



—Photo by Ewing Galloay

LUMBERJACKS AT WORK LOGGING WITH TRACTORS

LABOR AND LUMBER

by
CHARLOTTE TODES



**INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK**

LABOR AND INDUSTRY SERIES

LABOR AND TEXTILES

By Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy

LABOR AND COAL

By Anna Rochester

LABOR AND LUMBER

By Charlotte Todes

LABOR AND AUTOMOBILES

By Robert W. Dunn

LABOR AND SILK

By Grace Hutchins

Other volumes in this series are planned on *Steel, Transportation, Construction, Clothing, Leather and Shoes, Food and Tobacco.*

Copyright, 1931, by

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., INC.

Printed in the U. S. A.

This book is composed and printed by union labor.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE TO LABOR AND INDUSTRY SERIES	7
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	9
CHAPTER	
I. THE TIMBER	11
Early Timber Grabs, p. 11; Federal Land Grants to Railroads, p. 14; Timber Speculation Makes Millionaires, p. 15; A Few Own the Timber, p. 16; Reforestation and the Rôle of the Government, p. 18.	
II. TRENDS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY	21
Lumber Markets Shrink, p. 22; The Industry Moves to the West, p. 24; Large Scale Development and Small Mills, p. 27; Anarchy of Production, p. 31; The Rôle of the Trade Associations, p. 32; Mergers, p. 34; The Decline of the Shingle Industry, p. 38; By-Product Industries, p. 39; Paper and Pulp, p. 41; Imports and Tariff, p. 42; The Search for World Markets, p. 45.	
III. PROFITS AND THE GIANTS OF THE INDUSTRY	49
War Boom, p. 49; Recent Profits, p. 51; Weyerhaeuser, the Colossus of the Industry, p. 54; Great Southern Lumber Company, p. 58; The Long Bell Lumber Company, p. 59; Kirby Lumber Company, p. 62; St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company, p. 63; Edward Hines Associated Lumber Interests, p. 64; Bloedel Donovan Lumber Company, p. 65; Red River Lumber Company, p. 66; Diamond Match Company, p. 67; Brooks Scanlon Corporation, p. 67; Charles Nelson Company, p. 68; Union Lumber Company, p. 69.	
IV. THE LUMBER WORKERS	70
Life in the Logging Camps, p. 70; Migratory Workers, p. 75; The "Home Guard," p. 77; Mill Workers, p. 80; Mill Towns, p. 80; Native and Foreign-Born Workers, p. 82; Negro Workers, p. 83; Oriental Workers, p. 84; Women in the Industry, p. 87.	

CHAPTER	PAGE
V. BREADLINES	90
Present Economic Crisis, p. 90; Periodic Unemployment, p. 92; Getting a Job, p. 94; Western Employment Agencies, p. 95; The Blacklist, p. 97.	
VI. WAGES AND HOURS	101
Wages in the South, p. 103; Western Lumberjacks' Wages, p. 106; The Shingle Weavers' Union Scale, p. 109; Below the Subsistence Level, p. 110; The "Gypo" System, p. 111; Wages Go Lower, p. 114; Working Hours, p. 117; Overtime and Night Work, p. 119.	
VII. SPEEDING UP THE WORKERS	120
Workers Produce More, p. 120; Machines Displacing Workers, p. 124; Speed-up Devices, p. 127; Accidents Mount, p. 130.	
VIII. METHODS OF COMPANY CONTROL	141
Organization of the Four L, p. 141; Four L "Welfare" Inducements, p. 146; Attitude of Workers Towards the Four L, p. 147; Present Strength of the Four L, p. 148; Company Control at Longview, p. 149.	
IX. STRIKES AND STRUGGLES FOR A UNION	152
Early Struggles of the Western Lumber Workers, p. 152; Industrial Workers of the World in the Lumber Industry, p. 158; The Everett Massacre, p. 161; The 1917 Strike for the Eight-Hour Day, p. 163; Self-Defense in Centralia, p. 169; Struggles in the South, p. 171; The Bogalusa Attack, p. 174; Decline of the Timber Workers' Union, p. 178; I. W. W. Dwindles, p. 179; Union Policies, p. 180; International Shingle Weavers' Union, p. 182.	
X. TOWARDS A NEW UNION	184
Lessons from the Past, p. 185; National Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, p. 188; In the Socialist Soviet Republics, p. 190; The Immediate Goal, p. 191.	
REFERENCE NOTES	193
APPENDICES	199
INDEX	206
ILLUSTRATIONS: FRONTISPIECE AND PAGES 80, 81, 96, 97	

PREFACE TO LABOR AND INDUSTRY SERIES

THIS is one volume in a series of industrial studies being prepared by the Labor Research Association, an organization devoted to the gathering and interpretation of economic material for the labor movement.

The aim of this series is to present a picture of the development of the important American industries in relation to the workers employed in them. Other books dealing with American industries have been written from the viewpoint of the employer, the personnel manager, and the technical expert. But they have all been interested in perpetuating the present system of exploitation and in piling up more profits for powerful corporations.

The present series studies American industries from the worker's viewpoint. What is the trend of production in a given industry? What are the wages, hours, and conditions of employment, and how do these compare with those in other industries? What is the extent of unemployment and what are the prospects of keeping their jobs for those workers still employed? What profits are the companies making, and how are they often concealing them? What mergers are being carried through as the employing class attempts to tighten its control? How are the corporations associated to protect their interests and oppose those of labor? To what extent are the workers already organized in company unions, in the American Federation of Labor, in the new Left Wing unions? What are the prospects for effective unionization? What is the real purpose of the "welfare" and "industrial relations" propaganda of the employers? What can the

workers in the industries of the United States look forward to under the present economic system? These are some of the questions this series seeks to answer.

These books describe not only the hardships and grievances of the workers in a given industry. They analyze the class conflicts arising between those who uphold the capitalist system of production and distribution and the workers who are organizing for revolutionary change. Those who seek to put an end to the rule of the employing class will find in these volumes not only graphic pictures of living and working conditions, but an interpretation of economic struggle and suggested programs of action to meet the offensives of the corporations.

To the militant workers who, in the face of overwhelming obstacles, are carrying on the fight against the strongly organized forces of the capitalist class these books are dedicated.

LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

ONE half million lumber workers in the United States have struggled for more than a quarter of a century against poverty-wages and degrading working conditions. This book is concerned with the interests of these lumber workers, their present working conditions and what the future holds for them in an industry "sick" from overdevelopment, chaotic production and fierce competition.

Since the war and especially during the present economic crisis when 20 to 40 per cent wage cuts are being declared, the workers' hardships have been intensified. Attempts are being made by the lumber operators to maintain high profits in spite of shrinking markets by forcing the workers to bear the brunt of the depression in the industry through lowered wages and greater speeding up. Layoffs have become frequent and longer than ever before and the lumber workers' problem of earning a livelihood increasingly difficult. Each year several thousand workers are being forced out of the industry as the lumber men cut the timber. Although the greatest strides in mechanizing the industry were made in the early part of the century, new devices are being introduced to obtain increased productivity from those who remain on the job. All this serves to increase the already formidable wealth and power of the few large owners of the industry who stifle, by coercion and "welfare" deceptions, the efforts of the lumber workers to struggle against exploitation.

What is the present condition of the industry in terms of the ownership of the raw materials, control of markets and profits, and how does it affect the workers? What can the workers learn from the bitter experiences of past struggles?

What are the new forms of struggle, and what are the policies and tactics the workers must pursue to resist successfully the offensive against their working standards? What are the objectives of the new union and how can they be realized? These are a few of the questions dealt with in this book which are of vital importance to the lumber workers and to workers everywhere whose interests are closely bound up with those of the lumber workers.

Thanks are due to the many lumber workers in the Northwest who participated eagerly in providing information and suggestions for the book.

CHAPTER I

THE TIMBER

TIMBER was the source of the fortunes of the early lumbermen, land speculators and railroad promoters. The virgin forests of the United States which originally covered 822 million acres provided a seemingly inexhaustible supply of basic raw materials essential for the expansion of a vast new country. As early as the colonial days, sawmills of primitive type were established in New England and New York for the manufacture of lumber for local needs and export trade to England. The scarcity of timber and pitch prompted the English to encourage colonization of America to exploit its forests. The lumber industry developed along with the growth of the country.

Early Timber Grabs

Early in the history of the United States the division of the public lands was aggressively demanded by lumbermen and other speculators, eager to bring the natural resources of the country under private control. The Workingmen's Party of New York in 1828 urged that the public lands remain the public property of the nation.¹ Land reformers who dreamed of creating Utopias in America demanded free grants to settlers. Workers who sought escape from increasing exploitation in the factories of the East and from unemployment during the financial panics of 1837, 1857, and 1873, joined in the agitation for free lands. Corrupt Congresses manipulated by the rising capitalist interests adopted a series of land laws between 1840-1880 which were administered by public land officials in the pay of land-holding

interests or under their domination.² Land laws adopted for the relief of veterans of the War of 1812 and the Civil War, for pioneer settlers, for internal improvements and educational institutions in the States and for the railroads actually enabled a few speculating capitalists to acquire the rich virgin tracts of timber. On the other hand the agitation of the land reformers and of labor organizations had yielded nothing for the masses. In 1867 the National Labor Congress pointed out that 800 million acres of public lands had been handed over to a few hundred men who "already assume a haughty and insolent tone and bearing towards the people and the government."³ By 1880 one-half of the original public area had been acquired by corporations and favored capitalists. Expropriated pioneer land settlers soon joined the ranks of exploited proletarians and tenant farmers.

It was under the Homestead Law of 1862 and the Timber and Stone Act of 1879 that the lumbermen made their biggest scoops. Dummy entrymen who were paid small fees for their services by the lumbermen entered claims for tracts of land previously surveyed for their value as timberland, and then transferred them to the lumbermen. In 1880 the Public Land Commission reported that a visit to the Redwood area of California had revealed "huts or kennels, totally unfit for human habitation, as the sole improvements under the homestead laws, by means of which large areas of redwood forests possessing great value had been taken under pretense of settlement and cultivation."

Other fraudulent methods were used by the lumber promoters to acquire timber. One company obtained thousands of acres of pine timber in the Lake States by filing names obtained from the St. Paul and Chicago city directories. Public land officers accepted the "proofs" of entry presented by the company agents for the consideration of \$25 per claim. In 1909, the National Conservation Commission found that "solid townships in northern Wisconsin had been

acquired under the homestead law . . . the timber cut off . . . and not a single voter or inhabitant could be found in the township."

The lumber interests were not deterred from obtaining large holdings by the provisions of the Timber and Stone Act which limited one tract to one individual. Trainloads of women school teachers were sent from Minnesota to Central Oregon to enter claims under the Act, the lands being transferred to a timber investor in Minneapolis. The National Conservation Commission reported that about 12 million acres were acquired by timber investors for 30 million dollars, under this act, although they were worth, at the date of the sale, 240 million dollars. "The profit of over 200 millions went not to the needy settler but to the wealthy investors. Not over a fraction of 1 per cent was held, consumed or even cut by the men and women who made the entries." By similar corrupt transactions over 13 millions of acres of land were disposed of, under the Timber and Stone Act, by 1918. The state lands were manipulated for the benefit of a few large holders by no less fraudulent methods.

Outright thievery of timber reached enormous proportions. Since no protection was provided for public lands, lumber companies established sawmills and proceeded to cut the timber before any action was taken against them. Public officials either overlooked the robbery or, when action was brought, the courts usually upheld the promoters. A resolution introduced into the House of Representatives in 1910 charging the Weyerhaeuser lumber companies with fraud in the acquisition of public lands in Idaho and accusing them of intimidating settlers to give up their lands, was killed in Committee and Weyerhaeuser escaped investigation. A series of Supreme Court decisions favored the land grabbers when the latter were prosecuted.

Federal Land Grants to Railroads

Many of the lumber operators acquired huge tracts of virgin timber, often without cash payment, from the Federal land grants to railroads through their interlocking connections with railroad promoters. The Weyerhaeuser syndicate in the Northwest, the Hines lumber companies, Long Bell, the Great Southern and the Kirby interests in the South, T. B. Walker and Hammond in California are some of the lumber corporations which are dominant in the industry to-day through the timber acquired from railroad land grants. The Federal government had distributed 146 million acres of the public lands to the railroads by 1910. Enormous land grants were given by the states, Florida, Minnesota and Michigan being the most lavish with their timber resources. The great transcontinental railroads, the Northern Pacific, the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific were the most favored, the Northern Pacific receiving far more than any other line.

Rail routes for the Northern Pacific were mapped from Lake Superior to Puget Sound over the rich timber belt of western Montana, northern Idaho, northeastern Washington and the fir region of western Washington. The railroad promoters received 12,800 acres for every mile of railroad in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Oregon, and 25,600 acres per mile in Idaho, Washington, the Dakotas and Montana. When the National Forests were established, the Northern Pacific was permitted to exchange worthless and arid lands which fell within the national forest boundaries for equal tracts of valuable timber. The sordid careers of Jay Cooke, Jim Hill, and J. P. Morgan are connected with manipulations to keep these lands in violation of law. Lands owned by the Northern Pacific, most of which contain timber, were evaluated by the Government in 1927 at \$42,800,000 and the company is still fighting successfully to prevent for-

feiture of 5 million acres of timberland which it appropriated from forest reserves and Indian reservations. The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company acquired 80 per cent of its choice timber stands in the Northwest from the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern railroads with which it has interlocking relations.

Land grants made the Southern Pacific Railroad the largest timber holder in the country in 1910. Together with its subsidiaries it controlled a stretch of 682 miles of valuable forests from Sacramento to Portland, fifty miles on each side of the track. It has disposed of some of these lands to the Booth Kelly Company of Oregon, to Weyerhaeuser, to the Hammond, Walker and Diamond Match Company interests, but it still has a controlling interest in several large lumber companies which are cutting the timber it formerly held.

For a mere song, enormous areas of valuable yellow pine and hardwood in the timber belts of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida and other southern states, granted to the railroads, passed into the hands of a few private companies. For decades to come, the timber resources of the country were to be exploited for the gain of a few.

Timber Speculation Makes Millionaires

Fortunes were amassed by lumber operators through speculation on their timber holdings in the period between 1899-1910. The lumber companies withheld the timber from sale or cutting until such times as the prices could be advanced and immense profits realized. Values of timber rose ten fold, twenty fold and even fifty fold. In the Northwest, tracts bought from the government in 160-acre lots for \$400 in 1891, sold for \$18,500 in 1909. A tract of 85,000 acres in the South offered for sale at \$4.75 an acre in 1897 sold at \$50 an acre in 1907. Examples of this could be multiplied. In its record of this period, the Forest Service

declares that: ". . . Acquisition went far beyond requirements and became speculative for 'quick turn.' . . . From 1900 to 1908 speculation was feverish. Hundreds of men made fortunes by buying and selling. . . . It is questioned if any parallel exists of such enormous capitalization of a natural resource within scarcely more than three decades. . . ." 4

A Few Own the Timber

Four out of every five acres of timberland in the United States are in private hands and 60 per cent of the privately owned timber belongs to the large owners. Federal investigations in 1910 disclosed that the Southern Pacific, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company and the Northern Pacific Railway owned 11 per cent of all the privately owned timber in the country. More recent reports of the Forest Service point out that the concentration of timber ownership has not changed materially since 1910. Approximately two hundred and fifty large owners hold one-half of the privately owned timber. In the West concentration of forest lands is most glaring. The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company continues to be the largest timber owner in this region. In 1929 through its several affiliated companies, it owned 50 per cent of all the timber in the State of Idaho, 37 per cent in western Washington and 15 per cent in Oregon.⁵ The Northern Pacific Railway and the Anaconda Copper Mining Company own 64 per cent of the timber in Montana. While large tracts of timber in the Northwest are being sold and exchanged to reblock for more economical and efficient operation, resulting in a regrouping of timber properties, a few powerful interests retain ownership and control of the most valuable timber.

California is the golden land of plunder for a few lumber operators who have cornered the timber. Twenty-three lumber companies, some of them interconnected, owned, in

1929, 59 per cent of the entire redwood area. Eight principal holders own the pine region, the Red River Lumber Company (T. B. Walker) and the Southern Pacific Railroad, owning 42 per cent of the area. Concentration of the remaining virgin timber in the South where the forests are rapidly vanishing is no less marked. Fifteen owners control one-fourth of the timber area of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont comprising one-half the supply of New England pulpwood. The International Paper Company with lands concentrated principally in Maine is the largest holder of pulpwood timber.

Ownership of forest lands in the United States was found by the Forest Service in 1925 to be primarily concentrated in the hands of the big private interests as the following table indicates:

OWNERSHIP OF THE FOREST LANDS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1925^a

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Big private interests.....	220,000,000	45.6
Smaller private owners.....	} 150,000,000	{ 6.1
Small farm lots.....			27.0
Federal Government	89,000,000	18.9
States	10,500,000	2.3
Municipalities and Counties.....	700,000	.1
Total	470,200,000	100.0

Scarcity of timber due to the depletion of the forests tends toward greater concentration of timber holdings by the large corporations to assure themselves a steady supply of raw material.

The lumbermen have already wastefully devastated not only the Eastern forests but also the timber of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota and most of the South. One by one, lumber operations have come to the end of their raw material and have disappeared, leaving a trail of desolate villages and deserted sawmills, and only the stumps and

burnt over timber to remind one of the profits extorted from the labor of thousands.

Reforestation and the Rôle of the Government

The devastation of the forests still continues. The lumber operators want an immediate return on a maximum yield. They take every stick in the woods that will sell, some disregarding even the seed trees. Such destructive logging methods are used that natural regrowth is impossible. "They figure on a quick cleaning up and after them the deluge," declared a timber conservationist in urging that the lumber operators be compelled to reforest by public regulation.⁷ While the forests were plentiful the lumbermen opposed any reforestation policy, preferring a scarcity of timber to force prices higher. Now that the last stand of forests in the Northwest has been reached, threatening the supply of raw material and the continuous operations of their plants, there is acknowledgment of the need for reforestation, but so far there has been little more than discussion. Reforestation, involving the expense of planting, taxation on lands and the long period of waiting for the crop to mature before profits are realized, does not appeal to many of the lumbermen. The attitude of the western operators is epitomized in a recent editorial comment of a Seattle paper: "Sure we'll reforest the West. But give us a chance first to make a couple of dollars. Forests or no forests, we've got to eat and we're going to eat first."⁸ The operators prefer to dispose of their worthless cut-over lands by real estate schemes which yield them tremendous profits.

Only 165 of the 7,500 concerns in the country are practicing reforestation. Agitation for reforestation is met by the lumbermen with demands for lower taxation and reforestation at public expense. There are a few who advocate reforestation as an important measure to save the industry, as

is indicated in a recent bulletin of the Pine Institute of America:

That a shortage of timber will be of genuine advantage to the lumber industry is a fallacy. Raw materials which are dwindling in supply experience a hastened reduction in demand, because manufacturers who are dependent on such materials tend to seek substitutes which can be relied on to maintain a reasonable market . . . there is some possibility that the lumber industry will suffer from competition of substitutes because of underproduction. This may mean it would find itself struggling to maintain markets in a struggle for profits in spite of higher prices. . . . The best insurance the lumber industry can have is a large area of land growing enough timber so that lumber using industries can rely on lumber as a permanent available raw material and so that competitive demand will not raise prices beyond the point of general usefulness.⁹

Reversing a program of twenty years, the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association in 1929 urged the expansion of national forests and advised timber owners to study timber growing. This changed attitude is significant, for the establishment of government forest reserves was bitterly fought by the lumbermen who feared competition with public timber. But the U. S. Forest Service has obligingly cut only 3 per cent of the total lumber production from the National Forests, has taken over areas of worthless land in exchange for valuable timber and is reforesting some of the lumbermen's cut-over lands at government expense. In addition the Forest Service has helped the lumbermen to block their holdings more effectively for cutting by selling them timber tracts close to their private holdings. Timber is sold by the Forest Service on a competitive basis for cash, giving the large operators an advantage over the smaller companies. Large companies are in this way assured of a permanent supply of timber without the added burden of reforestation and taxes.

The Schafer Lumber Co. of Aberdeen, Washington, ob-

tained a contract for cutting timber from the Olympic National Forest in 1929, estimated to last twenty years. The Hines Lumber Company, southern operators, expect to realize such large profits from the 15 years' supply of timber on the Malheur National Forest that it has established a five million dollar plant and a company town near Burns, Oregon. When leasing the forests for cutting, the Forest Service stipulates how the trees shall be cut, demanding careful selective logging to save the forests and insure a continuous supply of timber for the operators. But the government includes no regulations benefiting the workers, to protect them against long hours of work, low wages and health dangers.

The policy of the lumbermen and the government on reforestation is important to lumber workers only because it determines whether the industry will survive. The failure of the lumber operators in the South and Lake States to insure timber regrowth has meant loss of jobs to thousands, part time work, the necessity of moving to other territories to search for employment, and the uprooting of families. But under a capitalist society, government agencies function in the interest of the capitalist class, and conservation measures adopted for the protection of natural resources are chiefly means of creating larger profits for the owning class.

CHAPTER II

TRENDS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

LUMBER dominates the life of vast sections of the far West and South. Log booms in the rivers and lakes, smoke and fire from the sawmill burners are the sign posts of lumber towns built around the industry. When the camps and mills are down, depression prevails. Lumbermen are the bankers, the politicians, the civic boosters and the patriots. Lumber and forest products form the bulk of the freight over the transcontinental railroads from West to East. Out of the Pacific ports, freighters are loaded with lumber destined to China, Japan, Australia and to Europe. One-half the world's current output of lumber is produced in the 13,000 sawmills in the United States.

Approximately 414,000 workers were employed in the production of lumber and timber products * in 1927. About a half million workers were employed in the industries closely allied to lumber and directly dependent on it for their basic raw materials, bringing the total number of workers in the lumber group to over 862,000, second only to the textile group in the aggregate number of workers. Lumber and allied industries produced about three and one-half billion dollars' worth of goods in 1927, the products of logging and lumbering greatly exceeding the others in total value. The relative importance of the industries in the lumber group in 1927 is here shown :

* "Lumber and timber products" is used by the Census of Manufactures to designate the products from logging camps, merchant sawmills, planing mills operated in conjunction with sawmills, veneer and cooperage stock mills.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIES IN LUMBER GROUP,¹ 1927

<i>Lumber and Allied Products</i>	<i>Number of Workers</i>	<i>Value of Products</i>
Basic industries (including lumber and timber products, turpentine, rosin, and excelsior)	453,131	\$1,259,370,000
Wood reworking industries.....	113,824	653,934,000
Wooden container industries.....	56,124	235,578,000
Furniture and related industries.....	201,497	964,470,000
Miscellaneous industries (matches, pulp goods, wood preserving, etc.).....	38,091	344,075,000
Total	862,667	\$3,457,427,000

In eleven states—Washington, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oregon, Idaho, Arkansas, Florida, Virginia, Alabama, California and Texas—the lumber industry employs more workers than any other industry. Over one-half of the wages of the workers of Washington and Oregon come from lumbering. In Florida a third of the state's industrial workers are in timber and wood products; in Alabama a fourth; in Mississippi three-fourths; and in Louisiana about two-fifths. There are lumber workers in nearly every state in the country, but as the industry is concentrated in the West and the South, this study will deal primarily with conditions of the workers in the industry in these regions.

Lumber Markets Shrink

Lumber is one of the basic raw materials of industrial society. Millions live in wooden houses, sleep in wooden beds, eat at wooden tables, write with wooden pencils, use wooden matches and toothpicks, read books and newspapers made from pulpwood, are intimidated by policemen with wooden clubs and are finally buried in wooden coffins.

