?

A That is correct in my understanding, from contact with laboring people familiar with the conditions, that this discontent had extended back over a great many years, the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills being known for unsatisfactory conditions with their laboring people.

Q Do you know anything about Wesley House, Mr. Jackson?

A By reputation I do.

Q Would you care to make a statement about that Wesley House proposition? It is claimed that the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills lay great stress on the value of that proposition and it is also claimed that the mills contribute \$50.00 a month towards the maintenance of this organization. What could you say about that? You have seen it have you?

A From the outside.. My answer to that would be that I believe in the sincerity of purpose of the workers in this mission and have no doubt that individually they do no little good; but it is my unqualified belief that

not only at the Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills does such a mission work a positive harm, but at other places as well, for the reason that the contribution of \$50.00 which you mention in your question is apt to make the owners of the mill feel that they are doing the right thing by their workers, when what the laborer needs is not a surplus of charity, but decent living conditions and a wage which would remove him from the necessity of their having a mission to take care of his children while his wife labors in the mill and while his older children work in the mill. In other words, I believe that such a mission, where it is accompanied by such labor and women working in mills and unsanitary conditions is a detriment and not a good.

Q A lady in charge of the Wesley House last summer made this statement upon my interrogating her as to the conditions surrounding that property, and made this answer to this question: "Do you think that the Elsas Mills are paying a sufficient wage to its workers?" The reply was "Yes." Then upon my saying, "Don't you think if they had a little more money they would be much better off?" The reply was, "If they had more money they would spend it for ice cream, Coca Cola and things of that sort, and I don't see how it would

do any good." What would you think of a question like that?

A I think that question answers itself. There is just one other feature that I believe should be developed, and that is the only reason why we were anxious for an honest and impartial investigation of conditions and the settlement of this strike; and the stopping of discharging men for joining unions, so familiar with the developments in New England in connection with the Lawrence strike and developments subsequent. We have in the South at present in our mills, in a majority of instances, native laborers. We have not, up to the last year or so, been afflicted with the I. W. W. We have been impressed with the fact that they are beginning to make their appearance. In such a state of affairs we believe that the salvation of the labor situation is amicable relations between mill owners and labor unions. This was impressed upon us, not by laboring people, but by statements sent out by the manufacturers of New England after their disastrous experiences with labor conditions in New England,