Building construction, railways, mines, automobiles, in fact, all basic industries use lumber and are directly or indirectly dependent on it for their operations. Building construction utilizes 60 per cent of the lumber produced for

farm buildings and residences and for materials during the process of building. About eighty-seven and one-half million ties are hewn yearly for the railroads which use 15 per cent of the timber cut. Timber props are widely used in the mining of coal and metals; wooden poles support the network of telegraph and telephone wires. Furniture, automobiles, veneer, wooden boxes, agricultural implements and other manufacturing industries are using more lumber yearly and promise to be the most important future consumers of lumber.

"Wood will win the war" was the tune to which the lumber workers, exploited in the name of patriotism, were driven to speed-up production during the World War. As the chief cheap material for temporary structures for cantonments and trench warfare as well as for ships, submarines and airplanes and for fuel, lumber was vital to the conduct of the war. In the next imperialist war lumber will again be indispensable.

The demand for lumber has not kept pace with the phenomenal industrial development of the United States in the past twenty-five years. More durable and efficient materials are encroaching on all markets for lumber. Steel, stone, cement, brick and concrete, better adapted to the building needs of cities, have largely displaced lumber as a basic material in urban construction. While building operations increased over 100 per cent from 1910 to 1925, the consumption of softwood lumber declined to 10 per cent and hardwood 30 per cent, and the use of brick, cement, and structural steel increased from 100 to 150 per cent and steel frames and sashes 400 per cent. The number of steel commodities which came into competition with lumber increased from less than seventy in 1917 to more than eight hundred in 1925. Metal, tile, slate and composition shingles are displacing wooden shingles for roofing and fiber wall boards are used for interior walls. A million dollar corporation is converting corn-

stalks into wall boards, substitutes for thin lumber. Paper boxes for packing, steel and concrete for posts and railroad ties, wire for wheels and fences, cement for paving, metals for furniture construction, auto bodies, ships and cars, all are competing with lumber and rapidly shrinking its markets. There is no major commercial and industrial use for lumber to-day for which there is no satisfactory substitute available. The output of lumber has consequently declined from its peak production of forty-four billion board feet in 1909 to thirty-four billion board feet in 1927. Lumber, dependent as it is on building construction for its main markets, reacts in its production index to the fluctuations in the building construction industry and the recent decline in residential building has consequently restricted demand. "Own your own home" campaigns have been fostered as part of a five-million-dollar publicity drive by the lumber interests to stimulate the purchase of lumber.

The Industry Moves to the West

The center of the lumber industry is shifting to the West where the timber is still plentiful. Before 1927 the industry in the South led in the amount of lumber cut, but more lumber is now produced in the western states than in any other region. With fewer workers and fewer lumber firms than in the South, the western industry is nearly equal with it in the value of products manufactured.

LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS, 1927*

	Work- ers	P.C.	Estab- lish- ments*	P.C.	Lumber Cut	P.C.	Value of Products	P.C.
United States	413,946		7510		34,532,420		\$1,214,645,683	
West	123,916	30	1199	15	14,709,778	42.6	455,161,683	37
South	201,153	48	3811	50	14,403,887	41.9	470,585,167	38
Lake States	35,375	8	279	4	1,794,672	5.2	102,581,345	8

The last areas of virgin timber, thirty millions of acres of which are in Washington and Oregon, are now being cut.

* Establishments here mean one or more lumber plants under a single ownership.

Logs are being cut so rapidly that operations are being pushed up steep hillsides into previously inaccessible regions. To conserve their timber supply the western operators buy from non-manufacturing loggers, or draw upon the publicly owned forest reserve. The National Forests, as has been shown, are merely reserve areas for the growth and nurture of trees to assure private enterprise a permanent supply of timber.

It is the rapid depletion of the forests of the South that has forced the southern lumber industry to yield first place to the West. "Denudation" is the polite term by which the Forest Service characterizes the devastation of the southern timber:

Many millions of acres in the South have reached a degree of denudation that virtually precludes any hope of their restoration to productiveness as a private undertaking and apparently insures their eventual abandonment . . . through tax forfeiture. In much of the southern pine region the history of the Lake pine states will be repeated.⁸

Virgin stands furnish less than one-half of the timber cut in the South. As the timber is exhausted, the lumbermen move on to cut forests in other regions or remain as landholders. A majority of large southern mills of ten to twenty-five years ago have closed down for lack of timber and others are gradually discontinuing operations. Reporting on a study of the hardwood resources before the Southern Forestry Congress in 1929, Professor G. H. Lentz of the University of Syracuse stated:

Information furnished us by the operators showed that five mills had a five to ten years' supply; thirty-two mills had a one to five years' supply; seventeen mills had no timber of their own but were operating on logs purchased in their vicinity. These figures do not entirely agree with those gathered by the Hardwood Institute, for their report lists fifty-three mills as having a life of five or more years. Assuming that the Institute's figures are correct it would indicate that in Louisiana in 1934 there

will be only fifty-three of the present eighty-three hardwood mills operating and the output will have been reduced 25%. . . . What may happen after 1934 is problematical but with the rapid decrease in the amount of available timber it is an assured fact that production will show a still further drop. . . .

Our investigations show that only a few less than 5% of the hardwood operators of the state have taken even the first steps toward applying any forestry methods. . . .

Only four companies in Mississippi have a sufficient supply of timber left to permit them to start operations on a sustained yield basis, according to the estimate of the state forester. Between Jackson and Gulfport there are now only ten sawmills where fifty-six could be counted ten years ago.

The Long Bell Lumber Company transferred its major operations from the South to Longview, Washington, in 1923, and in the following years gradually closed down its five plants in Louisiana. The Great Southern Lumber Company is transporting logs cut from its own redwood tracts in California to be sawed into lumber in its plants at Bogalusa, Louisiana, to keep its mills running while waiting for its new crop of trees to mature.

Already in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, and in the East, the lack of timber has relegated lumbering to a relatively unimportant industry. The lumber cut in the Lake States declined approximately one-third in the period between 1925 and 1927. Trees are logged in these regions for the wood-using industries and for pulp, and sawmills are fast disappearing.

How has the decline in the lumber industry in the Lake States and the South affected the great army of lumber workers in these regions? Where do the loggers and sawmill workers go as the woods are cut out and the mills shut down? Thousands of workers have migrated along with the industry to the West or have moved to other lumbering states in the South, only to find jobs as scarce as at home. Textile mills, paper and pulp plants and tenant farming ab-

sorb some of these workers, but many workers remain a part of the vast army of the unemployed.

Over 29,000 workers were forced out of the industry in nine southern states between 1925 and 1927 and 17,036 in the Lake States.

DECLINE IN NUMBER OF WORKERS IN LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS IN SOUTH AND LAKE STATES *

	<i>Number of Workers</i>		<i>Forced Out</i>
	<i>1925</i>	<i>1927</i>	
<i>South</i>			
Louisiana	39,241	31,919	7,322
Mississippi	36,397	30,116	6,281
Alabama	29,095	27,613	1,482
Arkansas	25,217	20,810	4,407
Texas	18,200	16,257	1,943
Florida	17,777	15,247	2,530
South Carolina	15,686	14,533	1,153
Tennessee	11,185	10,690	495
Virginia	11,621	7,561	4,060
Total for Southern States.....	204,419	174,746	29,673
<i>Lake States</i>			
Michigan	23,660	12,989	10,671
Minnesota	8,779	6,929	1,850
Wisconsin	19,972	15,457	4,515
Total for Lake States.....	52,411	35,375	17,036

Census figures show an increase of lumber workers in only two southern states in this period, in North Carolina where 525 workers were added and in Georgia, where there was an increase of 1,388 workers, which may be explained by the influx of many small mills to cut small scattered tracts of timber.

Large Scale Development and Small Mills

Large operations are concentrated in the West where the huge virgin stands require powerful equipment to transport the felled trees from the woods to the mills. As logging

operations are pushed back to remote and steep mountain regions, operations become more complex, and larger investments are necessary to install costly power machinery which can haul logs over a wide area.

A large scale lumber corporation is a typical vertical combination controlling every stage of the operation of converting the tree into the finished product. Financially under a single control, these companies employ thousands of workers in decentralized units, often widely distant from one another. Large scale mills are electrically operated, equipped with conveyor systems, and mechanized at every stage of the process. Kilns for drying the lumber, planing mills for finishing it into moldings, doors and other products, lath and pulp mills for utilizing waste material, and by-product plants such as shingles, veneer, plywood and other wood-working plants are all under one control. Some operators own shipping lines for transporting lumber to Eastern or foreign markets and retail sales agencies to distribute the product. The profits resulting from every stage of manufacture and distribution from the stump to the consumer go into the treasuries of the large scale operators. Their ownership of the best stands of timber, their financial strength, their use of mass production methods and their superior distribution facilities give these large interests control of the lumber industry.

Out of 119 mills in the class which cut more than fifty million board feet yearly, 101 were located in the western states, while the remaining number were scattered in five states in the South and in Minnesota. Although the 119 mills comprise less than 1 per cent of all the mills in the country they produced more than 25 per cent of the total lumber cut. Production of Douglas Fir is overwhelmingly concentrated in the Northwest where 197 plants produce 99 per cent of the cut of this species. Concentration is also marked in California where 18 large producers cut 80 per

cent of the lumber of the state. The large mills through their monopoly of the raw materials are driving the non-timber owning medium-sized mills out of the industry. Of the 60 mills which had ceased operating in Washington from 1923-1929 only four were in the large mill class. Similarly out of forty-three logging camps which had closed down between 1921 and 1928 thirty-six were small camps employing less than 250 workers. Small mills produce a negligible portion of the cut in the western states but are better adapted to handle isolated and scattered tracts of timber and to cut logs of smaller size and are therefore able to survive.

In the South more than 6,000 small mills are operating on scattered timber tracts. Nearly one-half of the southern pine lumber is produced by mills cutting less than 20,000 feet a day. As the timber is cut out more of the operations are taken over by medium-sized and small mills able to cut lower grade timber at lower cost. A small mill can be established at an investment of no more than \$3,000 and portable mills with a minimum of equipment can be installed for \$800. A tractor, a saw, and a carriage comprise the machinery of a small mill and all the operations are performed on the one saw. A crew of six to eight men do everything from felling the trees to transporting the sawed lumber. In Florida, some small mills operate a central planing mill together to finish the lumber. In Alabama 80 per cent of the small mills are financed by the wholesale lumber dealers who market their cut. In all the regions small operators subcontract for larger operators who find it unprofitable to use their extensive power equipment to log small tracts.

The trend of development of mill operations in the lumber regions is clearly illustrated in the table below.

In the West increasing concentration results in the absorption by large mills of medium-sized operations, which are also eliminated because of the intense competition. Small

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MILLS ⁵

	<i>West</i>		<i>South</i>		<i>Lake States</i>	
	1925	1928	1925	1928	1925	1928
Large Operations (Cutting over 50 million board feet yearly)	80	101	23	15	6	3
Medium Operations (Cutting from 10-50 million board feet yearly).....	242	202	335	365	77	61
Small Operations (Cutting less than 10 million board feet yearly)	982	996	13,660	6,838	495	412

mills increase as the area of logged land increases and a supply of smaller and second-growth timber makes their operation profitable. The closing down of operations due to lack of raw material in the South and in the Lake States is reflected in the general decline of lumber concerns in these regions.

Even where the raw material is still plentiful, as in the West, reduction of crews through speed-up and the use of machines to displace workers in the large operations added 7,500 workers to the ranks of the unemployed lumber workers between 1925 and 1927.

DECREASE OF WORKERS IN WEST IN LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS ⁶

	1925	1927	Forced Out
Washington	59,733	55,739	3,994
Oregon	31,217	30,328	889
California	24,954	24,909	45
Idaho	11,473	9,386	2,087
Montana	3,647	3,554	93

Throughout the country the tendency is towards fewer operations and fewer workers as is shown by the following census figures:

DECREASE IN ESTABLISHMENTS AND WORKERS IN LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS IN UNITED STATES, 1923-1927 ⁷

	1923	1927	Decrease	Percentage of Decrease
Number of establishments	9,393	7,510	1,883	20.4
Number of workers...	495,932	413,946	81,986	17.2

Anarchy of Production

Anarchy prevails in the lumber industry. The small mills producing regardless of market conditions come into fierce competition with the larger mills which are trying to control the market in their own interest. Price cutting is common because the market is constantly overstocked with lumber. Western manufacturers complain that there are too many fir mills. Normal producing capacity of the West Coast industry is at least 25 per cent in excess of market demands. Sawmills throughout the country usually operate at only 70 per cent to 80 per cent of their capacity and during the economic crisis of 1929-30 the mills ran at 30-50 per cent capacity. But overproduction persists in spite of many idle machines. Machinery installed to increase production at lower cost is cutting lumber at too rapid a pace for the markets to absorb the product. Timber owners eager to avoid taxation of standing timber and the expense of protecting their forests from fire rush to cut their trees, creating an oversupply of logs. A cut-throat struggle for markets exists not only between large and small manufacturers, but also between large producers in each region and between regions. In the effort to maintain and expand the markets for lumber, the lumber operators come into sharp competition with manufacturers of substitutes and foreign lumber interests. Overcapitalization and overproduction is the chronic condition of the industry.

In the fierce competitive struggle, many of the companies are unable to survive. Dun's record of failures of lumber concerns in 1929 indicates a steady process of weeding out of the weaker companies. In that year, 1,135 lumber bankruptcies occurred, as compared to the 644 in 1926 and 850 in 1927. Liabilities in 1929 amounted to more than 53.5 million dollars, with the heaviest fatality rate occurring among the small firms.⁸ In the month of January 1930

alone, 105 failures occurred. But while failures in the industry have increased, many other companies have reaped enormous profits as will be shown in a later chapter.

The Rôle of the Trade Associations

Repeated attempts by the large mills to control price and production through the pressure of the regional and national trade associations and through combination have not put a stop to the intense internal competition. The National Lumber Manufacturers' Association representing about 820 large companies and 50 per cent of the country's production together with the regional associations has developed comprehensive machinery to force the operators to adopt a policy of controlled production. Efforts to whip the large manufacturers into line on a firm price policy and a program of curtailment of production have not been entirely successful. The trade associations appeal to the manufacturers through every medium of publicity to warn the members against overproduction. Typical is the plea in the regular news letter of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association in May 1929:

Production has risen, while demand has slackened in important cargo markets, and while the total volume of orders has been falling below that of the corresponding period last year. The strong position which the industry has held since the first of the year is endangered by the reactions liable to occur from these conditions upon our markets generally. It is imperative in the judgment of the Association that every West Coast manufacturer study these facts carefully and adjust his own operations so as to hold the ground which the industry has gained in recent months.

Again and again the large manufacturers will agree to a joint policy only to abandon their agreements when they see possible immediate profits. Smaller mills, unable to tide themselves over long periods of idleness, operate and sell at any price. Continuous operations start the whole cycle

of chaos again, oversupply of stocks, underbidding and low prices. Curtailment programs of western operators usually coincide with seasonal shut-downs in the camps, prolonging the usual period of unemployment, and have been carried out in the mills through a three or four day week with occasional shut-downs for short periods. Overproduction and shrinking markets intensify the drive for lower operation costs through rationalization. New machines displacing labor, the greater productivity of the workers, the speed-up process in the mills and camps, the use of the piece work and "gypo" systems, the lengthening of hours and the lowering of wages are all part of the rationalization process.

When Hoover characterized the lumber industry as "exhibit A of government by coöperation," it was mere campaign propaganda for the success of the efforts of the trade associations to stabilize the industry with governmental aid. The "coöperation" with the government began in 1919 when the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association formed a government relations committee to "more adequately protect themselves against the destructive tendencies of the hour"; for the Federal Trade Commission had just started its investigation of the activities of the lumber trade associations in price fixing. The Commission whitewashed the associations later, on the ground that their activities had ceased after the investigation.⁹ Government departments have since actively assisted the industry to standardize processes and products for efficient mass production, to develop by-product industries for the utilization of waste timber and to stimulate local and foreign markets. Fraudulent methods of selling lumber, falsifying grades and dimensions, known to the industry as "scant sawing" have not, however, been checked.

The National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, unable to control production and prices in the present crisis recently petitioned Congress to consider the lumber industry one

which requires governmental regulation in the "public interest." Back of this is the desire to strengthen their combinations and drive the small producers out of the industry with governmental sanction and assistance.

Mergers

The lumber industry is no exception to the trend towards stronger combinations in industry and finance. "Wisely planned consolidations" are urged by the leading lumber capitalists. Mergers of large operations are being effected to lower production costs and to control the standing timber and every stage of the manufacture and distribution of lumber. They are, for the most part, effected among the lumbermen themselves rather than by Wall Street financiers. For the profit-making enterprises in the industry are mainly timber owning companies which are controlled by a few individuals or families who do not put their stock on the market and therefore escape control by outside capital. Nevertheless in 1927, 70 to 75 mills in the fir region of the Pacific Northwest were investigated by the National City Company, New York investment bankers, with a view to combining these plants. The proposed merger included the McCormick, St. Paul and Tacoma, Pacific Spruce and the Oregon-American companies, but none of the other large companies. It failed to materialize.

To protect themselves from being driven out or swallowed up, smaller firms are forming combinations. In an unsuccessful attempt to bring about a merger of 75 per cent of the small operators in Grays Harbor, Washington, C. M. Wetherwax, president of one of the lumber companies involved, argued the importance of the move:

. . . It is becoming increasingly evident that the destiny of the sawmill interests of the Northwest is to be a survival of the fittest and only by exercising the greatest economies of operation and the utmost efficiency can any unit of the industry hope to

survive. Without a doubt the manufacture of lumber by the mills of Grays Harbor could be accomplished more advantageously if the entire effort were under one direction than under present conditions, when some twenty mills are producing their product with wasteful duplication of effort. Important economies could be effected through the proper coördination by means of a consolidation of various mill companies which might easily result in the industries reaching a sound condition instead of the present unhealthy one. . . . It is reasonable to suppose that if a merger of various mill properties at Grays Harbor is completed, this will be followed immediately by other regional mergers. . . . Such a step would have a steadying effect on the entire financial structure of the industry.

A series of meetings of the giant operators on the West Coast to consider consolidation was recently reported but was promptly denied by James Tyson, president of the Charles Nelson Lumber Company. But the rumor persists and reports indicate that the leading lumber manufacturers of the western region controlling 80 per cent of the fir, hemlock and cedar production have been negotiating this merger for three years. The rumored merger would involve the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, the Long Bell Lumber Company, Charles McCormick Lumber Company, the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company, Sudden and Christensen and the Charles Nelson Lumber Company. A combination of these firms would give the new organization dominant control of the best timber resources of the West, the most efficient manufacturing facilities, shipping lines and sales agencies and control of important by-product industries. Control of the best markets and swelled profits will result.

Pending the completion of large consolidations, numerous mergers have recently taken place in the West. A merger of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company with the White River Lumber Company in Washington resulted in a new four million dollar corporation, and made possible the combination of 50,000 acres of virgin timber holdings owned by the two

companies. The Weyerhaeuser Company has been aggressive in combining with other corporations and merging its own subsidiary companies. A recent merger in Cloquet, Minnesota, combined four separate Weyerhaeuser groups into larger working units. The 15 million dollar corporation to be known as the Northwest Paper Company has three operating units, one devoted to lumber manufacture, the second to lumber specialties, and the third to pulp and paper. Such a merger not only effected economies of operation and reduction in overhead but made possible more effective specialization.

A 1929 consolidation led to the formation of a 12 million dollar corporation involving a combination of western and Lake States' lumber interests. The new Clark and Wilson Company of Oregon will operate the timber and sawmills of what was formerly four lumber companies.

The Port Orford Cedar Products Company, a 5 million dollar merger, in 1928 placed in control of this new corporation 33,000 acres of timber containing one-third of the supply of white cedar in southwestern Oregon, a lumber mill and two veneer plants. The corporation's net earnings in 1928, after the merger had been effected, were \$453,539 and it increased its common stock from four to six million dollars in 1929.

Lumber and pulp interests combined in Washington in 1929 to form the Puget Sound Pulp and Timber Company, capitalized at 10 million dollars. The corporation owns sawmills, timber, and logging railroads and plans the erection of a mill to manufacture paper pulp from defective and waste material. Pierce, Fair and Company, timber bond investors, negotiated the deal.

Nine companies affiliated with the Charles McCormick Company consolidated in March, 1926, into a 10 million dollar corporation operating timber lands, mills, terminal yards, wharves and vessels. In addition it purchased a fifteen

to twenty-five year supply of timber and the manufacturing plants of two companies in Washington. This corporation operates two mills in Washington and two in Oregon and 35 vessels for coastwise and foreign trade. Since the stock of this company is owned by only two preferred stockholders and 387 common stockholders profits go to only a few owners.

In the South, five lumber companies have recently consolidated into the Chicago Mill and Lumber Company owning large tracts of southern hardwood timber and operating plants in Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Large marketing mergers are being formed to handle the output of several separate plants as a means of stabilizing prices. The management may be identical with the ownership of the affiliated mills or may be in the form of a selling agency largely or wholly unconnected with the producing plants, the latter operating on a commission basis. The formation of the Pacific Atlantic Corporation in 1928 as a lumber sales and shipping agency, capitalized at 150 million dollars, represents a marketing merger of ten of the largest lumber corporations handling 80 per cent of the lumber shipped from Pacific ports. Directors of the corporation include western bankers and shipping and lumber interests. This marketing agency will try to keep its members from dumping lumber on Atlantic and Gulf coast markets which previously lowered lumber prices and reduced the profits of the lumber manufacturers.

Repeated statements that only when the lumber industry develops comprehensive consolidations similar to the United States Steel Corporation will it become stabilized are made by the representatives of the lumber interests. Speaking before the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce in 1929 on the future development of the lumber industry, Wilson Compton, secretary of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, asserted that:

. . . Lumbering will be extensively consolidated in large ownerships; some of these will be interregional. . . . Outside of the sawmills doing local business, the entire lumber industry will be comprised within fewer than one hundred separate ownerships with industrial leadership comparable to that of steel, oil, motor and copper industries.

This may be considered wishful thinking but it clearly indicates the trend of development of the big lumber operations and the program of the lumbermen.

As mergers increase, greater concentration of financial power enables the operators to introduce more effective devices for rationalization and speed-up of the workers which result in more intensified exploitation.

The Decline of the Shingle Industry

Among the important by-product industries in the large plants is the manufacture of shingles. It is also an independent industry run by non-timber owning operators. Only a little capital is required to start a shingle mill with one or two machines. A tremendous overdevelopment has resulted. An investigation of the distribution of shingle machines in 1926 showed little concentration; 98 out of 158 mills owned 73 per cent of the machines and the others were widely distributed.¹⁰ The majority of the 8,000 workers in shingle manufacturing are employed in Washington and Oregon close to the largest supply of red cedar, the lumber most suitable for shingles. One-third of the mills in Washington, employing 6,000 workers, produce 85 per cent of the product.

Shingle production has been steadily declining, a drop of 28 per cent in output occurring between 1927 and 1929. Competition with Canadian shingles and substitute materials such as composition roofing products have restricted the market for American shingles.

Old time shingle weavers have seen the mills go bankrupt, unable to withstand the fierce competition of the many small

mills and the declining market. The mortality of shingle mills is mounting. Half of the existing mills discontinued operations between 1924 and 1927. On the other hand shingle production in British Columbia, where the industry is highly concentrated, has risen more than 200 per cent since pre-war years.

In spite of the many bankruptcies in the industry new mushroom shingle mills come in whenever there is a rising market. The one shift annual capacity of the 883 machines in Washington and Oregon, in 1926, was eight billion shingles. Production was only five and a half billion. The big operators, having superior selling facilities, profit at the expense of those less strongly situated. Out of the 34 Washington and Oregon mills investigated by the United States Tariff Commission in 1925, 23 reported profits and 11 claimed losses.

Union organization among shingle workers in the mills has persisted when unions in other sections of the lumber industry were destroyed. The struggles of these workers are related in another chapter. Coöperatives were also established by union workers in the shingle industry, but most of them were squeezed out by timber-owning operators. Several mills which started as coöperatives are still operating although they have lost their original character and are now merely stockholding companies.

By-Product Industries

With the depletion of the forests, manufacturers are forced to exploit the tree more intensively to increase profits. In the "cream-skimming" days, only the best trees were cut and stumps four to eight feet tall were left in the ground. Logging operators and lumber manufacturers are still notoriously wasteful and it is estimated that one-sixth of the wood of the tree is wasted. Huge burners in the mills, belching fire and smoke, destroy valuable waste products. A sample of this

prodigality is picturesquely stated on a memorial slab of the Great Southern refuse burner at Bogalusa scrapped in 1924: "Every day during my life of sixteen years I consumed daily 560 cords of waste wood or a total of 2,688,000 cords. I cost \$75,000 but my fire has destroyed \$1,344,000 worth of what was formerly considered waste." Even after intensive propaganda by the government and the trade associations, only 40 per cent of the log goes into lumber.

When the slump in the demand for lumber, due to the encroachment of substitutes, threatened profits, the government stepped in to assist the lumber industry in developing by-product industries through fuller utilization of the waste materials. A National Committee on Wood Utilization was formed and experts were set to work in government research laboratories to discover new uses for wood and processes and methods of utilizing waste. Some 4,500 different commercial and industrial uses of wood are now known. Inferior and second growth timber is used for pulpwood to be manufactured into paper. Excelsior, plywood, veneer, box and cooerage plants are developed as subsidiaries to the sawmills. Uses have been found even for the lowly sawdust, which is made into carbon briquettes for fuel and wood flour, from which insulating materials are made. The bark of the redwood of California is used for rayon and roofing materials. Slabs, edgings and trimmings are made into wall board and similar by-products. Waste materials are also converted into cellulose products such as rayon and moving picture films. Cellulose products are becoming so important that some anticipate that the lumber industry may eventually become a subsidiary of the chemical industry; and cellulose supersede sawed lumber as a major forest product. A forester suggests this in a recent report:

We [foresters] must get over the idea of viewing the tree as so many logs. We must more closely adhere to the view of

looking at the tree as a national product which develops a wood substance . . . a plant which grows cellulose.¹¹

As cellulose by-product plants increase in number, the lumber industry becomes of greater importance as a war industry, for these plants are readily converted into munition plants for the manufacture of explosives.*

Paper and Pulp

Lumber manufacturers turn to the manufacture of pulp and paper for outlets for their second growth and inferior timber. In the Lake States and New England, where the woods are logged for pulpwood, the pulp and paper industry is already more important than the manufacture of lumber. In the past ten year period the movement in the paper industry has been towards the West and South, where a source of cheap raw materials is found in the timber which is unfit for sawed lumber. The pulpwood industry has had its greatest development in recent years in the important lumber states, Washington, Oregon, California and Louisiana. In the Pacific Northwest, about 25 million dollars was invested for the establishment of new paper and pulp mills from 1923 to 1928. The bulk of this investment was in Washington. Pulp was discussed at a Pacific Logging Congress for the first time in 1928. R. W. Vinnedge, the president in 1929, pointed out the need for developing the pulp industry to absorb the hemlock crop:

One of the outstanding phases of the problem [of logging in the Northwest] is the increasing hemlock content in our remaining timber stands. As our timber line recedes higher upon the mountain slopes, the percentage of this species increases. . . . Hemlock demands have not increased proportionate with production. . . . The rapid increase in the production of pulp in the Pacific Northwest gives some comfort as a source of partial

* See Donald A. Cameron, *Chemical Warfare*, International Pamphlets, 1930.

relief, yet until recently pulp has been ground largely from mill ends and slabs. However, within the past year some hemlock logs have been ground for pulp, with prospects of more in the near future.¹²

Only the large operators can afford to establish mills for the manufacture of pulp and paper. The expense of installing the necessary machinery makes a transition from lumbering to paper manufacture prohibitive for most companies. Combinations are being effected in the Pacific Northwest between lumbering interests and paper corporations. The Olympic Forest Products Company of Washington was recently organized by the Zellerbach paper interests in combination with Bloedel Donovan and the Irving and Polson interests of Washington. It will operate a giant sawmill, a pulp mill, a wall board mill and other auxiliary wood-working plants. Paper mills have developed as subsidiary to sawmills during the past few years as, for example, the Great Southern of Louisiana and the large Lutchter Moore interests of Texas which operate paper mills in connection with their lumber plants. The International Paper Company has established five paper mills in the South, obtaining its supply of raw material from its second growth tracts.

Contrary to repeated claims, the development of paper and pulp manufacture in depleted regions will not absorb many of the workers thrown out of employment from the lumber industry because of the highly mechanized character of the paper industry which has reduced the number of workers employed to a minimum.

Imports and Tariff

Protection from the "unequal competition of foreign producers" by means of a high tariff against lumber, logs and shingles, was obtained by the lumber and shingle operators in the 1929-30 session of Congress. Some western manufacturers were aggressive against Canadian imports of logs and

shingles while the southern interests raised a cry against the free admission of Soviet lumber. Lumber importations entering the United States in 1928 amounted to less than 5 per cent of the total lumber produced in the United States that year. Canadian shingle imports constitute 25 per cent of the total United States production of shingles. Imports of Soviet lumber reached an approximate total of only 14½ million board feet in the first six months of 1930, an insignificant amount when compared with the total United States annual lumber cut of 34½ billion board feet.

Although Soviet lumber has sold in only small quantities on the Atlantic Coast and will be needed in greater amounts in the future for home consumption in the industrialization and building program of the Soviet Union, the lumber men frantically called for a tariff on the pretext that Soviet lumber would undersell and displace American lumber in its own markets. Soviet lumber is produced under union labor conditions providing for a seven-hour day and a five-day week. The workers have the benefits of social insurance and a steadily rising wage scale.* Yet this lumber can successfully compete with American lumber in all markets because it is cut under the efficient supervision of highly organized state trusts from timber owned by the state and not exploited for private profit, and under a planned system of economy. This is in sharp contrast to the extreme individualism and competitive anarchy of the American lumber industry under capitalist control.

Lumber interests were not in agreement on whether there was need for a tariff. Retail dealers and non-timber owning wood consuming industries desiring cheap raw materials encouraged Soviet and other importations of lumber and opposed the tariff bill. Those having branch industries and timber investments in Canada and other countries, conspicu-

* For a discussion of the conditions of the Soviet lumber workers, see Chapter X.

ous among them the Bloedel Donovan Company, actively fought against it. Division of interests in the trade associations forced some of the regional groups to keep their hands off but the Western Pine Operators' Association declared its open opposition to a tariff measure. Canadian lumber manufacturers who had previously joined the West Coast Lumbermen's Association to keep a common price policy prevented this association from taking an active part in the controversy. But the most powerful interests sought the tariff as a means of swelling their profits and lumber was placed on the tariff list in 1930.

In all the lumber regions, manufacturers took advantage of the tariff issue to divert the attention of the lumber workers from their own exploitation by propaganda ascribing the low wages and long shutdowns in the industry to competition with Canadian products manufactured by "Oriental labor at lower wages." Prejudice against the Oriental workers in Canada was systematically fostered by the employers in the press and by other propaganda methods. Many workers were coerced to petition for a tariff under threat of loss of job. Both the Washington and Oregon state federations of labor gave energetic support to the lumbermen's demand for a tariff although the lumber operators have bitterly fought every attempt to organize the workers in their plants. The state federations were especially active in the attack against the Oriental workers, assisting the employers in creating division among the workers and covering up their own failure to organize and fight for higher wages and better conditions for the exploited lumber workers.

During the crisis of 1930, after the tariff bill had been passed, the lumbermen agitated against the admission of Soviet lumber by raising the false cry that "convict labor" produced cheap lumber in the Soviet Union. Shipments of Soviet lumber were permitted entry by the government when no proof could be produced that convict conditions existed.

But the propaganda had served the purpose of misleading the workers about the lumbermen's responsibility for their unemployment, speed-up and low wages. It stirred up hatred against the Soviet Union which might later be used in arousing war hysteria and at the same time it laid the basis for an embargo on Soviet trade. While hypocritically assuming an interest in the conditions of Soviet and Oriental labor the lumbermen have carefully concealed the misery, the hardship and exploitation of the lumber workers in the United States, especially the Negro lumber workers in the South. Both the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. joined the lumbermen in the false charges against the Soviet Union.

The tariff does not solve the problem of markets for the lumbermen. As the markets continue to shrink, profits are extorted from workers by lowered wages, greater speed-up and longer and harder work. In addition the workers suffer the heavy burden of inevitably higher prices. Proof is found in the history of the textile industry, which although long protected by a high tariff wall still pays notoriously low wages and exploits woman and child labor.* The employers do not divide with the workers any greater profits gained through the tariff. Only powerful unions can wrest these profits from the employers in the form of higher wages, improved working conditions and social insurance.

The Search for World Markets

Pressure to find outlets for the surplus stocks of lumber forces the lumber capitalists to seek foreign markets. As the largest exporters of lumber and timber products in the world, American lumbermen exported approximately 160 million dollars worth of sawed lumber, logs and manufactured wood products in 1929, a substantial increase over previous years. Unmanufactured lumber, such as logs, ties

* See Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy, *Labor and Textiles*, 1930.

and poles, showed a greater increase than other kinds of lumber products. In the face of the disappearing forests the operators continue to cut a surplus supply of logs and dump them on foreign markets to prevent a decline in domestic prices. Low grade timber which cannot be absorbed in home markets is also dumped abroad. American lumber is sold in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the Plata River section of South America, and in Japan, China, Australia and New Zealand.

In 1929 American lumber exporters encountered sharp competition in foreign markets from lumber manufacturers of Finland, the Scandinavian countries and the Soviet Union. There are rumors afloat of a Swedish-Finnish cartel to control the price of lumber for more effective competition with American lumber. The United Kingdom, which formerly purchased one-half of its lumber supply from the United States, has sharply decreased its orders here and transferred them to European countries. Japan has also decreased its purchases and is turning to the Soviet Union for its supply of lumber. The Soviet Union is coming to the forefront, gradually regaining the position held in pre-war days when Russia was the leading timber exporting country of the world. In 1926 and 1927 the lumber exported from the Soviet Union was approximately 83 per cent of the value and 56 per cent of the volume of the export of pre-war years. Exports of lumber from the U. S. S. R. in 1928-29 showed an increase of 46 per cent over the previous year. The Five-Year Plan provides for intensive exploitation of the valuable timber resources of the Soviet Union, the establishment of sawmills and woodworking factories and a 275 per cent increase in production by 1932.¹³

About 8 per cent of the lumber cut in the United States is exported. To expand foreign markets, one thousand representatives of the United States Department of Commerce are acting as lumber salesmen in fifty-six foreign

TRENDS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY 47

countries and extensive government reports advise the lumbermen where they can find their best markets abroad and increase their export sales.

Competition with foreign countries for markets is an ever increasing source of national antagonisms among capitalist countries, resulting in imperialist wars. American lumber manufacturers involved in this competition have everything to gain from seizing the lumber markets for themselves. These rivalries are intensified as the forests are depleted in America and the lumber interests must seek raw materials in other lands. The Soviet Union's forests, comprising 21 per cent of the world's forest area, offer a tempting motive for an attack on the first Workers' Republic by the imperialist nations. American interests have invested millions of dollars in foreign lumber industries and seek lumber in the forests of South America, Mexico and the Philippines. The largest hardwood mill in the world, employing 3,000 Filipino and Chinese workers, is operated by an American company in the Philippine Islands. The search for raw materials, protection of foreign investments, and the struggle for a larger share of the markets of the world are basic economic factors which will impel the American lumber capitalists to join in the next imperialist war.

The chaos of the capitalist system of production is nowhere more clearly evident than in the lumber industry, with its enormous overdevelopment, cutthroat competition and chronic overproduction in the face of declining markets. The invasion of substitute materials, the downward trend of building construction and the crisis in agriculture, which halts rural building, contribute to the declining demand for lumber as a primary raw material and point to a dark future for the industry. Stimulation of demand by high-power advertising at home, attempted expansion of markets abroad, and the development of by-product industries have not provided a cure for the depressed condition. Nevertheless the

large timber owning operators who dominate the industry are growing stronger through mergers and through the elimination of smaller competitors. But sharp struggles will continue as the domestic and foreign markets shrink.

The decline of the industry falls heaviest on the workers. Profits are kept at a high level by means of lowering the labor costs through wage cuts, the speed up, lengthened hours and reduced employment. The need for union organization to protect the interests of the workers against increasing exploitation is imperative.

CHAPTER III

PROFITS AND THE GIANTS OF THE INDUSTRY

PROFITS in lumber have been spectacular. Fortunes were made before 1909 primarily on timber speculation when lumber manufacture was a less profitable venture. Between 1910 and the outbreak of the World War, when, due to overspeculation, pressure to liquidate on timber investments flooded the market with lumber, there was a slump in the industry. This did not, however, seriously affect the lumber manufacturers, as profits from secondary ventures, commissaries, boarding houses and company stores offset possible manufacturing losses.¹

War Boom

Demands of the World War for lumber for ships, airplanes, and materials for camp and trench warfare revived the industry, bringing another golden age to the manufacturers. Profits were sky-high and war profiteering was notorious. At the very time when the lumber manufacturers were crushing with brutality and bloodshed the wave of union organization which spread through the South and West, and were bitterly fighting the workers' demands for an eight-hour day, increased wages, and sanitary camp conditions, they were reaping the richest harvest of profits since the days of the timber grab. Despite government price fixing and the admitted manipulation of accounts to show inflated costs, Federal investigations of the war profiteering of 143 companies in the Southern Pine industry revealed enormous profits. These are indicated by the following table.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS IN THE SOUTHERN PINE INDUSTRY, 1917²

<i>Percentage of Profit on Investment</i>	<i>Number of Companies</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Production</i>
Over 30	16	12.2
20 to 30.....	17	11.9
15 to 20.....	26	22.7
10 to 15	21	12.1
5 to 10.....	39	25.7
Under 5.....	19	12.2
Loss	5	3.2

The rates of earnings for individual companies ranged up to a profit of 64 per cent on the total investment. Profits in other regions also rose to high levels.

When the government relaxed its supervision after the armistice, prices more than doubled. Southern pine went from \$23 per thousand feet in 1917 to \$55 in 1920, the margin of profit on sales per thousand board feet increasing from 27 per cent to 40 per cent.³ During the 1921 depression prices dropped, but they quickly recovered. The post-war building boom intensified the demand for lumber, and profits leaped to unprecedented heights. The enormity of these profits was revealed in a report of the United States Secretary of the Treasury on distributed and undistributed earnings of corporations in 1922. This showed that 1,232 lumber concerns had aggregate net book profits of \$101,898,126, aggregate surplus and undivided profits of \$474,102,600; and they paid during the year in cash dividends \$50,311,863 and in stock dividends \$31,703,501. The major share of the profits went to the 705 concerns which had net book profits of \$80,483,646, surplus and undivided profits of \$307,559,442 and which had declared cash dividends of \$49,635,593 and stock dividends of \$28,703,501. In other words, 57 per cent of the firms had realized 79 per cent of the net profits, 65 per cent of the surplus; and had declared 98 per cent of the cash dividends and 90 per cent of the stock dividends.⁴

Recent Profits

Profits of the war and immediate post-war periods have not been sustained but present profits are great. The bulk of these profits go to the large operators. More efficiently organized than their smaller rivals and controlling the raw material, they dominate in the competitive struggle, while the smaller operators run on a close margin or are entirely squeezed out.

Lumber concerns are family affairs. Only about 1 per cent of them publish financial reports. Stock ownership is concentrated in a few hands.⁵ The average holdings of common stock per stockholder in the lumber and wood products industry in 1926 was 18,957 shares, the highest for any industry. The average number of common stockholders per corporation was only 13, the lowest number in any industry except construction; preferred stockholders averaged 5 to a corporation, the lowest number in any except agriculture and construction. Approximately 95 per cent of common and preferred stock is held by individuals, a negligible proportion being held by brokers or other corporations. Bond issues have been relatively few. The Investment Bankers Association estimated (1929) that only a 200 million dollar private bonded debt was outstanding against 5 billion dollars of timber value.⁶

During the Senate tariff debate of 1930, the anti-tariff forces initiated an investigation into the profits of the lumber companies on the basis of their income tax reports. The results of the investigation show that the insistent complaint that the lumber industry has been losing money, put forward to justify wage cuts, increased hours and more intensive exploitation of the workers, is unfounded. During the years 1922 to 1928, the aggregate profits of 67 southern lumber companies were over 140 million dollars, representing an average of 17.6 per cent profit on gross sales. Profits of

114 western companies totaled over 108 million dollars, an average of 7.6 per cent on sales, while 3 Northern Pine companies totaled over 6 million dollars, or 11.0 per cent average profit. The figures here are lower than actual profits, as income reports are manipulated by capitalists to decrease the amount of taxes to be paid.

REPORTED PROFITS OF LUMBER COMPANIES, 1922-1928⁷

(Based on Income Tax Returns)

Year	67 Southern Companies		114 Western Companies		3 Northern Pine Cos.	
	Profits	Percentage of Profits to Gross Sales	Profits	Percentage of Profits to Gross Sales	Profits	Percentage of Profits to Gross Sales
1922...	\$19,972,929	20.4	\$20,436,445	12.4	\$1,137,764	16.6
1923...	29,656,432	24.0	34,907,119	15.8	2,824,047	30.5
1924...	18,118,852	15.5	7,571,459	3.9	210,883	2.4
1925...	23,270,467	20.5	12,786,978	6.1	965,529	12.9
1926...	20,866,841	17.6	12,244,772	5.9	576,316	6.8
1927...	12,612,065	11.6	7,093,453	3.6	-584,301	-9.4
1928...	15,762,333	14.0	13,288,874	6.0	1,112,299	15.3
Total.	140,259,919		108,329,100		6,242,537	
Aver..		17.6		7.6		11.0

The income tax data of 44 of the southern companies and 30 of the western companies showed over 10 per cent profits. The relatively small profits of the majority of the western companies is due to the fact that the non-timber owning operators which are in the large majority are at the mercy of the twenty timber owning companies who own and control over 80 per cent of the timber in western Washington. The aggregate profits of these companies were over 69 million dollars in this period, an average of 10.48 per cent on gross sales; over 10 million of this was made in 1928. Eleven of these 20 companies made over 10 per cent, only three less than 5 per cent. Of the three Northern Pine companies, one made a profit of 18.56 per cent and the other two 9 per cent.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS OF INDIVIDUAL LUMBER COMPANIES
1922-28⁸

(Based on Income Tax Returns)

Percentage Profits on Gross Sales	Southern Companies	Western Companies (all)	Timber Owning Companies Western Washington
Over 40.....	3		
30 to 40.....	9	1	
20 to 30.....	11	6	4
10 to 20.....	21	23	7
1 to 10.....	23	66	9
Loss		18	

How the profits of the lumber industry compared with other industries in 1925 is shown by an analysis of Federal corporation tax returns. It will be seen that the lumber industry is making comparatively high profits in spite of the depression in the industry.

COMPARISON OF PROFITS OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY TO PROFITS
OF 18 OTHER IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES IN 1925⁹

(Based on Federal Corporation Tax Returns)

	Lumber Industry	Average 19 Industries
Percentage of corporations making profit	61.0%	58.6%
Percentage of gross profits on sales...	22.3%	16.1%
Average volume of profit per successful corporation	\$43,013	\$37,390
Average deficit of unsuccessful corporations	\$17,847	\$11,053
Average dividend paid.....	\$16,192	\$12,216
Income in excess of deficit.....	\$147,200,455	
Percentage of corporations making \$10,000 or over.....	44.7%	25.0%

The extraordinary profits of earlier years are evident from the tax returns which reveal that the profits reported by the lumber corporations were 49.9 per cent higher in 1920 than in 1925.

Further significant data on recent profits of specific companies listed in the investment manuals follow in the next table. *Net profits* represent earnings after taxes, depreciation and interest charges have been deducted; by *surplus and undivided profits* is meant the accumulated profits of past years which are usually reinvested in timber tracts, new equipment and other enterprises. The table shows the startling fact that *ten companies have undivided profits of from one and one-half to thirty-seven times their capital investment*, while eight others have undivided profits ranging from more than one-half to about equal their capital stock. The profits of one company for one year aggregated more than the total of its capital investment. As one reads the following table one must bear in mind that the average annual wage of the lumber worker is less than a thousand dollars a year!

Weyerhaeuser, the Colossus of the Industry

How these large profits are made is seen in the story of some of the giants of the industry.

The Weyerhaeuser syndicate, "the mysterious octopus," achieved its present strength and dominating position in the lumber industry by acquiring millions of acres of timberland from Minnesota to Puget Sound either for nothing or for a mere trifle. Frederick Weyerhaeuser, who founded the company in 1852, was well known in the days of the muckrakers when the trusts were being bitterly fought by the smaller business interests. He was frequently under attack along with other timber, coal, oil and iron grabbers. Weyerhaeuser, with two other owners, controlled 11 per cent of the private timber of the country in 1910. Affiliations with Denkman, Hines and other lumber interests established the Weyerhaeuser company as the largest in the industry. When Frederick Weyerhaeuser died in 1914 he left a fortune estimated at 300 million dollars.

PROFITS AND SURPLUSES OF LARGE LUMBER COMPANIES¹⁰

<i>Firm</i>	<i>Capital Stock</i>	<i>Net Profits* for 1928</i>	<i>Total Surplus and Undivided Profits</i>
<i>Northwest and California</i>			
Bloedel Donovan	\$5,500,000	\$775,315	\$6,301,054
Brown Co.	30,000,000	926,846	5,934,173
Coos Bay Co.	8,288,410		6,132,775
Long Bell Co. (1929)	53,427,306	1,559,333	6,144,339
Oregon American Lumber Co.	2,937,450	639,014	3,574,718
St. Paul and Tacoma Lum- ber Co. (1929)	1,500,000		8,889,871
Wheeler Osgood Co.	1,500,000		1,137,458
Diamond Match Co.	16,600,000	1,587,642	5,276,568
Hammond Lumber Co.	9,500,000		30,257,217
Pickering Lumber Co.	7,500,000	1,856,031	16,378,000
Charles Nelson Lumber Co. (1927)	2,500,000		12,981,250
Northern Redwood Lum- ber Co., (1927)	2,000,000	230,128	2,576,365
Yosemite Lumber Co. (1927)	5,000,000		102,535
Red River Lumber Co.	890,000		33,414,276
<i>South</i>			
Great Southern Lumber Co.	13,890,600	1,360,241	9,980,868
Edward Hines Lumber Co. (1923)	2,947,800	3,107,874	25,193,021
Kirby Lumber Co.	5,000,000	644,901	7,310,569
Brooks Scanlon Corp. (1925)	3,832,000		3,150,257
Atlantic Lumber Co. (1927)	2,000,000		1,552,312
Bagdad Lumber Co.	1,500,000		493,990
Caddo River Lumber Co.	2,000,000	313,682	2,238,824
Cady Lumber Co. (1927)	4,573,601		374,476
Industrial Lumber Co.	2,200,000		2,166,782
J. Ray Arnold Co. (1929)	500,000		5,192,661
U. S. Lumber Co.	10,000,000		162,170

* When no figure is given the facts have not been made public.

The syndicate consists of highly organized units of logging operations, including housing and commissaries, sawmills, by-product plants and lumber yards, retail sales agencies and shipping lines. Lumber operations are carried on principally in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Minnesota and retail agencies are located in the large industrial centers of the East and Middle West. Docks and storage yards and additional planing mills and sawmills have been established at the distributing centers for foreign and domestic shipments in Baltimore, Portsmouth, Newark and Minneapolis. As directors of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads, members of the Weyerhaeuser family tie up the syndicate with the railroads and extend the control of the firm over transcontinental shipments.

Stock in the Weyerhaeuser affiliations is closely held and every unit has a member of the Weyerhaeuser family in the directorate or in a leading executive position. R. M. Weyerhaeuser is president and director of the Northern Lumber Company of Cloquet, Minnesota; vice-president of the Cloquet Lumber Company; president and director of the Rutledge Timber Company in Idaho; president of the Virginia and Rainy Lake Company of Minnesota, which in 1923 was worth 10 million dollars with no indebtedness; chairman of the board of the Northwest Paper Company; president and director of the Duluth and North Eastern Railroad; director of the Northern Pacific Railroad; president and director of the First National Bank of Cloquet; director of the First American Bank of Duluth; and director of the First National Bank in St. Paul, Minnesota. He has also been listed by former Ambassador Gerard as one of the 64 men who rule America.

Weyerhaeuser affiliations are carefully concealed and many companies are rumored to belong to the syndicate. Financial reports are not published and every attempt at Federal investigation to reveal profits and strength has been suc-

cessfully resisted. No official list of affiliated mills is available but the following mills are known to be Weyerhaeuser owned or controlled: Snoqualmie Falls Timber Co., Snoqualmie, Washington; Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., Everett, Washington; Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., Tacoma, Washington; Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., Longview, Washington; Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., Klamath Falls, Oregon; The Northwest Paper Co., Cloquet, Minnesota; The Wood Conversion Co., Cloquet, Minnesota; Johnson Wentworth Co., Cloquet, Minnesota; Northern Lumber Co., Cloquet, Minnesota; Humbird Lumber Co., Idaho; Edward Rutledge Lumber Co., Idaho; Potlatch Lumber Co., Idaho; Clearwater Timber Co., Idaho; Bonner Ferry Lumber Co., Idaho; Boise Payette Lumber Co., Idaho; Weyerhaeuser Realty Co., California. The Weyerhaeusers have also, through stock ownership and directorates, connections with other large lumber concerns not directly affiliated with the syndicate.

Weyerhaeuser plants centralize all processes of production in regions where timber is plentiful. Recent new giant plants in Longview, Washington, and Klamath Falls, Oregon, include sawmills, shingle mills and other plants for the manufacture of subsidiary products. The mills are highly mechanized to reduce the number of workers and produce on a large scale as cheaply as possible. The Weyerhaeuser sales agency markets the product of all the mills in the syndicate as well as the output of other mills, thus enabling Weyerhaeuser to maintain a firm price. The agency advertises "concentrated buying and selling," "15 different species of lumber," "shipping from 20 large stocks."

Thousands of workers have built the wealth of this enormous syndicate. It is conservatively estimated that 12,000 to 15,000 workers are employed in the camps and mills, on the logging railroads and shipping lines belonging to Weyerhaeuser. The company has never tolerated union organization and has always maintained a system of espionage to

prevent attempts by the workers to organize for better working conditions. In every Weyerhaeuser town evidences of poverty and hardship are everywhere, while the domination of the Weyerhaeusers over the lumber industry and the means of livelihood of the workers becomes more powerful and formidable daily.

Great Southern Lumber Company

Bogalusa, Louisiana, is the center of the Great Southern Lumber Company, one of the few large companies still maintaining continuous operations in the South. The company originally held 125,000 acres of virgin pine timber in Mississippi and Louisiana, most of which has now been cut out. It started reforestation in 1922 and now has 20,000 acres of land under cultivation in Louisiana where land tax laws are favorable. In Mississippi, where the taxation laws are less favorable, cut-over lands are not being reforested. The company owns the largest sawmill in the South, and several subsidiary industries such as paper, naval stores, furniture and box manufacture, among which are the Bogalusa Paper Company, the Louisiana Fibre Board Company and the Bogalusa Turpentine Company. The New Orleans Great Northern Railway, the Bogalusa Stores Company, the cannery and the public utilities of the town also belong to the company. A. C. Goodyear, president of the Great Southern Lumber Company, with headquarters in Buffalo, New York, is president and director of the subsidiary plants and the railway, and director of the New Orleans Corrugated Box Company, Texas Corrugated Box Company, Southern Finance Corporation, and the Marine Trust Company of Buffalo.

Profits of the Great Southern for the year 1927, amounting to \$12.45 a share, were over \$1,700,000, a gain of a half million dollars over the previous year. In 1928 net profits were \$1,360,000 or \$8.76 a share, representing a

margin of profit of 20.3 per cent. Accumulated surplus in 1928 was almost 10 million dollars although the company had declared cash dividends of a million and a half dollars both in 1927 and 1928.

Bogalusa, the scene of bloody labor struggles, is the shabby company town built in 1907 to house the workers employed in the Great Southern lumber plants. It is now an incorporated city but the company still dominates the political, social and economic life of the residents. About 4,400 Negro and white workers are employed in the plants with the white workers in the skilled and key positions. The company advertises for workers in the newspapers of other southern towns in order to maintain a reserve labor supply and keep down wages. After the collapse of the Florida boom, hundreds of workers flocked to the town from that state and often became stranded. Taking advantage of the large labor supply, the company slashed wages.

Great Southern has always kept a firm hand over its workers. "The blood and tears of Negroes stain every dividend this company has paid," wrote E. C. Rowan, once foreman in the Great Southern lumber yard in recording the exploitation of the workers in the years before 1919 when the company town was a feudal stronghold and the company's hired gunmen intimidated and terrorized the workers. To-day profits are still being made in this way. Bogalusa has had its labor martyrs. The story of the struggle to organize the Negro and white workers in the Great Southern plants and the bloodshed, murder and brutality instigated by the company to crush the union, is comparable to the story of Ludlow, Centralia and Gastonia and will be told in another chapter.

The Long Bell Lumber Company

"The City Practical that Vision Built," "A Wonder City in a Wonderland," are among the glowing advertisements

of Longview which greet the eyes of travelers over the highways of Washington. Systematic, high power advertising on a national scale since 1923 when the Long Bell Company established the city as a subsidiary profit-making enterprise to its lumber plants, is designed to appeal especially to workers to lure them to Long Bell plants. "We never experience a labor shortage. Our ads bring people from all parts of the country," said the employment manager at the Long Bell plants.

The Long Bell Company dates back to 1875 when it was incorporated under the name of R. A. Long & Company. Its chief operations were in Louisiana and Mississippi, but when these forests were depleted the plants were moved to Washington. Timber was purchased from the Weyerhaeuser Company which is rumored to be an important stockholder in the Long Bell Company and which established a huge plant in Longview in 1929. The Long Bell Company also owns the entire capital stock of the Weed Lumber Company in Weed, California, the Long Bell Farm Land Corporation, the Longview Company, the Longview Suburban Company, the Longview Dredging and Construction Company, the Longview Fibre Company, the Longview-Portland and Northern Railway Company, over 90 per cent of the stock of the Louisiana and Pacific Railway Company, 94 per cent of the stock of the Sibley Lake and Southern Railway, and 60 per cent of the Woodworth and Louisiana Central Railway Company. In 1925, the company was reported as operating 12 sawmills, 10 of which were in the South, 8 wood-products plants and 122 retail lumber yards. It owned over a million acres of land. Since then several of the Southern plants have closed. The Washington operations are planned on a permanent basis through reforestation. Long Bell paid cash dividends of over 21 million dollars extending over a period of 27 years prior to 1925 in addition to stock dividends of over 21½ millions. In 1928 the

Long Bell Lumber Corporation together with its subsidiaries reported a net profit of \$1,926,478 after charges for depreciation, depletion and interest had been deducted, an increase of almost half a million dollars over 1927. Shares earned \$3.26, as compared with \$2.52 in 1927. Profits in 1929 dropped to \$1,659,333 or \$2.79 a share.

The Long Bell plants advertised as the "world's largest" claim to employ 2,000 workers on two 8-hour shifts but the plants do not run at full capacity. Some 800 workers are employed in the logging operations at Ryderwood, 30 miles north of the city, where the company has built a "hotel" for the single workers and shacks for the married workers, and has provided a church, a school and a company store. It claims that the timber here is sufficient to cut for 50 years. The Long Bell and Weyerhaeuser mills concentrate in Longview the largest number of workers in the lumber industry.

Visitors permitted to inspect the plants can see a working force with many young workers on the carriage in the sawmills and in all the processes in the planing mills. Unskilled workers in the sawmills and other plants comprise most of the workers and received, in 1929, \$3.60 a day. The company brought many Negro workers from the South to work in the mills, but they were later shipped to the plant in Weed, California, where they are paid on the basis of 32 cents an hour. For continuous long periods the Longview plants operate on a curtailment schedule, providing the workers only 3 to 4 days work a week. Families are forced to subsist on \$14.40 a week or less. Many families suffer severely as a result. The local charity organization, which carefully avoids making any statement which would reveal the extent of hardship and poverty among the workers, admits "under-employment" as a major "cause" of charity applications. The profits of the company, however, have not been seriously impaired.

Kirby Lumber Company

Kirbytown, Texas, under the control of the Kirby Lumber Company, is a typical example of Southern feudalism. An investigation in 1916 showed that the company was paying wages in the form of "merchandise checks," redeemable only for rent, for lumber as fuel, and for supplies which had to be purchased at company stores. This scrip could be redeemed at the company banks for cash only in times of family crises at a 10 per cent discount. Wages were paid irregularly and workers were sometimes obliged to wait for six months before receiving them. Any rebellion on the part of the workers was promptly crushed by the "iron fists" of the hired company police. Profits are still being built on the toil of underpaid workers, although the methods of exploitation may be more refined. A recent announcement states that 4,000 workers in the Kirby mills will have a 9- instead of a 10-hour day. Hailed as a "welfare" measure, its real purpose is to curtail production during the economic crisis.

Thirteen sawmills, manufacturing both softwood and hardwood lumber, are now operated by the Kirby company in eastern Texas and two in western Louisiana. Stock is closely held in this company and earnings per share have been consistently high, \$25.36 a share in 1923, \$16.94 in 1926 and \$12.50 in 1928. Accumulated surplus in 1928 amounted to \$7,310,569. In the same year net income, after taxes were deducted, was reported as \$644,910, a gain of 75 per cent over the previous year. John Henry Kirby, founder of the company, as president of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, initiated the association's present policies. He is now president of the Southern Tariff Association, and is listed as one of Houston's millionaires and philanthropists. His fortune has been estimated by bankers at \$24,000,000.

St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company

The St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company was one of the companies which profited from the land grant to the Northern Pacific by acquiring, at 30c. a thousand feet, valuable timberlands in western Washington which in 1923 were valued at \$3 a thousand feet. Colonel Griggs, who established the company, had previously owned large timber investments in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. His son, Everett G. Griggs, who is now president of the company, is also president of the Fidelity Bank of Tacoma, has a controlling interest in the Wilkeson Coke and Coal Company, operating one of the leading mines in the West, owns one-third interest in the Everett Pulp and Paper Company and has large financial interests in Santa Rosa, California. He is also president of the Douglas Fir Exploitation and Export Company, the Connellsville Coal and Coke Company, Chehalis and Pacific Land Company, C. W. Griggs Investment Company, Consumers Central Heating Company; vice-president of the John Dower Lumber Company, and director in the Ocean Transport Company, Citizens' Hotel Corporation, A. C. Dutton Lumber Corporation, Tacoma Land and Improvement Company, United States Chamber of Commerce, and the Griggs, Cooper and Company, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company recently combined with the W. H. Perry Lumber Company and the Charles Nelson Company of San Francisco to establish a wholesale distributing yard and a planing mill near San Pedro, California, called the Consolidated Lumber Company. The company is also connected with the Dutton Lumber Corporation, which markets its goods on the Atlantic Coast, and the John Dower company, which operates retail line yards marketing its products in the West.

The St. Paul and Tacoma is one of the strongest operators

on the West Coast, with a ratio of current assets to current liabilities of 15 to 1. Its undivided profits and surplus of \$8,889,871 in 1929 is almost six times the capital stock. Stock is closely held and dividends paid are not reported.

The three sawmill units of the company normally employ approximately 800 men per shift. An additional 400 men are at work in the logging camps. The company union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, was introduced in its plants to prevent the spread of union organization after a strike in 1918.

Edward Hines Associated Lumber Interests

Edward Hines, the founder of the Edward Hines Associated Lumber Interests, has for many years been a dominant figure in the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. It is said that Weyerhaeuser formed an alliance with him in the early days of the timber grab because he feared him as a dangerous competitor. A member of the Weyerhaeuser family is now a director of the Hines companies and there is a close interlocking connection between the two interests. The Hines interests, as reorganized in 1923, now control the Edward Hines Yellow Pine Company, the Edward Hines Yellow Pine Trustees, the Edward Hines Hardwood and Hemlock Company, the Edward Hines Lumber Company, and the Virginia and Rainy Lake Lumber Company. The Edward Hines Yellow Pine Company, advertised as the largest manufacturers of turpentine and rosin, also operates two sawmill plants in Mississippi. The Edward Hines Yellow Pine Trustees, who originally owned 88,000 acres of virgin pine timber in Mississippi, also own and operate the Mississippi Southern Railroad of which Edward Hines is president. The Edward Hines Hardwood and Hemlock Company operates three sawmills and owns 129,000 acres of timberland in Wisconsin. The Edward Hines Lumber Company recently bought timber at two million dollars from

government forests and now operates a sawmill at Burns, Oregon. The wholesale and retail business of the company is centered in Chicago. The company acquired in 1926 some 50,000 acres of timberlands on the Mescalero Indian Reservation in southern New Mexico for future exploitation. Hines is also chairman of the board of the Superior and Southeastern Railway and a director of the Commercial National Bank of Chicago.

In 1923 the Hines companies' surplus and undivided profits were over \$25,000,000, over eight times their capital stock, of which \$2,600,000 had been created through stock dividend. In other words, the undivided profits exclusive of all dividends paid since the founding of the company were over 60 times the original capital stock. The companies reported net profits for 1923 before Federal taxes, of \$3,107,874. All the stock in the companies is owned by 66 preferred stockholders and 29 common stockholders.

Edward Hines has been a prominent member of the Southern Pine Operators Association and was one of those responsible for the maintenance of a blacklist and the "yellow dog contract" in the southern region.

Bloedel Donovan Lumber Company

Sixteen hundred workers in the Bloedel Donovan mills in Bellingham, Washington, know the owners to be hard taskmasters. Bloedel and Donovan founded the company 30 years ago and now only 15 stockholders own all the stock. The company boasts of the fact that it organized a logging company with a capital of \$6,000 in 1898 and two years later a lumber company with \$30,000; and that it has, at present, a capital stock of \$5,500,000 and an accumulated surplus of \$6,301,054.

The company operates 6 logging camps, 4 sawmills, 3 planing mills, a box factory, a sash and door factory and

3 shingle mills. It has extensive interests in British Columbia and operates the Bloedel Stewart Welch, Ltd., one of the leading mills in Canada. The company owns 60,000 acres of standing timber in western Washington and 28,000 acres of logged-off lands, and has been absorbing smaller mills to extend its holdings. Net profits after interest and depreciation charges increased from over \$500,000 in 1926 to \$775,315 in 1928. Current assets were 5 times current liabilities. In February, 1929, it offered its first note issue of \$2,000,000 at 6 per cent to provide for further purchases of timber and additional machinery. In one year reports indicate that profits was 8.17 times requirements on the issue. "Earnings" per share in 1928 on preferred were \$38.77 and on common \$18.72, while workers in the Bloedel Donovan mills got \$3.40 a day. Bloedel is a director of the Pacific National Bank of Seattle and J. J. Donovan a director of the First National Bank of Bellingham.

Prompted by his interests in Canada, Bloedel figured as one of the chief opponents to a tariff on logs and shingle. He has also advocated a let-down on the ban against Japanese immigration. The Bloedel Donovan Company fights union organization in its plants and has been ordering the arrest of union organizers active in Bellingham. Recently the company participated in the mad scramble of the lumber operators to divide up between them the last stand of virgin timber on the Olympic Peninsula in Washington.

Red River Lumber Company

Members of the T. B. Walker family are the sole owners of the Red River Lumber Company in California. Walker is said to have acquired two-thirds of the standing sugar pine timber at an average of \$1 an acre, and together with the Diamond Match Company, his interests dominate the sugar pine region of California. The surplus and undivided profits of the company in 1929 were over 33 million dollars,

thirty-seven times the capital stock of \$890,000; and \$869,700, almost as much as the total capital stock, had been distributed in cash dividends in that one year! In 1927 a 20 per cent dividend was declared and 30 per cent in 1926.

The 3,000 workers in the employ of T. B. Walker, living in the company town of Westwood, California, received 32½c. an hour for a 10-hour day and must spend their earnings at the stores owned by the company. "If you don't trade in the Walker stores, you get fired," reports one of the workers. The company is powerful enough to dictate the labor policy of all the surrounding mills and the same wage scale and working day are found throughout the region.

Diamond Match Company

Workers in the Nevada logging camps of the Diamond Match Company risk their lives felling the trees on the steep mountain side for \$4 a day. For five months of the year they are unemployed due to the heavy snows. In the Diamond Match Company at Sterling and Chico, California, women are employed in the box factories and planing mills at the same jobs as men but at lower wages.

While the workers barely subsist on their meager wages, the company reports net profits of over \$1,500,000 for each year since 1927, and in 1928 had an undistributed surplus of over \$5,000,000. The capital stock of \$16,600,000 is held by 3,639 stockholders. Plans for recapitalization of the company are now being discussed. Timber holdings of the company are most extensive in California and Nevada but large tracts are owned in the Northwest, the South and the New England States.

Brooks Scanlon Corporation

Approximately 1,000 workers are employed in the Brooks Scanlon logging and sawmill operations in Eastport, Florida; Bend, Oregon; Eureka, Montana; and Vancouver, British

Columbia. D. F. Brooks, president of the Brooks Scanlon Corporation, also operates the Powell River Pulp and Paper Company in British Columbia. The company has interlocking connections with the Shevlin-Carpenter-Scanlon firm, a United States concern operating in British Columbia, the Burton Swartz Cypress Company of Florida, and owns 18 acres of waterfront land on Staten Island, New York, for warehouses, storage and sheds for wholesale shipping. E. L. Carpenter of the Shevlin-Carpenter-Scanlon firm is now president of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. The Burton Swartz Company, logging the cypress timber owned by the corporation, has contracted to buy a minimum of 40 million feet per year, 40 per cent of its profits going to the corporation. This explains the statement recently made before the Tariff Commission, that the books of the subsidiary company show a deficit. Negro and Mexican workers log cypress in swamps where the heat and the insects make working conditions intolerable. Families of the workers live in shacks constructed on rafts in the swamps. On the other hand the few owners of this closed corporation had accumulated in 1925 undistributed profits of \$3,150,257 on a capital stock investment of \$3,832,000.

Charles Nelson Company

Only 18 stockholders own the Charles Nelson Company which in 1927 had reported an accumulated surplus and undivided profits of almost 13 million dollars with a capital stock investment of only \$2,500,000. The company controls through stock ownership two large subsidiaries in California, the Northern Redwood and the Yosemite Lumber Company, both having extensive timber tracts in California and Nevada and operating sawmills, logging camps and a railroad. Northern Redwood had an accumulated surplus of over \$2,500,000 in 1927 and a working capital ratio of over 4 to 1. Charles Nelson also controls the Sunset Lumber

Company and the San Francisco Lumber Company and jointly owns the Consolidated Lumber Company along with the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company. Thirty-four vessels operated by the company transport the lumber and a freight shipping industry has been developed as a subsidiary to the lumber operations. Workers on the Charles Nelson steamship lines report that the company pays less than any of the intercoastal lines. The company distributes its lumber products through the Pacific-Atlantic Corporation of which it is one of the four large owners.

Union Lumber Company

The Union Lumber Company, widely advertised as "the king of the redwood companies," dominates in the redwood region of California and dictates prices and labor policies. The 5-million-dollar stock of the company is closely held and no report on profits is made. The company has been steadily absorbing smaller ones. It now controls the California and Western Railroad and Navigation Company, the National Steamship Company, the Acme Lumber Company, the Mendocino Lumber Company and the Union Redwood Company, and owns half the stock of the Glen Blair Redwood Company. Recent reports indicate that the company is negotiating a merger with the Casper Lumber Company now its largest competitor in the redwood region. Approximately 1,000 workers are employed in the three sawmills and the logging operations in the vicinity of Fort Bragg, California, where speed-up and low wages prevail.

A discussion of the many other important companies that control the lives and destinies of thousands of lumber workers cannot be taken up here. The accounts of these companies comprise the same theme with little variation: high profits and extraordinary surpluses, together with low wages and excessive exploitation of the workers.

CHAPTER IV

THE LUMBER WORKERS

Life in the Logging Camps

By the very nature of the industry logging operations are carried on in isolated forest regions far from populated centers. Logging camps to house the workers are situated in the vicinity of the operations and are usually temporary affairs, for camps have to be moved as logging operations proceed to new areas. Logging communities offer crude, makeshift housing quarters for the workers and nothing more. As Professor Tugwell has written:

As a community a lumber camp is a sad travesty at best. There are a half dozen box-car-like shacks of weathered wood, two or three bunkhouses to accommodate from 75 to 150 men, the cook shack, the foreman's office and the company store. All are set along a spur of the logging railway that runs back through old cuttings to the mills in some valley down below, perhaps a dozen, perhaps twenty or more miles.¹

Sporadic strikes and union activity in the camps of the Northwest from 1905 to 1923 threw a penetrating searchlight on the notorious housing conditions forced upon the loggers by the lumber companies. A vivid description of living conditions in those days is given by a worker:

The bunkhouses were dirty, unsanitary and overcrowded, the men being packed into double bunks, built in two tiers, one above the other. The companies furnished neither mattresses nor bed clothing, thus forcing the men to furnish their own blankets. No provision was made for ventilation and when all bunks were full, the amount of air space per man was less than one-fourth of the minimum specified by government health authorities. There were no drying rooms in the camps. The only place to dry clothing was around the stove in the bunkhouse and the

steam and odor from these wet clothes added to the impurities of the stagnant air. As a rule the lighting of the bunkhouses was so poor that it was almost impossible to read. There were no baths in the camps, neither were there any facilities for washing clothes.

In most lumber camps the food was fairly substantial and plentiful as was necessary to enable the men to endure the long hours and hard work; but this was not always the case, and in some camps, especially in hard winters when men were plentiful, the food was both insufficient in quantity and of the poorest quality.

There was no sanitary method of disposing of garbage in the camps. It was usually dumped just outside the cookhouse door. In hot weather these garbage piles rotted and stank and formed an ideal breeding place for swarms of flies. Another unsanitary feature of the camps was the existence of dry, open toilets a short distance from the cookhouse.²

Evidence presented before the Industrial Relations Commission substantiates this description.³ When Professor W. F. Ogburn investigated 39 camps during the fall of 1918, after the strike of 1917, he found somewhat bettered conditions. One-half of the camps provided wooden bunks without springs, one-half had bedbugs, one-half had no showers and one-third had bad toilets which were too close to eating and sleeping quarters. The men had to furnish their own blankets in most camps.⁴

The strike of 1923 led to further improvement of camp conditions when the companies yielded and furnished blankets and bedding, installed shower baths and improved food and sanitary conditions. These changes were in many places only temporary. With the collapse of the strength of the union, the workers were powerless to continue the struggle to keep standards high and conditions gradually slumped. Although the most flagrant evils have been eliminated and new camps of large operations are somewhat better than formerly, the workers pay for these conditions by higher rates for board and lodging. Much publicity has been

issued by the companies, giving glowing pictures of the contrasts of present camp life with the past. But poor food, crowded bunkhouses, double tier bunks, unsanitary conditions, lack of drying rooms, and the absence of showers are still found in many camps. Workers complain that in some places they are still obliged to provide their own blankets. That present conditions are far from satisfactory is clearly shown in the following excerpts of letters from workers in western logging camps:

Bunkhouses (at the Willamette Lumber Company, Oregon) are made of lumber and are quite old. Each is furnished with six iron cots. In this camp you furnish your own blankets. Clean sheets are an unknown thing, except for the married men. The houses are cleaned out once a day by a bull cook who sweeps, carries wood for the one large stove in the center of the room and lights the fire in the morning. You have to make your own bed if it is made at all.—R. S.

Bunkhouses are on wheels (in a camp in Idaho), that is they are built on flat cars so that they can be moved easily and are extremely large with partitions cutting the houses in three sections. In each end section are placed eight or ten beds with a stove in the middle section. This means that there are about sixteen men to one stove. To try and get a place near a stove is like trying to get the bottom sardine out of a can without disturbing the top ones. There is no hot water to wash with and seldom any with which to take a bath. The only way for a person who quits work to get back to town is to ride a load of logs down.—H. D.

The company (The Pacific States Lumber Company of Washington) has a three-story shack which they call a hotel with about 25 rooms on each floor. The men sleep two to a room and as for the beds, you might as well sleep on the floor. Washrooms are out of order most of the time. Roller towels are used by about 50 men. There are only two showers and no hot water. There is no drying room and no place to wash clothes. The company has a contract with a laundry and gets a percentage on all laundry which goes out so that they do not want to give us this. In the morning we get hotcakes which

must have been made the night before, bacon that is supposed to be fried but is only warmed up, spuds that have been warmed over three or four times, eggs cooked till they are like rocks, and milk that is two-thirds water, for which we pay \$9.40 a week.—J. P.

The bunkhouses (Independent Logging Company, Washington), are old and infested with millions of bedbugs. They are crowded with about 20 men. All electric lights are turned out at 9:30 and only kerosene lamps can be used after this hour. Bath houses have showers but have hot water only when the worker builds a fire for it.—N. S. P.

We live (in Idaho) in a 16x20 bunkhouse which houses 20 men. Only two small windows provide ventilation. There is a terrible stench from the drying of clothes over the lines stretched around the stove, mostly wet steaming socks and shirts. We must dry them some way. We are wet to the skin every day working by the cold mountain streams. Then added to that is the prospect of eating "red-horse" and sour pancakes twice a day.—A. T.

Camp conditions are growing worse (Humbird Lumber Co.). We used to have sheets and pillow slips in the "short log" country but they are gone. Blankets are never changed now and double deck bunks are everywhere with 62 men to a bunkhouse. Inside there are two stoves with all the wet clothes hung on the lines. No shower bath and we have to bathe in the creek. Unsanitary, uncovered toilets close to the cookhouse breed plenty of flies.—B. R.

In Schafer Brothers, Washington, logging camps, double deck bunks are found. The bunkhouses are railroad cars converted for that purpose. There are eight double deckers, making a total of 16 bunks. There are racks near the ceiling for the workers' bags. A box is nailed up above the bed for combs, toothbrushes, etc. The sheets are changed once a week but the blankets are very seldom if ever changed and are very filthy. There are shower baths and dry rooms. The bull-cook builds the fire in the morning and night and the bed-maker makes the beds daily. To say the least it is a very unsanitary and miserable overcrowded hovel and it is no wonder there are so many short stake loggers.—L. S.

Workers still furnish their own blankets here (Union Lumber Co., redwood region of California). Cheap food like mush, hot cakes, beans, macaroni and sausage are given for which we must pay \$1.20 a day. This amount is regularly deducted from our pay check for every working day whether we eat or not. The steward who works on a \$100 monthly wage basis gets a bonus for all the money he can save the company on the cookhouse expense. The health and strength of workers is undermined by a starvation diet. The officials and clerks are favored with better rations at the company "hotel."—J. A. M.

In the South, also, camps are unsanitary hovels. Esther Lowell graphically describes the housing conditions provided for workers in the logging camps of the Great Southern near Bogalusa:

Opposite the hotel, which the manager said was the only building in town which could not be taken up and put on a flatcar, were some of the workers' dwellings—"hotel rooms." These were similar to boxcars, mounted on railroad car trucks and standing on lengths of track. There were two rooms in each car, one room to a family, with a bit of partition sometimes dividing the one room. There were no cooking privileges and only one water hydrant stood outside for the group of six cars.

About 100 feet from this double row of "hotel rooms" the double-width dormitory for single men stood on two parallel sets of track. Further off and along the railroad track are about two dozen little flimsy bungalows of three rooms with fences about them. These are for the better paid workers, including logging railroaders. Across the railroad track from the depot and company store were about 100 unpainted shacks for Negro workers. These are one room with a window at one end—not always glassed but with a wood flap to let down. Each had one door on one of its sides. Set up on short lengths of wooden piling in rows and fairly close together with ground around quite bare and packed, and garbage-strewn. Hogs were under both white and colored workers' houses and no doubt mosquitoes were, too, because there was standing water about.⁵

Smaller camps, especially, are reverting to the unsanitary conditions of earlier days.

Migratory Workers

Alertness, ingenuity and strength are required of the workers in the logging camps. The Census of Occupations of 1920 classified workers in logging camps as semi-skilled workers.* The powerful machines which have come into the woods to speed up and increase production have not yet reduced the workers to mere automatons. Some degree of skill and judgment is necessary for most of the work in the camps, while the engineers, rigging slingers, high climbers and filers are highly skilled.

The majority of the workers in western logging camps are single, homeless and possessionless. Relative absence of family ties and years of struggle against boss domination have given many of the workers in the woods a fearless and unconquerable attitude toward the job and the employer. They unhesitatingly complain against unsatisfactory conditions and if these are not remedied, they protest by quitting. Oppressive life in the camps, the isolation, the hard and hazardous work and frequent shutdowns force the workers in the camps to be constant job hunters. Loggers must seek jobs five or six times a year in the best of times. Although they often travel many miles to new jobs, the loggers do not leave the region where they have had experience in logging a particular species of trees. Workers in the "short log" country in eastern Washington and Oregon say they cannot get work in the big tree region because "they don't know the trees" and logging methods differ. When the camps are down for long periods, and jobs are difficult to find, the workers are compelled to move on to other regions where they take jobs in the harvest fields, on construction gangs, in the mines or in the canneries. They join the vast group of migratory workers who follow the job market from Cali-

* For a description of the types of work in logging and lumbering see Appendix.

ifornia to Washington and then to Montana and the Dakotas riding freight cars and living in "jungles" and cheap lodging houses. As a forestry expert writes:

The lumber industry has done its share to develop a condition whereby about three million men in the United States have become casual laborers, sometimes called hobo laborers or blanket stiffs.⁶

Some liberal apologists of capitalism attempt to explain the migratory worker in terms of mental deficiency and instability. They moralize about their mode of living, instead of acknowledging that the migratory worker is the result of the inherent inability of capitalism to regulate industry in a manner to provide jobs and adequate wages for all workers.

In their efforts to "decasualize" the industry, the lumber companies give preference to married workers and young workers. A few days' training does not make an experienced logger but the companies take on young workers who work at lower wages. Inexperience endangers the lives of these young workers but does not damage the product. That young workers are used to "stabilize" the labor situation and prevent unionization is evident in the following statement made by an employer before the Pacific Logging Congress in 1928:

We are . . . confronted with that tremendous and incalculable loss resulting from a constant shifting of labor in our operations. . . . Logging camps to-day abound in young men—a condition incident only to the past five years. The Western Operators' Association and the Four L are responsible for this influx. . . . In clearing the logging camps of radical propaganda with all its stultifying influences the ground was prepared for lodgement of the more self-respecting fundamentals of Americanism.

The rôle of the Western Operators' Association and the Four L (the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen), will be discussed in later chapters.

Permanent camps developed as company towns for married workers and providing "welfare" inducements and closer company control are also utilized to insure a docile, loyal set of workers. As a lumber worker puts it: "The companies think they have little to fear from the 'own your own home' kind." The business interests of the Northwest see the development of permanent company towns as a means of getting "dependable" labor:

An epochal change that at the present moment is taking place in the logging industry is the decision of foremost operators to establish permanent camps, as distinct from the old-time mushroom shanty-towns that marked the trail of logging everywhere. The permanent camp means that there must be transportation from the homes of the loggers to the woods. In some instances it amounts to quite a lengthy haul, at considerable expenditure of time and money. But also it means that the logging village, instead of being a disreputable blot on the landscape, is being transformed into a neat and respectable community, with church, theater, library, recreation grounds, modern housing—and a golf course. Finally, it must have good roads, affording easy travel everywhere.

As this transformation has been going on, the operators have remarked a most desirable change in the quality of labor. The men are younger; many of them are well educated; they are keen to advance in their work; they show a distinct tendency to marry and settle down; and all in all the permanent camp is stabilizing labor in the logging industry, making it dependable. . . . The logger to-day is spending his money freely; he is putting it into his home, radio, automobile, and other devices adding to the comfort of existence and making life worth while.⁷

Thus far this "epochal change" has not occurred in the vast majority of camps.

The "Home Guard"

The "home guard" are the married lumber workers who live either in camp in the company shacks with their families or own stump ranches and supplement their meager farm

income by logging. In order to dispose of their logged off lands the lumber companies often offer work in the mills and camps as an extra inducement to prospective purchasers of lots for farming. To be cultivated the land must be cleared of stumps and brush, often taking years before the farmer can realize enough to support his family. He is, therefore, forced by circumstance to take work in the mills and camps. These workers are desirable to the companies since, being dependent on those few camps or mills in their vicinity to provide them a livelihood, they are less ready to fight for unions and better working conditions.

Western camps where the home guard predominate are known to the loggers to be "high ball" camps where the pace set is terrific, where wages are lowest and sanitary conditions at their worst. Wage scales in the Centralia-Chehalis district of Washington, a farming district where many stump ranchers work in the camps, have always been lower than in other neighboring districts.⁸ Loggers try to keep away from home guard camps and hostility has been bred between the single loggers and the home guard by the companies who pit one group against the other as a means of keeping wages low.

The Western Operators' Association estimated that about 10 per cent of the workers in the woods live in camp with their families. An attempt is made to keep married workers in the camps by providing school facilities for the children. In the "home-guard" camps of the Booth Kelly Company of Oregon, flat car schools on wheels have been built which are moved to a new location whenever the camps must move to other timber areas. Where the community promises to be of long duration, churches and stores are also established, all company owned and controlled. A worker's description of a typical camp community of the most modern type shows how the company provides for its workers:

The Long Bell Lumber Company camp at Ryderwood, Washington, is really a town, being more than a camp. It is laid out in streets with a drug store, theater, church, and a large store carrying all forms of family necessities. This is all company stock as the town is not incorporated, giving the company the opportunity to rent their houses to their workers.

The conditions in this camp are mediocre. The quarters for the single men are a large building divided into rooms which accommodate about four men. There are about one hundred rooms in this, what they term the "hotel," but is more like a tenement building excepting that it is just one story in height being spread over a large space of territory. The family houses are very neatly but very poorly built. They contain from two to six rooms renting from fifteen dollars a month to fifty dollars a month. There is no running water piped into the houses but a faucet on the back porch. There are no bath rooms, the toilets being old-fashioned, that is, in the back yard. The houses are electrically lighted, the company furnishing the electricity at the outrageous price of seventeen cents a kilowatt, the average price being from three to five cents a kilowatt in the incorporated cities of the coast. Between the rates charged for electricity, the excessive rent charged for homes and the high prices charged at the company store the ordinary worker must keep on the jump to make both ends meet.

Another worker writes:

The family houses in the town of Dryad, Washington, are very squalid, the men being charged outrageous rates for rent, from twenty dollars to thirty dollars a month for a two to four room house with running water in one faucet on the back porch. The toilets are holes dug in the ground with the usual frame over them and if this is ever changed it is up to the tenant. He also keeps the house in repair if it is ever repaired. The families are forced to buy their provisions from the company store, being discharged from the employ if they don't. They are charged two prices for anything they buy and by the time they pay their bills at the end of the month they have nothing left.

Existence in these "home guard" camps is crude and primitive, unrelieved by any comforts.

Mill Workers

In contrast to logging operations specialization and standardization of processes have reduced the majority of the workers in the sawmills, planing mills, and by-product plants to mere machine tenders. Less than 10 per cent of the working force in a sawmill are skilled. Only the sawyer and filer are highly skilled workers; other jobs may be learned with little training. Workers must have physical strength, steady nerves, and alertness to endure the exhausting speed-up, the terrific noise of the machines, the screech of the saw and a repetition of the same dull motions in the monotonous daily grind. The sawyers in the shingle mills must have some degree of skill and because of this a craft consciousness has persisted among the shingle weavers who have been able to keep their union together in spite of open-shop attacks.

Few migratory workers are found in the mills, only about 25 per cent of the working force belonging to this group. For the most part mill workers are men with families or young workers who must find a job as early as possible to support themselves or contribute to the family income. The 1920 Census reported 10,000 children under 16 in the lumber and woodworking plants. Since the mills require strong physique, endurance and energy, a majority of the young workers range from 16 to 21 years of age. These young workers are given the jobs of older men at lower wages and are driven at greater speed.

Mill Towns

More than half of the mill workers live with their families in the drab makeshift places built by the companies. Over 40 per cent of the towns in Oregon and 44 per cent in Washington have been established by the lumber operators as company towns, or are dependent for their chief means



THE INTERIOR OF A BETTER TYPE OF BUNKHOUSE SHOWING AT LEAST EIGHT BUNKS



FAMILIES OF 200 NEGRO LOGGERS AT CAMP BUSH, LA., LIVE IN HOMES LIKE THESE

of support on the lumber industry. Many company lumber towns are found in the other regions, especially California, Idaho, Mississippi and Texas. In all the towns, one finds the same dreary, flimsy wooden huts of one or two rooms, renting from \$10 to \$50 a month, which the workers must keep in repair. Here also are the company store or commissary, the dirty and frequently vermin-ridden "hotel" for single workers, a schoolhouse, a church and a poolroom. Unpaved streets, lack of plumbing and toilet facilities and running water are typical. Purchases must be made in the company store where prices are exorbitant and bills are deducted directly from the wages. Often workers remain permanently in debt to the company and are forced to submit to intolerable conditions because they cannot leave the town. School teachers and ministers are hired by the company. Sheriffs and police in the pay of the company enforce its law.

Conditions, in 1927, in the sixteen sawmill districts of East Texas where over 4,000 workers were employed are revealed in a brief report of the Texas Department of Labor.* Out of the 825 families, 669 rented homes from the lumber companies; only 108 owned their homes the average value of which was \$850. The report admits that:

The homes or living quarters provided by the mills for their employees were shown to be inadequate to the needs of a normal family. Very poor provision is made for sanitation and conveniences are very limited. Only 312 homes have electric lights; 510 running water; no adequate sewer facilities were found in any of the camps.

Out of 1,098 children of school age 149 had never been enrolled in any school.

In all company towns the company aims, by close surveillance and intimidation of the workers, to check any expression of protest and to develop fear and submissiveness.

Native and Foreign-Born Workers

Native American workers predominate in the lumber industry in all parts of the country. The present number of foreign-born workers now employed will not be known until the 1930 census figures are made public. Census figures for 1920 show that only 27,000 of the 347,000 saw and planing mill workers were foreigners. In the western camps and mills it is estimated that 60 per cent of the workers are native. Many of these have come from lumber camps in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan or from the South. The "tar heelers" of the Grays Harbor region of Washington are workers who came from the Carolinas when the woods were cut out. Among the foreign-born, Scandinavian and Finnish workers comprise the largest groups of workers in the West. These workers usually handle the heaviest and most dangerous jobs in camp, such as falling, bucking, and rigging. On the construction crews, Mexican, Italian, Greek, Caucasian and Bulgarian workers are hired in large numbers. Irish, Slavic and Polish workers are found in other jobs in the camps and mills. Foreign-born workers in the California camps are Italians, Finns, Austrians, Portuguese, Slavs and Swedes. Chinese workers are employed as cooks. Canadian workers have frequently crossed the line to find jobs in the camps on the United States side, but their numbers have decreased with more careful regulation of immigration. Under the section of the immigration law permitting skilled labor to be imported when such labor is not available in this country, the lumber operators of Maine have encouraged Canadian workers to come into the woods of northern Maine.

During the war the employers tried to employ only citizens as workers but the shortage of labor prevented this practice being carried out. Non-citizens who applied for first papers were permitted to remain at work if they attended Ameri-

canization classes. Western lumber operators still keep a record of citizenship of all workers and preference is given citizens in jobs. Foreign-born workers who have not become naturalized, and Japanese to whom citizenship has been denied, are hired if they can be obtained at lower wages.

Negro Workers

Negro workers are in the majority in the southern woods and mills, more than 100,000 being employed in the Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and East Texas lumber operations. A few Negro lumber workers have migrated along with the industry to the West seeking jobs in lumber camps, but Negroes are not employed to any great extent in lumber operations outside of the South. In the past few years as the forests have been cut out the movement of Negro workers from one southern state to another in search of work in the lumber camps has increased. To work at the heaviest jobs is the lot of the Negroes. In the woods, they fell and buck the trees, handle the hooks or tongs, form the labor gang in the skidder crew, work on railroad construction and do the heavy work in the loading process. In the mills, they ride the carriage or haul and stack lumber while the white workers handle the machines. In the Great Southern Lumber Company's camps where the white sawyers have an 8-hour shift, Negro workers riding the carriage or "rig" must work 10 hours a day. White workers get paid for two holidays a year but the Negroes get no vacations at all.

Negroes predominate in the turpentine camps of Georgia and Florida where exploitation of the workers is notorious. Mexican and Negro workers only are employed in the insect ridden cypress swamps. To cut cypress, the workers must wade in humid swamps, often up to their hips in water, and must live with their families in house boats built over the swamps. Living quarters for Negro workers are

"match-box" shacks or box cars, segregated from white workers in the towns and in the camps. Negro lumber workers share the lot of all other Negro workers in the South, in that they are discriminated against in the types of jobs given them, are paid lower wages and provided inferior housing conditions and poorer schools for their children.

The history of southern labor struggles has shown that the Negro workers are willing to organize to improve their conditions. They have fought side by side with the white workers in their attempt to build a union in the industry.

Oriental Workers

Japanese and Filipino workers are hired by the lumber companies to work in the sawmills of Washington and Oregon but they are not considered of strong enough physique to make good workers in the camps. Immigration restrictions against Japanese workers keep their numbers small but agitation of the lumber interests, who employ a considerable number of Japanese workers, has been started to lift immigration restrictions against them.

Few jobs are open to Japanese workers due to race prejudice. A recent report to the Federal Tariff Commission estimated that only five mills in Washington and Oregon employ a total of 1,364 Japanese workers. Of these there were 883 in the Washington mills, 320 in Oregon and 161 in Washington lumber camps. A study made under the direction of Professor R. D. McKenzie in 1924 found that there were 1,458 Japanese workers in forty sawmills and two logging camps and that together with the Filipino and Hindu workers they comprised 8 per cent of all the workers. The Oriental workers were employed on a contract basis in the mills or on the construction gang and had averaged seven years of employment on one job. In 1927 a follow-up inquiry showed

a decrease of Japanese but a marked increase of Filipino workers.

Every Japanese community in a mill town has a "padrone" who acts as employment manager and boss, taking contract work from the mills for which he hires Japanese workers. At the Weyerhaeuser camp at Snoqualmie Falls, the latter pay half of the contractor's wages and the employer the other half. Here Japanese workers are employed at longer hours than whites and most of them, unable to speak English, are forced to handle their affairs through the padrone. All purchases at the company store are charged to the padrone who deducts the bills from the workers' wages which are paid through him. Japanese workers are also employed on the construction gang by the company and do the clean-up jobs in the mills.

Japanese communities are always separated from whites and are usually located in the worst quarters. At the Pacific States Lumber Company in Washington the Japanese workers live in swamps and get 20 to 50 cents a day less than whites for the same work.

Filipino workers, bitterly exploited by American imperialists in the Philippine Islands, seek jobs in the United States and are coming in increasing numbers into the lumbering regions. Lumber employers hire Filipinos at lower wages and so depress the existing wage standards. At the Schafer Lumber Company in Aberdeen, Washington, Filipinos work side by side with white workers on the green chain and earn \$3 a day for the same work for which white workers are paid \$4.50. To intimidate the Filipinos and keep them from demanding more wages, the common procedure is to fire them at the end of a few weeks' work and rehire them at lower wages. Racial prejudice between natives and Filipinos is systematically fostered by the employers by stirring up friction between them on the job and forcing the Filipinos to live in separate company boarding houses in segre-

gated sections of the towns. In a recent drive to cut wages and lengthen hours in the lumber mills in the Grays Harbor region in Washington, the local press incited the workers against the Filipinos by holding them responsible for the lowered wages. Crosses of the Ku Klux Klan burned on a high hill to terrorize the Filipinos. Any provocation would have brought on the attack, but the Filipino workers, ready to resist, kept to their lodging houses until the Klansmen retreated.

The strongest ally of the employers in the effort to divide the Filipino and native workers is the American Federation of Labor acting through the state federations of Washington, Oregon and California. Repeated resolutions at conventions of these organizations have called for the strengthening of the immigration laws to exclude Filipino workers along with other foreign-born. Filipinos have been branded in resolutions and statements by the A. F. of L. officials as a "moral and economic menace." The American Federation of Labor refuses to organize Filipinos into its unions so that as organized workers they might fight against the discrimination practiced by the employers. A recent statement by James Taylor, president of the Washington Federation of Labor, designed to fan the flame of prejudice between native and Filipino workers, denounced the latter as endangering the morals of women and urged that they be driven from the country, the same propaganda used by the employers in the South to encourage lynching and to keep the Negro workers terrorized and submissive to conditions imposed upon them. The attitude of the A. F. of L. towards the Filipinos is part of its drive against all foreign-born workers which has become sharpened with the recent announcement of the executive council that it favored a bill for the registration of the foreign-born. In its attack on the Filipinos it assists the employers in their campaign of intimidation and persecution of foreign-born workers, of deportation of militants and of the imposition of inferior

working conditions upon the working class as a whole. Workers of all races united into a militant industrial union will fight to put an end to discrimination against Oriental, Negro and foreign-born workers.

Women in the Industry

The world war proved that in the event of a shortage of labor, employers will use women workers to fill jobs usually filled by men even though these jobs may involve serious hazards. Women were employed in great numbers in lumber yards and sawmills during the war, working on the conveyor chains and even repiling lumber, 77 out of every 100 men being replaced by women. The Women's Bureau in its investigation of women in war industries quoted statements of employers maintaining that women were desirable in lumber mills since "men only carry one board no matter what its weight while women carry two if they can make it."¹⁰ In the southern states, from Georgia to Texas, 125,000 women were employed in the mills and in the pine and cypress forests. It is claimed that they replaced 25 per cent of the force in the mills without any reduction in efficiency or output. Negro women were used in the camps at the heaviest work, as teamsters, skidders and road repairers, firemen on the steam skidders, and loaders, wood choppers and signalmen, supplanting boys and men. They were considered about 60 per cent as efficient as the men in the woods. When there was a scarcity of fallers and buckers they were put to work at felling timber. "Whenever possible these crews of women were pitted against the men, creating a rivalry which resulted in a greater number of logs per crew from the men."¹¹ In the planing mills, white women were used in preference to Negro men since they showed "more application and concentration" resulting in greater speed and fewer breakdowns of machinery. Women were used at the grading table and in the dry sheds handling the finished

stocks, in the kilns, unloading and loading lumber on kiln trucks, and in all processes in the shingle mill except as sawyers. They were found to be superior to men as time-keepers, tallymen and checkers. It was then predicted that the operators would not go back to the "same order of things" but would continue to use women because of their greater accuracy.

Wages for women were less than those paid to men for the same type of work, often but half that of men, and more nearly approximated those of young workers. White women were promised the same pay as men "when they proved fit" but were usually kept on an apprenticeship basis for an indefinite period.

Following the war, men took back the jobs in the sawmills and camps but women have remained in the woodworking section of the industry. In the plants manufacturing sashes, doors, veneer and boxes and other wooden articles, women are being employed in greater numbers. In the 1920 Census of Occupations, women workers in the woodworking industries showed a decided increase over 1910:

WOMEN IN LUMBER WOODWORKING INDUSTRIES, 1910-1920¹²

	<i>Lumber Woodworking and Furniture</i>			<i>Saw and Planing Mills</i>		
	<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>Semi-skilled</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>Semi-skilled</i>	<i>Total</i>
1910	3,397	12,724	16,121	1,613	2,119	3,732
1920	10,207	17,746	27,953	4,140	3,085	7,225
Increase.	6,810	5,022	11,832	2,527	966	3,493

Within the last few years many more women have entered the woodworking industries.

Wages of women in western box factories and veneer plants averaged 28 cents an hour for an eight-hour day in 1929. Women work at the planer machines, at the cut-off and rip saws and at pushing trucks. Their ages ranged from 18 to 60. In the Pacific Lumber Company, in California, women working in a cigar box factory at the same jobs as men receive \$2.60 a day while the men earn \$4. At

the Buffelen Door Factory in Tacoma, Washington, 40 women were being hired in 1930 as against one woman in 1929 all of whom displaced the men workers. Women receive \$2 a day in this factory and after a long period of apprenticeship earn \$2.40, the supposed legal minimum wage in Washington. The majority of the workers in the veneer plants in Washington are women. Dressed in overalls and caps like those of the men, the women do the same work for less wages. New automatic machinery displaces workers and makes possible simpler tasks for which the employers hire women and boys at decreased expense. Children are usually employed at the tedious unskilled job of sorting the veneer as it passes on the conveyor. In a plywood plant in Tacoma, 31 girls have displaced 31 men since September, 1929. Until that time no woman had ever been employed. The manager reports:

The change has been in every way an improvement to the company. Because girls receive \$2.40 an eight-hour day while the men's minimum wage is \$3.40, the financial saving is \$1.00 per worker. When patching knot holes in panels, women more accurately match the grain and color of the wood. Their smaller fingers cause patching to be done with greater speed and dexterity. Cleaner habits of the women make them more desirable workers. They do not scatter rubbish on the floor.

He regarded women as more stable resulting in decreased labor turnover. "When a woman gets a job, she hangs on to it."

The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company recently announced a plan for employing women "experimentally" in their new planing mills at Longview at jobs not hitherto undertaken by women. They will in this way take advantage of the cheaper labor of the wives and daughters of the underpaid mill workers. As the women enter the industry in greater numbers, it is becoming increasingly important that men and women workers in the industry organize together to raise the level of wages and to obtain equal pay for equal work.

CHAPTER V

BREADLINES

Present Economic Crisis

BREADLINES everywhere! Conservative economists, although eager to keep the figures as low as possible, estimated that from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 workers—and the number may have been higher—were unable to find jobs during the crisis of 1929 and 1930. Even before the crisis, the rationalization process and speed-up devices had resulted in a large permanent army of unemployed. As the crisis developed and deepened, production in the basic industries steadily declined because of accumulated surpluses for which there were no markets. Layoffs and shutdowns became more widespread throwing millions of workers on the streets jobless, or giving them work only part time. New rationalization processes introduced in an attempt to meet the crisis undermine the wages and living standards of the workers and inevitably result in a larger permanent army of unemployed.

Lumber workers were among those most severely affected by the economic crisis.¹ Even before the stock market crash of October, 1929, building construction had slowed down because the flow of capital to the stock market was raising interest rates on building loans. Then for months after the crash building activity remained at the lowest point touched in recent years. As a result the demand for lumber decreased, causing a surplus of lumber stocks and throwing thousands of lumber workers out of jobs, intensifying the usual amount of unemployment in the industry which had already taken on serious proportions. It is impossible to determine the actual number of unemployed lumber workers in the

United States for no accurate statistics are available. But from the index numbers of employment, the extent of unemployment of lumber workers may be inferred. These employment index numbers issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics are based on the monthly averages of employment taken from the books of some employers and, because of the desire to conceal the severity of the depression, are not altogether reliable.

EMPLOYMENT INDEX OF LUMBER INDUSTRY ²
(Average of 1926 = 100)

	1929	1930	<i>Decline</i>
January	85.2	76.4	10.3%
February	85.5	74.7	11.4%
March	86.2	74.8	13.2%
April	88.0	74.1	15.7%
May	89.0	73.2	17.7%
June	89.8	71.6	20.6%
July	90.3	62.1	31.2%

If the year 1923 had been taken as the index base, the decrease in employment would be more marked since the 1926 index was 86.9 compared to 100 in 1923. Even when the average of 1926 is used as a base the figures reveal a decided decline in employment. In spite of the efforts of the employers' organizations to spread the illusion of prosperity through the press and to hush up the intensity of the crisis, the Associated Industries of Seattle admitted that more workers in the Northwest lumber industry were out of employment during the winter and spring of 1929 and 1930 than at any time within recent years, and that five times as many workers in the shingle industry were jobless as in 1928. The Salvation Army in Seattle served 500 men daily in the breadline in January, 1930, while the Volunteers of America served 29,500 meals during that month—9,000 more than in 1929. In April, which is normally one of the months of maximum production in the industry, the West Coast Lumbermen's Association announced that the mills were run-

ning at only 75 to 80 per cent capacity; and that already all the labor required had been absorbed. Early in May, the Association announced that in June production would be further curtailed to 40 per cent and that a complete shutdown for a number of months would follow.³ Reports in July estimated that 15,000 lumber workers were out of employment and 10,000 on part time, in Washington and Oregon alone. In California sawmills and camps 40 per cent of the crews were laid off between October, 1929, and March, 1930, and the ranks of the unemployed increased as the months passed.

Periodic Unemployment

Unemployment has always been a chronic condition for lumber workers. In the Northwest, while logging operations are possible throughout the year, shut downs in the camps usually begin when the snow in the mountainous country makes logging difficult. Loggers usually come in from the camps to the cities at the end of December and work is not available until late in February or early in March. During the periods of lay-offs the "Skid roads" of Seattle, Portland, Spokane and other western cities, where cheap living quarters can be found, are crowded with unemployed lumber workers. The operations, beginning in March, last until the end of June when the loggers are again forced to be idle because of fire hazards. Workers are not reemployed until September when they get two or three months of work again before the winter shutdown begins. The lumberjack, therefore, is fortunate if he gets six to eight months of work a year in normal times. In order to create a scarcity of lumber for higher prices, curtailment programs have been effected by lengthening periods of unemployment. The sawmills, which operate more regularly, enforce curtailment of production by operating on a short time work week or laying off a part of the labor force. Occasionally the mills shut

down for short periods which total one to two months a year. Non-timber owning mills are dependent upon a cheap supply of logs and are forced to close down more frequently.

In the shingle mills shutdowns are frequent and of long duration, the small mills operating only intermittently when orders appear and the large mills closing to prevent over-production. Workers are never certain of a full day's work when they enter the mills in the morning. Operations stop for several hours and for several days a week without giving advance notice, but when prices rise due to a demand for shingles, the mills rush operations. An investigation of the extent of shutdowns in the shingle industry by the United States Tariff Commission found that:

From April, 1925, to the middle of May most mills in Washington and Oregon operated only four days a week, and from the middle of May until the first of June only five days a week. In both July and August most mills closed down for two weeks. In the whole of November production was restricted to one-half capacity from December 1 (1925), to January 18, 1926, there was a complete shutdown and some mills did not resume operations until February 1. . . .⁴

In California, May and September are the peak months of employment in logging camps; from January to April less than two-thirds of the usual force is employed. In the saw and planing mills, June and October are the peak months with a reduction of the working force from January to April. Southern camps and mills operate throughout the year, but during slack periods run on reduced time or with fewer workers.

During periods of unemployment the logger must live in the city close to employment agencies and must pay high city prices for food and lodging, using all his savings. During the crisis of 1929 and 1930 thousands of loggers were living in the "jungles," sleeping out of doors and cooking food in cans over the open fire, because they had no funds

for transportation or for city lodgings. The disorganized condition of the industry and the lowered demand for lumber point to even harder times ahead for the lumber workers. Not only are they suffering hunger and hardship because of unemployment, but they are constantly being run out of towns by the police or thrown into jails on charges of vagrancy.

Getting a Job

Announcement of a new mill through national publicity brings thousands of workers from other states seeking jobs. Agricultural workers or tenant farmers unable to earn a living due to the present depression in agriculture, are pouring into the lumber towns. While men are eagerly seeking jobs at the mill gates, the company will bring workers from other states to have a reserve labor supply.

Crowds of workers may be seen waiting outside at the mill gates at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. At some plants the employment manager goes through the formality of interviewing workers. But usually after the mill has started running for the day the foreman of the various departments needing men come out and pick workers from the crowd. No information is given to the other waiting workers about the possibility of further openings. "They never tell you if they want workers. You have to take your chance at being picked," reports a worker who had been trying to get work at the Weyerhaeuser plant for several weeks. "The mills like long lines—they can keep wages low."

Workers find it difficult to get a job after the age of 45 no matter how competent or healthy they may be, for the companies prefer young workers who work faster for less wages. The lumber companies have no feeling of obligation to the men who have given their best years to the industry. To them labor is merely a commodity to be purchased as cheaply as possible. "Skid roads" of the western cities are

crowded with penniless and homeless old lumberjacks who have worked all their lives in the industry. The satirical refrain of the popular workers' song:

Work and pray, live on hay
You'll get pie in the sky when you die,

is a realistic bit of mockery to these workers.

Western Employment Agencies

Many companies have their own employment offices in the cities, but most jobs are obtained through the private employment agencies. Lumberjacks scrupulously save their last pennies to pay the employment "sharks." Fees vary according to jobs. Unskilled workers pay from \$1.00 to \$2.50 while \$5.00 are sometimes paid for the more highly skilled work. A constant stream of workers is steadily going back and forth from the camps. Some workers are fired after two or three days' work, and lose not only the employment fee but also the expense involved in getting to and from the camp. Others must leave because they cannot stand the speed. Mutual arrangements are known to exist between the foremen of the camps and the employment agencies, to split the fees received by the latter. In these camps it is impossible to get jobs without a slip from the employment agency although men may be needed.

Workers tell how they are victimized:

Five men of the yard crew here are laid off every two weeks and the employment sharks send new crews. It takes four days to a week before new men come in while those who remain must do their work.—R. B.

The only men who make any money in this outfit (a Weyerhaeuser camp) are the bosses and the employment sharks. There is a crew coming, one working, another going all the time. Some stay only a couple of days and are in the hole when they leave.—A. T.

While repairing some track, the cutting crew at Black Rock were laid off for four days. When they were called to come back they had to pay a fee of \$2, although laid off through no fault of their own. One of the boys would not pay it and he could not go back to work.—B. R.

Frequent "turnover" enables the companies to have fresh crews who can produce more and work faster, and prevents attempts at organized protest against camp conditions. Professor Paul Douglas pointed out some time ago that a large turnover is profitable to the companies if it means that after wearing the worker out through intense exploitation he discards him, and gets another.⁵ The practice of continual hiring and firing of workers has always been characteristic of the lumber industry. Professor W. F. Ogburn found a turnover of 660 per cent a year in 39 camps in the Northwest in 1918.⁶ During this same year in the Inland Empire, 154 men were employed each month in the woods for every 100 jobs. This was equivalent to a new crew every two months or a complete turnover six times a year. In spite of the attempt of some operators to "stabilize" labor, the turnover has not materially decreased since these studies were made. In a logging camp in Washington employing a regular crew of 125, a worker reports that 500 men had been hired during the summer months of 1929, 4 to every job. Another reports:

The Chester Fisher Logging Company has been running about 6 weeks and has had more than 15 complete cutting crews. Jobs cost \$2 in Portland, \$2 fare on the boat and \$2 back in a couple of days for that's about all you can stay.—E. T. S.

The advantages of fresh crews to the companies, the financial tie-up of some foremen and companies with employment agencies, and the intolerable conditions of many camps has caused the large turnover to continue. Although there are laws in some cities against the charging of excessive fees



HANDS OF 3 SHINGLEWEAVERS, TYPICAL OF THE SAWYERS IN THE SHINGLE MINE.



—Photo by Irving Galloway

IN THE SWAMPS OF LOUISIANA WHERE MEXICAN AND NEGRO LUMBER WORKERS LIVE

by employment agencies and sending workers to fictitious jobs, violations are common.

Public free employment agencies are rarely called upon by the logging companies and only occasionally by the mills. In 1927, the public employment agency of Seattle filled very few places—only 48 jobs in logging camps and 768 jobs in the mills. The private agencies holding a monopoly of the jobs have the workers at their mercy. But public free employment agencies, as at present constituted, offer no protection to workers against the greed of private employment sharks, for they are manned by capitalist politicians in league with the employers and function as strike-breaking agencies. Only employment agencies controlled directly by the workers through their unions or committees will function to protect the workers against the extortions and deception of the public and private employment agencies.

The Blacklist

Trade associations have for many years served the lumbermen in registering workers and maintaining a blacklist. As far back as in 1915 the Southern Pine Operators' Association maintained records of all workers applying for jobs in the southern lumber companies, and forced the workers to sign away their right to organize through the acceptance of a "yellow dog" contract. Machinery for a system of espionage, blacklisting and discrimination was established in the western lumber industry with the organization of a Clearing House by the Western Operators' Association in the Northwest in 1923. The purpose of the Clearing House, although never openly stated, was admitted by one of the officials in an interview to be for the purpose of "locating active radicals and discouraging them from working in the camps." Any worker who complains against camp conditions to the employers or to other workers is in danger of being labeled a radical and is likely to be blacklisted. In

this way an effective system has been organized for excluding all workers from jobs except those who are thoroughly "loyal." The threat of the blacklist silences many workers.

About 110,000 records of workers registering for jobs are now in the files of the Clearing House which is used by the 110 companies belonging to the Association. Each year it is estimated that about 65,000 men go through the main office in Seattle and the branch clearing houses in Centralia, Aberdeen and Portland. From the employment agencies, all roads lead inevitably to the Clearing House. After a worker has been given his job slip by the employment agency, he takes it to the Clearing House where his record is carefully checked. If he has never worked in the camp before, his record is taken in minute detail. He must assign to the Clearing House the right to get information about his previous employment experience. Workers already registered are refused jobs if their records are "unsatisfactory" and their job slips are not returned. It is not uncommon to find workers in the West who have been unable to find jobs in the camps connected with the Clearing House because of their past militant activity. They may get work in camps independent of the Clearing House but usually they must leave the region. Other companies not affiliated with the Clearing House have their own card catalogue systems and check with the Clearing House for information, making it difficult for a blacklisted worker to get a job at their plant. The "short stake" logger and the migratory workers are the special targets of the Clearing House for these workers are least afraid to protest against unfavorable conditions. When jobs are scarce they are the first to be discriminated against.

The blacklist is officially illegal in Washington but the State Department of Labor takes no action against it. "We can't get the workers to testify, although we know it exists. Without proof we can take no action," is the evasive way in which a state official answered the charge of failure to

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Date.....(mo)..... Occupation..... Full Name.....

Married Single Where Born.....

Citizens of First Papers.....

Yes or No Yes or No Yes or No Yes or No

Are you an Are you member of I. W. O. Yes or No Yes or No

Address.....

Emergency Address.....

Name and addresses of last two employers, and dates covering period of employment:

1. Name of company..... Address..... City..... State..... Zip.....

From (date)..... To (date)..... Occupation.....

2. Name of company..... Address..... City..... State..... Zip.....

From (date)..... To (date)..... Occupation.....

In making this application for employment, I hereby authorize any former employer or association of employers to supply you upon request any information they may have as to my record, character, ability, and reason for leaving. And I further authorize anyone who may become my employer by reason of this application, at any time, to supply you voluntarily or upon your request any information he or it may have or secure as to my record, character, ability, and reason for leaving such employment.

Age..... Height..... Weight..... Color Hair..... Color Eyes.....

Any peculiarities for identification.....

REFERENCE INFORMATION

Date Mailed	Date Returned	Remarks
No. 1		
No. 2		

Form No. 1-B-35-11-33

MONITOR OF APPLICANT

RECORD OF WORKERS APPLYING FOR JOBS USED BY THE CLEARING HOUSE OF THE WESTERN OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION FOR BLACKLIST PURPOSES

prosecute the Clearing House. The power of the lumber interests dominates the major political parties in the state, which explains the failure of the government agencies to act.

Unemployment and part-time employment, intensified by the economic crisis, increase in the lumber industry as the timber is depleted, as mechanization continues and as the declining markets force longer periods of curtailment. Unemployment insurance funds are not available for the unemployed. Neither the states nor the Federal government have adopted unemployment insurance measures. When the workers' funds are exhausted they must seek relief from private charity agencies supported by the employers, which function to check discontent and develop a spirit of passive subservience. Persecution under vagrancy laws, starvation and despair crush the morale of the workers. Organization of the unemployed workers is necessary to instill courage and militancy and to unite them closely to the employed workers in a common struggle.

CHAPTER VI

WAGES AND HOURS

THE enormous profits of the lumber industry, revealed in an earlier chapter, point to the fact that the operators can well afford to pay their workers high wages. What wages do the workers actually receive? What living conditions will these wages provide? Statistics, presented in the following pages, show startling exploitation of lumber workers, their wages being among the lowest in the industries in the United States.

The low average yearly wages of the workers in all sections of the industry and in all lumbering regions can be seen from the following table, compiled from the Census of Manufactures:

MONEY WAGES OF WORKERS IN LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Workers</i>	<i>Wages Paid</i>	<i>Average Yearly Wage</i>
1919	480,945	\$489,419,000	\$1017.62
1921	364,247	313,487,957	860.64
1923	495,932	475,962,443	959.73
1925	473,998	456,715,665	963.54
1927	413,946	413,361,954	998.61

The average census wage in the above table gives only a rough picture of the yearly earnings of the lumber workers, for many earn less and some earn more. The average lumps together the low wages of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers and the high wages of the aristocrats of the industry, such as sawyers, filers, engineers, and others, so that the average figure as given is above the earnings of the majority of the workers.

The average money wage of lumber workers in 1927, the latest year for which figures are available, is below the level of the average wage of 1919, when union activity in certain sections of the country had forced the wages above previous years. In 1927 only the textile and tobacco industries showed a lower average census wage than lumber.

Evidence of the decrease of wages of the majority of workers in the sawmills is obtained through a comparison of the wages in 1923 and 1928 obtained from wage data compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics:

**ESTIMATED AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY MONEY WAGES IN
SAWMILLS ¹**

(All Regions)

	1923	1928
Laborers	\$17.83	\$17.24
Machine feeders (planing mills)	20.45	20.78
Trimmer operators	24.47	23.94
Edgemen	28.09	26.65
Sawyers (resaw)	27.46	26.22
Sawyers (gang)	32.76	29.90
Setters	27.02	26.44
Doggers	19.76	19.30

Between 1923 and 1928 the wages of workers in all processes declined, except those of the machine feeders in the planing mills, whose earnings in 1928 were higher than in 1923 but lower than in 1919. Weekly wages are estimated in the table on the basis of a *full-time* week. However, few workers get a full week's work throughout the year since the mills periodically run on a short-week basis or, when running full-time, operate with reduced crews. Actual wages of lumber workers were obtained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1928 from the payrolls of the companies. This study covered 58,000 workers in 319 sawmills in 22 states, representing 94 per cent of the total production. Wages in the two important lumbering regions, the South

and West, are widely different and can be discussed more satisfactorily by considering each region separately.

Wages in the South

Exploitation of workers through low wages is found everywhere in the lumber industry, but nowhere are wages as low as in the South. In 1928 no group of sawmill workers in North Carolina averaged more than \$17 a week and most of them less than \$14. "Laborers," who form the largest group of workers in the mills, average less than \$12 a week in the five southern states listed in the following table:

AVERAGE ACTUAL MONEY WAGES IN ONE WEEK FOR SAWMILL WORKERS IN SOUTHERN STATES, 1928²

<i>Processes</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>N. C.</i>
Laborers	\$11.90	\$11.97	\$9.77	\$11.64	\$10.48
Machine feeders (planing mills)	16.03	15.77	13.21	14.56	13.45
Trimmer operators	18.12	22.01	13.86	16.59	15.00
Edgemen	18.91	21.20	20.84	19.89	17.03
Saw tailers on head saws	13.56	13.36	12.70	11.03	13.91
Setters	21.63	23.38	20.57	18.94	16.65
Doggers	13.42	14.31	12.62	12.63	13.44

Wages ranged from \$9.77 for laborers in Alabama to \$23.38 for setters in Mississippi. Not included in the table are the few head sawyers whose wages are entirely out of the range of the other workers and who earn from \$40 to \$50 a week.

Even if one calculates the yearly earnings of the southern sawmill workers on the basis of a full year of 52 weeks' work, the amount earned by the workers would be a mere pittance. Laborers in Alabama would earn an average of \$508 and setters in Mississippi, \$1,215 a year. But few workers get steady work the year round due to unemployment and part-time employment. The 312 mills studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics averaged only 45 weeks of operating time a year. On this basis these same workers

had yearly average wages of \$429 to \$1,052. Many workers secure employment only during short rush periods and are unemployed for the rest of the year.

Art Shields tells of the wages at Laurel, Mississippi:

The Eastman Gardiner Mills at Laurel, Mississippi, first started operations in 1893 with 200 workers, two-thirds of whom were Negroes. Work was from daylight to dark, in summer 13 hours, and pay was \$1 a day for a 3-day week. Now there are 807 employed on a 10-hour basis, 6 days a week, and pay is not much more than in the beginning. Machine tenders at the Masonite Presswood wallboard plant in Laurel, have to come in on Sunday to clean and repair their equipment which may take several hours or all day but there is no extra pay. These workers receive 40 and 50 cents and inside laborers 30 cents per hour for an 8-hour day while yard men work 10 hours at 25 cents an hour.³

Logging camp workers are no better off than mill workers. Actual weekly earnings of workers in the logging camps of the South have not been gathered, but can be estimated from the hourly rates which are available. Piece work is found in many of the camps especially among cutters and sawyers whose wages are estimated in the next table on the basis of the equivalent of the actual earnings by hours. Assuming a full week's work we find in some of the important lumbering states, the low and median wages given below.*

With the exception of the skilled engineers and the filers, of whom there are relatively few to a camp, and of the cutters in Louisiana the weekly median wages of all the groups of workers, even with full-time work of 60 hours, are below \$23 while those of the large majority are below \$18. Workers in the logging camps, like those in the sawmills, have very irregular employment and long periods of unemployment which markedly lower their yearly wages.

* Median wage is that of the worker who is in the exact middle position between the lowest and the highest in a series of wage records.

ESTIMATED FULL-TIME WEEKLY MONEY WAGES IN SOUTHERN
LOGGING CAMPS, 1928⁴

(Based on the prevalent 60-hour week)

	<i>Low Wage</i>	<i>Ark. Median</i>	<i>La. Median</i>	<i>Miss. Median</i>	<i>N. C. Median</i>
Laborers	\$12.00	\$15.00	\$13.50	\$13.50	\$15.00
Swampers	13.52	16.50	15.30	15.00	15.00
Deckers	15.00	.....	18.00	16.50	.....
Tong hookers and tongers	15.00	18.60	18.00	16.50	19.50
Sawyers	17.46	18.00	18.60	22.80	18.00
Cutters	7.80	22.08	27.00	16.86	18.00
Filers	18.00	28.86	27.00	24.00	22.50
Engineers	18.00	25.50	39.90	30.00	24.00

In 1927, the Texas Department of Labor investigated wages of 4,000 workers in 16 lumber camps in Eastern Texas. It found that the 3,420 unskilled workers received \$2.59 and the 580 skilled mechanics \$5.40 for a 10-hour day. The workers getting the lowest wages were least regularly employed, yearly wages of the unskilled workers being only \$720.44 while skilled workers received \$1,618.41.⁵

That the wages of southern lumber workers are miserably low is corroborated by the average yearly wage computed from the Census of Manufactures for 1927 in the ten important lumbering states of the South. These wages range from \$559.69 in Georgia to \$878.00 in Texas and are consistently lower than the general average yearly wage for lumber workers in the country at large. The majority of the workers earn even less than this low average since it includes the wages of the highly paid workers. The following table shows the average weekly wage received by the workers, based on the yearly census average.

Workers must live in utter squalor and nearly starve to exist on these wages.

"Scrip" instead of cash is paid to the workers for wages in

AVERAGE WEEKLY MONEY WAGE OF LUMBER WORKERS IN
SOUTHERN STATES, 1927

Georgia	\$10.76	Mississippi	\$15.35
South Carolina	12.35	Florida	15.58
Alabama	12.63	Arkansas	15.83
North Carolina.....	13.43	Louisiana	16.29
Tennessee	15.10	Texas	16.88

some of the southern lumber towns. Operators paying "scrip" force purchases in the company stores to retain part or all of the money earned by the workers. In this way they run their operations without expending the capital necessary for wage payments and make additional profits from the purchases of the workers, who cannot use the "scrip" elsewhere. A lumber worker writes from Tennessee:

A third of the men working here never draw any real money but get paid in "scrip" or money issued by the company for purchases at certain stores. Day labor here is 16 cents an hour. Piece workers get from \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day. The working day is ten hours. All workers are compelled to take at least \$3 a week in scrip or else a ten per cent cut in wages.

The southern lumber workers' struggles to improve their conditions through union organization and strikes have been brutally crushed by the lumbermen. It is in the interest of the employers to keep the workers from organizing. Bargaining individually with the employers for jobs, unorganized workers are powerless to resist the oppressive conditions imposed upon them.

Western Lumberjacks' Wages

In the West the lumber workers have since 1905 made a valiant struggle for increased wages, shorter hours and better camp conditions. Their many years of struggle have raised their wages above the level of the southern workers, but wages are still inadequate to tide them over long periods of unemployment and part-time work.

Except for the head sawyers, weekly wages in the saw-mills ranged from \$19.10 for laborers in Minnesota to \$37.63 for edgermen in California.

AVERAGE ACTUAL MONEY WAGES IN ONE WEEK IN WESTERN
SAWMILLS, 1928⁶

	<i>Wash.</i>	<i>Ore.</i>	<i>Calif.</i>	<i>Minn.</i>
Laborer	\$21.79	\$22.69	\$22.45	\$19.10
Machine feeder (planing mill)	24.00	26.71	26.64	21.01
Trimmer operators	32.02	32.34	30.27	27.36
Saw tailers on head saw.....	23.19	25.58	25.95	20.25
Setters	27.35	32.16	34.37	31.28
Doggers	21.13	24.58	20.24	29.20

Recent announcements of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association of a general reduction of running time of all mills in Washington and Oregon to a 5-day week means a wage cut for the workers. Many mills have been running 3 to 4 days a week with a corresponding wage decrease.

Families cannot maintain themselves on such reduced wages. Just as manufacturers in Pennsylvania were quick to sense the economic advantage in establishing factories in the coal mining regions to employ the wives and children of miners laid off or put on short time, so the lumber interests prepare to exploit the families of lumber workers driven to the point of starvation by the short work week and its consequent low wages.

The Long Bell Company, which has been operating on a 5-day schedule and has not employed many of its workers more than 3 or 4 days a week during 1929, urgently advertises for manufacturers using woman and child labor to invest in Longview. Their advertisements read: "At the present stage of its development, Longview offers exceptional opportunities to manufacturers requiring a large number of woman workers. This would include such industries as textiles, canning, cigar manufacturing, veneer and furniture

plants. Eastern manufacturers visiting this point have remarked the high type of labor available. . . ."

Mill workers' children are forced into the factories even before they reach the legal working age, for work permits below the legal age are not hard to secure. Girls find jobs in the veneer and box factories subsidiary to the sawmills or in the canneries while boys go into the sawmill and planing mills or the logging camps. Many families of sawmill workers migrate from one berry field to another during the summer months to earn extra pennies.

In the logging camps of the West the median full-time weekly wages, estimated from hourly rates, were as low as \$19.20 for the perilous jobs of hookers and laborers in Washington and California.

ESTIMATED FULL-TIME WEEKLY MONEY WAGES IN LOGGING
CAMPS OF THE WEST COAST, 1928⁷

(Based on a 48-hour week)

	<i>Low Wage</i>	<i>Washington Median</i>	<i>Oregon Median</i>	<i>California Median</i>
Chokerman*	\$19.20	\$30.00	\$28.80	\$26.40
Hookers	19.20	19.20	31.77	27.60
Laborers	19.20	19.20	21.60	19.20
Laborers (section)..	19.20	24.00	21.60	24.00
Loaders	14.69	25.00	31.20	28.80
Riggers	24.00	30.00	32.02	27.94
Swampers	16.80	19.20	....	21.60
Buckers**	17.74	36.48	44.40	24.00
Fallers**	15.74	27.31	31.90	31.20
Chasers	23.04	27.02	27.02	28.80
Filers	19.20	22.56	37.82	36.00
High climbers	45.02	52.50	48.62	42.19
Whistle punks	19.20	24.00	24.00	20.02
Wood bucks	19.54	22.51	25.49	23.28
Gophers	20.83	....	....	24.00
Limbers	21.94	....	....	24.00
Peelers**	7.25	....	....	30.96
Engineers	19.54	40.80	37.49	33.60

* Some chokermen work on a piece basis in Oregon.

** Work on a piece-work basis.

On the surface, these wages appear far higher than those paid to the southern workers. But as has already been stated the workers in the West are unemployed from three to six months a year. Assuming that the workers are employed thirty weeks a year, 4 groups of the workers listed in the table had a median annual wage of less than \$600, 17 less than \$750, 41 less than \$1,000 and only 9 small groups of skilled workers more than \$1,000.

From these yearly wages, the western logger must expend \$30 to \$50 for a special logging outfit without which he cannot work in the woods. The piece worker must also purchase his tools and filing outfit. Board in the camps averages \$40 a month and bunks vary in cost from \$4 to \$8 a month. In addition the logger must pay his fares to and from camp and an employment fee each time he finds a job. A check-off for hospital and medical care of \$1.25 a month is made from the wages of the workers in the camps and mills in Washington and Oregon. These together with dues to the company union, The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, or some form of company insurance which are compulsory in many camps, still further reduce the wages of the workers.

The Shingle Weavers' Union Scale

The only organized group of workers in the lumber industry are the shingle weavers. A comparison of the wages with those of unorganized shingle weavers shows a higher piece work rate for union weavers. Union officials reported the union scale for shingle weavers in Grays Harbor, Washington, the largest shingle center, as ranging from 22 to 40½ cents a thousand shingles in 1928 while in the unorganized shingle mills of Everett, Washington, wages ranged from 13 to 31 cents a thousand. A study by the writer of the annual earnings of union shingle weavers in 1928 and 1929 revealed that in 1928 the yearly earnings ranged from \$1,400

to \$1,750, while in 1929 as a result of long mill shut-downs the yearly wages of the same workers ranged from \$900 to \$1,200. In 1930 the wages of all shingle weavers were further reduced by wage cuts and more frequent shut-downs. Inferior timber full of knots furnished to shingle weavers forces them to work at terrific speed to make enough satisfactory shingles free from knots to earn a day's wage. In spite of these reduced earnings, the organized shingle weavers are the highest paid of any section of the industry.

Below the Subsistence Level

What does it actually cost for a worker's family to maintain itself in the lumber regions in the South and West? The popular idea that it is cheap to live in the South has been exploded by the government's own figures.⁸ Cost of living studies made in southern cities in 1919 show the expenses of a worker's family, composed of a man, wife and three children, to be anywhere from \$1,291.44 in Houston, Texas, to \$1,576 in Birmingham, Alabama. Living costs in lumber centers may be slightly lower than in these cities and cost of living is about 5 per cent less than in 1919. Still, the amount needed to keep a lumber worker's family anywhere above the starvation line is far more than most of these workers have received at any time since these studies were made.

Compared with the so-called "minimum health and decency" budget, prepared by the U. S. Department of Labor, the lumber worker's wages are seen to be entirely inadequate. This budget provides for only a minimum below which a worker's family cannot go without its affecting both health and social decency. Priced for the whole country in 1919 this budget called for \$2,262.47 for a family. In 1930 it called for more than this, for example, \$2,474.33 in Minneapolis and \$2,543.95 in San Francisco.⁹ It is clear that the lumber worker's wages in all regions fall far below

these family budgets; in fact their wages have always been below the cost of the lowest subsistence level on which health and decency can be maintained by a family of this size.

Even the single men with no families to support are up against the fact that the lumber companies are paying them below the \$1,353.27 which Prof. Jessica Peixotto of the University of California estimated in 1921 was necessary for a single man to live in that state. Most of the lumber workers in the camps would have to go deeply in debt to live up to this standard.

The "Gypo" System

A modified sweatshop system known in the West as the "gypo" has been introduced into the woods, especially in regions where little or no machinery is needed. Lumber operators often find it cheaper to turn over a logging job to a contractor, who in turn hires workers for falling, bucking, skidding, loading and even for railroad grading on a piece work basis. Piece work rates are pared down so that both the employer and the contractor may make profits. It is impossible for the worker to make his day's wage without intense speeding up and long hours. In most instances, however, "gypo" work makes each worker a small contractor who bargains directly with the lumber operator for work on a strip of woods at the best price he can get. In the Weyerhaeuser mills in Idaho where approximately 4,000 workers are employed, the "gypo" system is highly developed. A representative of this company recently pointed out the advantages of "gypo" work to the operators:

All men working on a particular job are members in the contract and as such share in the earnings. This we have found to be much more satisfactory than to let the job to one man and have him hire the crew as in that case there is often dissatisfaction and the job is delayed, whereas with all members in the job the work in the majority of cases is carried on in a

diligent manner. A good man taking a job will always get the best men available to go in with him because he doesn't care to take some poorer man and divide equally with him.¹⁰

A worker and his "pard" or a group of workers will contract to do the falling and bucking and other processes at a fixed amount of production per day. The workers must supply their own tools and filing outfits or must pay for depreciation of the employers' tools. The employers rent out horses with the proviso that they must not be worked longer than eight hours, but there is no limit to the number of hours for the "gypo" worker. Wages are calculated by the company's scaler who determines the number of feet cut and handled. The total earnings of the group are divided among the workers according to the rates for which each worker has contracted.

An Idaho worker writes:

Last year two sawyers were paid \$1.25 per M feet. This year they offered us \$1.00 per M feet and we had to take it. For ten hours we work together, saw from eight to ten M feet and divide up the wages between us. After supper we sharpen our saws and axes but are not paid for the extra time required which may be one or two hours. Our strip is about two miles from the bunkhouse and no transportation is provided. On our own time we must hike out and back, carrying a saw, two axes, a sledge, a water bag and our lunch. The skidders are getting from \$3.00 to \$4.00 per M feet which they have to divide up among four men.

The gain is all on the side of the employers who get increased productivity for lower wages and have less expense for supervision. In the hectic drive to earn a decent wage, the men in the group egg each other on to speed up and increase production. The workers rather than the company lose when a new or less efficient worker slows up the operations. Workers who are not keeping up with the pace may be fired by the company foreman before the job is finished. The discharged worker is paid on the basis of the

day wage which ranges from \$3.20 to \$3.60 a day and the remaining earnings are distributed among the other workers. Men often accept unsatisfactory housing conditions and other discriminations without complaint in order not to be fired before the end of the job and be deprived of these extra earnings. Each worker must fight for himself to survive, and constant rivalry between the workers and gangs creates dissension which keeps them divided. A worker writes:

The fallers are paid from 30 to 35 cents a thousand and the buckers get from 25 to 30 cents. Getting the higher scale depends upon whether or not they finish the strip that is laid out for them, and as a rule the conditions are so intolerable that in the most cases the men do not stay long enough to finish their strip. If they should be good stickers, the scaler gives them short scale so that the real cost of this class of work is done cheaper than the figures would indicate. The ground is very rough but if a strip should be more level than usual, then the rate per thousand is reduced. The company gets the best of all breaks.

As a rule, the fallers and buckers have a hard time making an ordinary wage, and at the end of the day's work men come into the camp so tired that it is an effort to drag one foot after the other—men with young faces and tottering bodies.

"Gypo" workers never know if they are receiving in wages what they have actually earned. The measurements are all made by the company scaler whose objective is to keep wages down to the level of the day wages. Another worker describes this method:

We know we are being robbed by the scaler but we have no come-back. Even if we have proof we can never win. If we kick we are sure to be fired. We get no pay for "dead work." If a tree is rotten 20 feet up you lose on the scale and so after a day's hard work, sometimes for ten or eleven hours, we manage to earn \$4 a day.

And another:

It is not necessary for the operators to cut the price per thousand, all that they do is to cheat on the scale. The worker

cannot be sure about this unless he scales for himself. But he gets nowhere as his objections are ignored, with the chances that he will be blacklisted in the Clearing House. Where last year we were making \$6.00 and \$7.00 a day, this year we do well if we make \$2.50 to \$3.00 and when we quit there is always a surplus of labor to draw from to take our places.

The "gypo" system was introduced by the employers in the West during the war to counteract the militant activity of the unions for an 8-hour day and higher wages. High piece rates resulting in larger earnings than the union day wage attracted the workers to "gypo" work in spite of the long hours of work required. But after the war, piece rates gradually dropped. From the piece rate of 50 to 60 cents a thousand for falling and bucking the rate fell to 25 and 35 cents and is going lower. The system of long hours and speed-up has remained while workers are scarcely able to earn above that of the day wage and they often earn less. A lumber worker from California writes:

The timber fallers in Mendocino county all work on contract. They must work a minimum of nine hours and the scale is so adjusted that no matter how many thousand a worker might fell he gets only the average wage. Cross-cutters (buckers) used to be paid 15 cents per square foot but now it is from 8 to 9 cents.

As the pressure of the employers on the workers becomes sharper in their effort to increase profits by lowered labor costs, the "gypo" becomes more widespread.

"Gypo" work in the mills is prevalent in many departments, especially on the green chain, in the piling and loading of lumber and in the lath mill. Here too the gang method serves to speed-up production.

Wages Go Lower

During the war period the lumber workers on the West Coast, after several successful strikes, won a minimum rate

of \$4.45 for an eight-hour day for unskilled labor. Since that time the lumber operators have carried on a steady policy of wage cutting. In 1930 wages in many plants were cut to \$2.50 for ten hours, approximating the pre-war wage rate. One sawmill in Seattle recently advertised for foreign-born workers to take jobs at 18 cents an hour for a ten-hour day. The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, better known as the Four L, functions in the interest of the lumbermen and took the lead in the wage cutting game as early as 1921. In that year, claiming to speak in the name of the "employees," it took the initiative in requesting a wage cut of 5 cents an hour on the grounds of lowered living costs. The employers seized this opportunity to make a 10 cent reduction and within two years they cut wages 31.8 per cent on the coast and 28.5 per cent in Idaho and Montana.¹¹ With the decline in strength of the unions in the industry, the chief factors in forcing up the wage scale, the employers have continued to slash wages and destroy the hard won standards of the workers.

The 1928 wage study in the lumber industry by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that, of the 76 mills that had changed wages since 1925, 72 had made cuts of from 3 per cent to 20 per cent, the large majority having cut wages 10 per cent. Workers in the redwood belt in California report a wage cut of from 10 per cent to 40 per cent in February, 1930, while at the Union Lumber Company, the largest of the redwood plants, a cut of 10 per cent went into effect in July, 1929, at the time when the plant was being electrified. In the camps of the Edward Hines Lumber Company in Wisconsin, where monthly wages include board and lodging, wages were cut \$5 in December, 1929, bringing the wage down to \$35 and \$40 a month. In Minnesota, the International Lumber Company reduced wages to \$30 a month. Workers complain that many companies do not announce a wage cut until pay day when they find

less in their pay envelopes than they expect. During the present crisis wage cuts are being made all along the line.

Wage cuts have been imposed on the unorganized workers in the shingle mills while the union has persistently resisted cuts in the mills under its control since 1926, when the workers carried through a successful strike against a general wage cut and organized their union. In May, 1930, when the employers at Kalama, Washington, attempted to cut wages of union workers 20 per cent, the workers resisted by declaring a strike. Another strike against wage cuts was called in August in Moclips, Washington.

A common method of slashing wages is for the employer to lay off a crew of workers and reemploy them a few weeks later at a lower rate. The Schafer Lumber Company of Grays Harbor, Washington, cut wages of both mill and logging camp workers after the winter shut-down of 1929-1930, giving the day workers a cut of \$1 a day and piece workers a cut of from 10 cents to 15 cents per thousand.

Sporadic strikes and walking off of the job are methods often used by the lumber workers to express their dissatisfaction and their willingness to struggle against wage cuts, but unorganized efforts are easily defeated by the employers.

Bonus incentives were offered the workers to increase the output beyond schedule in 27 of the 319 mills studied by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1928. Bonuses are offered in the form of an increase in the wage rate per thousand feet or per hour after the scheduled output has been reached. They are usually given during rush periods and more frequently go to the highly skilled men and to the "straw bosses" who set the pace for the crew and who stop at nothing to get out the daily quota. The bonuses offered the workers are very small, often only 4 to 5 cents an hour or less than 1 to 10 cents a thousand feet. The increased output, stimulated by the bonus, is often used by the employers as a basis to establish the normal scale of output

demanding from the workers, who are speeded up to produce more than before for the same wages.

Working Hours

The lumber workers' working day is 10 hours in most of the lumbering states. The study of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1928 showed that the full time working week for lumber workers in all the Southern and Lake States averaged between 59 and 61.3 hours while in the West, it averaged from 48 to 56.1 hours. Only 22 per cent of the workers had a full time week of 48 hours or less while 50.6 per cent of the workers had a full time week of from 59 to 61 hours. Of the mills studied, 1 per cent had a 48-hour week; 61 per cent of the mills ran on a 60-hour-week basis. The working day ranged from 8 to 11 $\frac{5}{12}$ full time hours from Monday to Friday and the Saturday hours ranged from 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 11 hours.

Full time work here means the full number of hours worked if the worker is employed without being laid off or employed part time or overtime. But we have already seen that lumber workers are subject to considerable part time work, while in rush times, when orders are pressing, the plants will work overtime and long shifts. Of a selected group of 28,000 workers studied by the Bureau to determine the actual number of hours worked, 32 per cent worked 60 hours a week or more, 31 per cent between 49 and 60 hours, while 37 per cent worked 48 hours or less. In 1928 the prevailing full time working week in the logging camps of the South was 60 hours, in the Northwest 48 hours and in California 54 hours.

The 8-hour day, gained by the workers in the Northwest after bitter struggles in 1918, is rapidly breaking down. Schedules of 9 and 10 hours are now being imposed without any increase in pay. The 8-hour day "from camp to camp" is nowhere in force. Extra time is required for

traveling from the bunkhouses to the woods, often many miles; but wages are paid only for the actual work hours on the job. A logger reports his usual day's schedule:

In order to put in a day here we have to leave at 6:45 on the logging train, reaching camp at 7:30 when work begins. Half hour for lunch at twelve and back to work until 4:45. Catch the logging train back to the bunkhouse and arrive at 5:30. Our working day is nine hours and 15 minutes but with the time for going and coming we actually spend ten hours and 45 minutes in all.

City workers who must live far away from the mills in order to find low rents also have a longer working day than is actually spent in the mill, traveling many miles to and from their jobs.

The companies, to avoid curtailment of profits from over-production, surplus stocks and shrinking markets, attempt to transfer all losses to the workers by lengthening hours and resorting to long lay-offs. Large plants, as for example the Weyerhaeuser and Long Bell operations, have been spreading the lay-off by reducing the working week. Since the plan has its advantages for the employers by decreasing costs for depreciation of the machinery and "labor turnover," the West Coast Lumbermen's Association has recently favored the 5-day working week. Chief among the advocates of the reduced working week to stabilize production in the interests of the operators is the Four L which has adopted the slogan of a 5-day week with "some sort of pay adjustment," the latter statement being sufficiently vague to allow for further wage cuts. It is frankly admitted by those sponsoring the plan, that there is no intention of giving the worker a 5-day week with a full week's pay. The Four L, eager to help the western operators compete more favorably with the South, has petitioned Congress for a law which will prohibit inter-state sale of lumber of operators who work their crews more than eight hours a day.

This move can be regarded only as a publicity stunt aimed to get greater support from the workers. The American Federation of Labor supports the company union in this program.

The newly formed Lumber Workers' Industrial Union calls for a 7-hour, 5-day week for all mill workers and a 7-hour day "from camp to camp," 5 days a week for loggers. Instead of a vague "pay adjustment" it demands a substantial increase in wages.

Overtime and Night Work

In spite of the attempt to control production by long lay-offs mills run overtime and night shifts when orders pour in and when prices are favorable to the operators. Of the 319 mills studied by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 57 operated night shifts with hours ranging from 45 to 60 a week. Night shifts of 60 hours a week were worked by 22 of these mills.

The day wage for night work prevails in most cases. In the logging camps when it is possible to run two shifts the first shift known as the "night owl" shift begins with the dawn of day, often as early as 3:30 A.M. If the distance from camp to camp is great the workers must be ready to leave for work an hour or more earlier.

Time and a half for overtime—the union rate—is rarely paid to lumber workers. When overtime work is paid for at all it is on the regular hourly basis. But frequently the men are cheated by being worked overtime without pay. One hears repeatedly:

The foreman is always trying to take advantage of us by working us an extra 15 or 30 minutes after the whistle blows. There is no use in refusing for if we do we will be fired the next day for some reason or other.

CHAPTER VII

SPEEDING UP THE WORKERS

THE drive to produce more cheaply in order to meet competition and capture markets at home and abroad, leads to the introduction of new automatic machinery, to the standardization of processes and products, and above all to intensified speed-up, in order to lower production costs through lowered labor costs. This is a part of the process widely known as "rationalization."¹

Workers Produce More

The increased tempo of operations in lumber camps and mills is not fully revealed in production figures. In interpreting the statistics, it must be remembered that the logging of yesterday and to-day are not strictly comparable. Then the trees were easily available and on relatively level land. Now with all of the accessible forests cut out, the trees are in remote areas requiring longer hauls and greater effort to bring them to the sawmill. As the logging operations are pushed back up the mountain sides the diameter of the trees becomes smaller. Although they require about as much effort to fell, their yield is less in board feet. Further as the forests are cut out, smaller and less efficient operators come in and thus decrease the average output per man. This also applies to mills where the cutting of the smaller logs requires the same processes but yields a lower number of board feet.

To get a fairly true picture of the extent of speed-up and the results of rationalization, it would be necessary to compare the output of workers in smaller mills over a period

of years as well as those in the larger ones, always being careful to make the comparison between those of similar types and sizes. The statistics to make this comparison are not available in published reports, but it is generally known that in both the large and small mills the output per man has greatly increased. In spite of the increase in the number of small mills and the changing character of the timber supply, the production figures for all mills, arrived at by dividing the total output by the total number of workers, show an increase in the output per worker in two of the important lumbering states between 1925 and 1927 during which years the mills operated approximately the same number of days.

*Average Output per Worker per Year, 1925-1927
(In M board feet)*

	1925	1927	Increase
Washington	117.4	131.4	14.0
California	81.8	99.5	17.7

Owing to conditions described in earlier chapters of this book the increase in the total volume of output in the lumber industry has not kept pace with the increases in other manufacturing industries, between 1919 and 1923, production increased only 10 per cent. During this same period, however, the number of wage-earners employed in the industry increased only 8.5 per cent.² The primary horsepower showed an actual decrease of 2.2 per cent between 1919 and 1923. The increase in production, therefore, was obtained entirely through speeding up the workers. In the 1923-1927 period production declined 7 per cent and horsepower 7.8 per cent but the number of workers decreased 17.2 per cent, indicating again that fewer workers must each produce more despite the decline in total production.

This is clearly brought out by comparing the production figures of three typical camps and two typical mills in Wash-

ington between 1918 and 1929. The figures were obtained by an investigator directly from the employer's records.

RELATIVE PRODUCTION FIGURES IN THREE TYPICAL CAMPS, 1918-1929

(Production figures expressed in board feet)

	Camp A		Camp B		Camp C	
	1918	1929	1918	1929	1918	1929
Production	18,274,127	37,826,178	33,829,289	49,080,627	32,917,462	28,206,417
Workers..	68	135	231	212	176	124
Days operated....	272	239	285	259	274	227
Avg. prod. per man per day.	980.0	1172.4	513.8	897.1	682.5	1002.0
Increase of output per man.		18.6%		74.6%		45.3%

In all three camps, production has increased while operating days dropped. Camp A absorbed a number of the smaller operations around it and therefore employed more workers, each of whom produced more per day. The other camps employed fewer workers who in spite of the lowered operating time produced more logs. The increase in Camp B was as high as 74.6 per cent. In all these camps workers received wage cuts ranging from 12 to 20 per cent in spite of their increased output.

The mills as well as the camps show striking increases in production per man.

RELATIVE PRODUCTION FIGURES OF TWO TYPICAL MILLS, 1918-1929

(Production figures expressed in M board feet)

	Mill A		Mill B	
	1918	1929	1918	1929
Production ...	50,000,000	43,000,000	47,260,189	43,274,168
Workers	328	215	272	204
Days operated.	400 *	253	431.2 *	262
Avg. prod. per man per day	381.1	790.6	402.9	809.6
Increase of output per man		107%		101%

* Operated two shifts for periods.

In both of these mills there was a decrease in production, in the number of days operated and in the number of men employed, but the output per man increased over 100 per cent. During this period wages were cut over 20 per cent in both mills.

Wilson Compton, in his address before the convention of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association in 1927, urged greater application of rationalization to the lumber industry through the substitution of automatic machine work for hand labor.⁸ J. H. Bloedel, president of the Bloedel Donovan Lumber Company, shows how this has actually taken place:

It is significant that producing costs, exclusive of overhead including taxes in Northwest sawmills and logging camps are at least as low now as before the World War. . . . We have two circumstances to thank in this connection. Men are working harder for one thing. . . . They are working with greater efficiency and are actually accomplishing as much during the 8-hour day as they formerly accomplished in 10 hours. The other factor is the improvement and invention of labor-saving machinery.

Suggestions for valuable labor-saving devices usually come from the rank and file. The workmen see necessity for improvement, and either work out something to fill the need themselves or pass the idea on to the management or to machinery houses.

An example of the enormous change which has been wrought by machinery is in the grading of railroads. It used to be a laborious process accomplished by pick and shovel. Now three men in a gas-electric shovel do the work that formerly required twenty workers. . . .

The evolution of donkey engines is another important contribution. It resulted from the "receding forests." When I first came here, in territorial days, lumbering was conducted solely along the tidewater and the banks of streams emptying into the Sound. As the forests were gradually thinned in these regions some form of transportation became necessary.

At first there were skidroads, greased slides along which the logs were carried to the streams and mills. They were drawn

by oxen and horses. Many times ten yoke of oxen were used at one time.

Then railroads were built . . . as the distance between the trees and the mills widened the railroad facilities were improved until at the present time 120-ton locomotives are in general use, pulling trains of from 40 to 60 cars. . . .

Both the locomotives and the logging engines operate with such efficiency that the cost of transporting logs many miles is scarcely more than during the days when they were almost within sight of the mills.⁴

The forms of rationalization which have been used in the lumber industry to increase output per man may be summarized as:

1. The increase in the amount of work performed per worker by the reduction of crews and speed-up methods.
2. The speeding up of the conveyor chains in the saw and planing mills.
3. The use of new machines and new improvements to displace labor and increase production.

Machines Displacing Workers

Logging and lumber manufacture do not lend themselves readily to standardization and mass production methods. The topography of the land on which the logging is carried on and the nature of the trees being cut are highly variable. Each tree must be cut separately and logging is, therefore, not a continuous process. Lumber manufacture does not assemble standardized parts into a whole, permitting such minute specialization of processes as is found in the mass production methods of other manufacturing industries. As Stuart Chase puts it:

In the meat packing and lumber industries the process [of assembling parts into a unit] is reversed and a completed unit—the steer or the tree—is dissembled: broken down into standard

cuts of beef or shingles. As steers and trees are living organisms, no two, alas, alike, the doctrine of fineness of measurement and interchangeability cannot strictly apply and thus the process while it may look like mass production upside down is only a brother and possibly an illegitimate one.⁵

Standardization in the sawmills is effected in a limited degree by the development of standard sizes and grades of lumber.

Technological improvements to increase production have been very great in the lumber industry. Power saws, diesel driven yarders, aerial cable systems, mechanical loaders for hauling logs and mechanical shovels for grading are among the new devices introduced to displace workers and accelerate production. Where the power saw is used a crew of 4 workers will do the operations formerly performed by 24. These saws are now used where trees are small but lumber operators in the big tree region are eagerly seeking a saw which will cut the large trees with fewer workers. A portable power driven saw was recently introduced by the Eastman Gardiner Company in Mississippi to cut their pine trees, displacing hand fallers. The machine is operated by four men and can cut down 254 trees, scaling at 135,000 board feet, in 7 hours, while a pair of hand fallers working at furious speed can cut less than 20,000 feet per day. The power saw cuts an 18 to 20 inch tree in 30 seconds. Two hand fallers cannot do it in 30 minutes. As Art Shields says:

The portable saw has no "feelings." The speed-up doesn't make it nervous. Like a hand faller, a Negro, we picked up on the road said: "I just can't work every day. I got to lay off to let my nerves catch up—the way they work on that job."

No commissary is needed for the power saw, except for gasoline and oil, eight gallons of gas and three quarts of oil a day. It consumes no "fat back" and beans and doesn't get sore on the company and walk out when the bedbugs bite.⁶

Powerful diesel driven yarders or skidders haul logs from the point where they are felled over distances of 2,000 or

3,000 feet to the railway lines. Where logging is done on steep mountain sides where it is impossible to run railway lines, elaborate overhead cable systems are installed, equipped with thousands of feet of wire rope capable of covering a span of 5,000 to 6,000 feet, of hoisting full-length trees and of yielding as much as 250,000 feet output per day. In comparing the advantages of a diesel yarder with a steam yarder previously used, an employer pointed out that, in a 15-day period, 1,809 logs were hauled by 8 men as against 1,760 logs by 13 men with a steam engine. In other words the introduction of the new engine displaced 5 men and increased the output.⁷ In a Weyerhaeuser camp the use of the diesel displaced 4 men required to cut wood and to feed the fire box of the steam engine.⁸ Bloedel Donovan installed a new skidder which did away with from 8 to 15 men. The diesel shovel, used to replace the steam shovel for grading, displaces 6 men: the fireman, the craneman, the woodcutter and three men in the pit.

In veneer plants, electric conveyor belts and overhead cranes have displaced the old hand pushed trucks which had to be shoved around by 4 men. At the Clark Nickerson Company, Washington, a new planer having a capacity of 20,000 feet is operated by one man and replaces three men on old-style planers. At the Schafer Lumber Company, eight men were fired from the yard when the new hoisting crane for loading lumber was installed. In the saw mills which have been mechanized for many years the recent improvement in the technique of manufacture have been directed toward increasing output at lower costs and toward eliminating labor. Electricity has taken the place of steam in most of the mills.

A careful student of improvements in machinery in mills reports the effect of recent changes:

Machinery has been improved to the extent that where formerly 5 or 6 millwrights and a couple of smiths were kept busy

with maintenance, now an electrician, a helper and a millwright do the work. The development of electric air dogs which may be worked automatically by the sawyer, eliminates 2 doggers on each carriage. Roll top chains on the sorting table run faster, require less attention and enable men to pull the lumber off more easily. A drop sorter separates the lengths of lumber automatically and eliminates labor entirely. Machines to sharpen and replace lost teeth in the saws reduce the number of filers required and increase the efficiency of the individual filer. Mechanical stacking and unstacking displace 10 men out of 15. Gas or electric driven lumber pilers and mechanical carriers in the yards cut labor 70%. In planing mills planers handle up to 600 feet instead of 360 feet which was fast production in 1924. A new knife-type shingle machine has been perfected which will produce 12,000 shingles from 1,000 feet of red cedar, as against 8,000 shingles produced by sawing. The machine can operate at the rate of 1,000 cuts per minute. Modern mills turn out 40% more lumber per man than 7 years ago.

Speed-up Devices

"Straw bosses" increase the tempo developed by the new machinery by driving the workers to keep up a pace set by the "minute man," taxing their strength to the limit. Incentives to speed-up are offered in the form of promises of increased pay if production exceeds the set quota. "The effect of this system is disastrous to the worker," writes one logger, "for in his desire to receive a raise in pay he works himself out in 8 or 10 days and is forced to leave the job from sheer exhaustion." As another worker put it: "After a few days in a 'high-ball camp' we have to quit or be fired, for there is no strength left in us." Rivalry between groups of workers in camp or between camps is encouraged by the operators, and workers often find themselves working at break-neck pace to beat the output of another group or a rival camp. Trade journals report achievement of the camps in output and stimulate rivalry by showing especially daring acts performed by the workers. Records made at various camps are reported in the press to bring about greater com-

petition among the workers. Typical is the following press notice which appeared in a Washington paper:

Record Broken in Log Loading: Spurred by claims of logging prowess in other camps of the Olympic Peninsula, camp 2 of the Bloedel Donovan mills logging camp . . . stepped out and broke an all time state record, yarding and loading 74 carloads of logs scaling 722,380 feet in 8 hours without injury to the 18 men employed in the day's work. The record was formerly held by a logging outfit on Grays Harbor which loaded more carloads of logs but a lesser scale. The Crescent Logging Company made a remarkable record some weeks ago when it was announced 518,000 feet of logs were yarded and loaded in an 8 hour shift. Both the Crescent and Bloedel Donovan camps were in a good show of timber when the feats were accomplished.⁹

Doubling up the jobs of workers is a method of getting more out of the workers. One worker is now being hired to do two jobs where formerly two men were employed. As, for example, a bedmaker in a camp must also be a bull cook, a worker running the gas saw must also split wood for the engine, a second loader must also unhook, a hooker must also be a climber.

A common practice of increasing the output per worker is to lay off a number of men and make the workers who remain handle their work. Expecting new crews to be brought in, the workers will take over these jobs only to find that by shouldering the extra work they have set a standard of output which becomes the normal expected.

Art Shields describes the speed-up of Negro workers in the Great Southern Lumber Company:

What speed! I saw a flat car loaded in about 12 minutes, a pair of Negroes singing together as they dragged on the chains that steadied the logs swinging through the air. The loader crews work 10 hours a day without a rest at noon. The skidder men get 30 minutes off in the middle of the day. . . .

"Watch those black boys step," grinned Supt. Carter as the steel gang laid track for a logging railroad line across the high-

way where our car was halted by a puffing wood-burning locomotive and two flat cars laden with rails and ties. "You won't be held up more than a few minutes," he assured us, and we were not.

"It's the task system that gives them the pep," said the superintendent. Pep,—they had it! No old men here. I saw husky Negroes swing 200-pound ties to their shoulders, a man to a tie, and rush at a trot to the track line. Then the gang would seize a rail, all together, and toss it into place with a song.

The task is to lay 30 rails a day. Only the strongest and young ones can stand the pace of a logging track-laying gang.¹⁰

Slogans at the mill gates are designed to influence the workers to increase their pace. For example, at the St. Paul and Tacoma mill gates one reads such slogans as: "Results Beat Boasts," "Disorder Slows Down the Game," "The Able Worker Never Brags. He Doesn't Have To. His Record Does the Crowing," "Speed Get's 'Em."

The pace of all the workers in the mill is set by the head sawyer who determines the speed of the carriage and the conveyor systems. Sometimes he receives a bonus for every foot cut beyond normal output. The conveyor chains may be speeded up or more lumber may be piled on them, forcing the workers who sort and pile the lumber to work faster to keep up with the moving chain. Slacking up for a moment means that the strips of lumber will escape on the chain. Close attention is necessary to watch every strip and to pick off the grades and sizes to be piled.

Workers report the results of mechanical improvements and greater speed-up:

The company [Snoqualmie Falls Timber Company], used to put 4 to 5 million feet log scale in the pond about 1925, now they put 12 to 18 million feet a month, with 100 less men.

At the Stimson mill in Seattle there are now 172 men employed where formerly there were 300. On the chain we used to have 15 men and pile 200,000 feet of lumber a day, now we pile the same amount with only 12 men.

When this plant [a veneer plant] started in 1921 there were

175 workers employed and the plant ran three shifts. Now on two shifts we turn out 500 board feet per man, twice the amount in 1921. Every process is speeded up and the greatest gain has been secured by rushing the product between steps. Two men are hired where 5 worked before.

In 1910 the mill [planing] produced 85,000 to 90,000 linear feet a day in 10 hours with 250 men; to-day the same number produce 200,000 in 8 hours.

Three or 4 men can do the work here more quickly and cheaply now than 6 or 7 workers, 3 years ago. The company (Union Lumber Company, California) could hardly produce 1 million feet per month 8 years ago while in 1929 it easily produced 12 million feet per month with fewer workers.

Accidents Mount

The logging of trees and the process of manufacturing logs into lumber are dangerous occupations under normal conditions. The mechanical processes in the woods and mills multiply the ordinary dangers on the job and speed-up methods impose a terrific strain on the workers. This results in over-fatigue, exhaustion and a greater toll of injuries and deaths. Accidents per worker increase as fewer workers man the jobs and the hazard per worker is greater. Reports indicate increased severity of accidents among lumber workers. The American Engineering Council, which studied the relationship between industrial accidents and production, found that four of the lumber companies covered in the report had increased their production 27 per cent, while accidents had increased in severity 464 per cent in the three-year period between 1922 and 1925.¹¹ The report says:

. . . This recent increase in the number and severity of accidents is not a mysterious thing after all, but appears as a natural concomitant of the increased intensity of the industrial process. It is not surprising that this era of increased productivity, an era which is so striking that it may even be called the modern industrial revolution, should have among its other important by-products, an increase in the intensity of the industrial hazard.¹²

Publicity writers like to depreciate the intense dangers of the life of the workers in the camps by picturing the workers as "daring," "adventurous," "romantic," "dare-devil steeplejacks of the woods" who have "a life of thrilling adventure in the great out-of-doors." But one scarcely finds a logger who does not realize the dangers of logging and who, to survive, has not developed an alertness against possible accidents or death. Falling trees and limbs often called "widow-makers," rolling and swinging logs, "kick-backs," the breaking of lines and cables, snags and underbrush, poorly constructed logging railroads, the use of explosives in blowing up stumps, the handling of power-driven or cross-cut hand saws are all serious hazards to workers in the woods.

The dangers of the job of the high-rigger, who prepares the spar tree from which the rigging lines are set, are brought out in the following description:

Half way up the tree you will see the "high-rigger" wielding his ax as freely and with as great force as the ordinary man working on level ground might do. Leaning far out, trusting . . . to his safety belt, rope and spurs, he swings the ax with powerful certain strokes, great chips flying as the blade lands, and soon the branch crashes to the ground. Slipping his ax into his belt, he quickly resumes his ascent until the next branch is encountered, and this and others in the course of hours are cut away.

Imagine, if you can, the great strain on a man's legs and feet to stand for hours several hundred feet in the air pressing out against the tree trunk to keep his balance, meantime toiling away at one of the most strenuous tasks known to the logging camp. . . . But now he is about 30 feet from the top of the tree which at this point is perhaps 2 feet in diameter. . . . It now becomes his task to perform the difficult job of cutting away the top of the tree. . . . When the "kick-off" occurs, the instant when the big tree top sags, hangs a moment and then lets go . . . you see . . . the high-rigger battling for his life. . . . The trunk to which the high-rigger clings with spurs and rope may split, drawing the man close to the back, squeezing him to

death or breaking his safety belt. To save himself he must instantly let go with hands and spurs and slide straight down the tree past the danger point, trusting to his rope to hold him. Or he can throw off the rope and cling with spurs and hands until the trunk, which is swaying violently as the weight of the top is released, is steadied again. Another danger that he faces is that the log top may not kick off at all but just slip backwards, and come crashing relentlessly down over the place where he is clinging. In this case he must move like lightning to the other side. An error in judgment will surely cost him his life. As the big top comes crashing to the ground with a boom that resounds through the forest, the end of the trunk is swaying vigorously sometimes in a wide circle several feet in diameter. The motion is very violent, as if a giant hand were persistently shaking the great trunk to and fro. . . . The high-rigger clings with spurs and hands. If the motion is unusually violent he may feel a slight nausea—but he does not for an instant release his hold.¹³

Equally dangerous are the jobs on the ground when swinging cables, flying chokers and hooks are likely to hit the men when hooking or unhooking logs. One of the chief dangers is defective rigging which, when it snaps, sweeps all things along with it as the lines are thrown in all directions. A worker hit by a flying cable faces death or serious injury. Accidents are most common where the logs are being brought in from the brush drawn by lines from the donkey engine. Logs may catch on a stump and when pressure from the engine attempts to jerk them out of place the lines may snap and the logs will swing over a huge semicircle. If a worker is nimble he may get away from the path of the log but more often no matter how swift he may be he cannot escape being struck. Few weeks pass without the workers seeing a serious injury or death in the camp.

Logging railroads are not required to abide by the safety regulations imposed upon the common carriers. They are poorly constructed, since for the most part they are not permanent. Working hours are growing longer, and fewer

and less skilled workers at lower wages are employed on logging lines. As a result railroad men in the woods are subject to many accidents. The speed demanded in laying the rails results in poorly constructed tracks which lead to derailments. Loaded trains lacking air brakes often break loose when they are uncoupled and go down the steep hill-sides at terrific speed. Not only the train crews but workers in the way of flying logs are maimed or killed. "Mulligan" cars, which are windowless box cars in which the workers are transported to and from camp, often derail, also causing deaths and serious injuries. A logger tells of some of the accidents he has personally witnessed while working in logging camps:

One of the most common and atrocious accidents may happen in a "high ball" camp when the hooker signals for the log to be pulled in and the choker setter has not had sufficient time to get out of the road. When this happens it is just too bad, that's all. This is also found where the logs are being loaded onto the flat cars. The man that hooks on for the lift may not have sufficient time to get out of the road or may get into the road of logs that are rolling into the space vacated by the one that is being lifted onto the flat car.

Another common occurrence is when a light cable has too much strain on it and it breaks and whirls with terrific force through the air. I saw a man that happened to get hit with one of these cables, whose head was completely taken off his shoulders.

When hills are too steep for a "loxy" to climb and nothing but a track and train will suffice, a donkey is used as a windlass would be and two to three cars are used as a bucket. One or two men usually ride up and down on these flats acting as brakeman and switchman. Sometimes the cable that lets these cars down this 20% grade parts or the donkey itself fails to hold them. This accident has happened several times at this camp. The weight of the cars and the steepness of the hill gives the train terrific momentum, so much in fact that the logs start parting at the front, making a fan of destruction. If the men live to tell the tale they are crippled for life but it usually kills them instantly when the inevitable smash-up occurs.

Accidents are very numerous among the buckers and fallers who continually carry one or two saws and axes. In climbing over brush piles and fallen logs, they very easily maim themselves. I have seen a man killed, the saw cutting open his neck while carrying it on his back. The faller is often cut about the feet because using an ax all day he has every chance to cut himself. Not being able to go into camp they let the wound stay open and are subject to poisoning. Death or long illness from poisoning usually follows.

The press in lumbering regions is filled with reports of deaths and injuries from logging accidents. The following, taken at random, are some of the reports that appeared in 1929 in Washington and Oregon papers:

H— C—, 18, logger, was instantly killed at Camp A of the Snoqualmie Lumber Co., Thursday, when a "donkey" line parted and struck him.

C— D—, 30, logger, was killed to-day when a boom line struck him while loading logs at the Willamette Valley Lumber Company near here. His neck was broken.

R. J. W—, 24 years old, well-known Independence resident, was killed Tuesday in an accident at a Malone logging camp. W—, a rigging slinger, was struck by a snag that had been caught by a haulback line.

Struck by a limb which rebounded from a falling tree, W— I—, 45 years old, was instantly killed yesterday at the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company's logging camp at Vale.

M— D—, 21 years old, was instantly killed yesterday by a falling tree while at work at a logging camp.

P— O—, Centralia, was injured fatally at the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company logging camp, twenty-five miles east of here, Monday, when he was struck by a rolling log.

A— W—, 35 years old, a bucker for the Polson Logging Company, was instantly killed here late yesterday when he was struck by a dead tree blown over by a heavy wind.

H. W. W— died here Monday after being struck by a swinging log in the woods near Aloha Saturday.

A report of the Washington Department of Labor shows that in the logging operations in that state alone 1,722 deaths occurred from accidents from 1917 to 1927, the greatest number of deaths occurring among the fallers, buckers and rigging crew. Between the years 1924 and 1927, accidents of buckers increased 17 per cent, of high climbers and rigging slingers 32 per cent, of whistle punks 150 per cent and of powder men 200 per cent. Logging operations are so full of dangers that the utmost care on the part of the worker will not protect him from serious injuries. In spite of this youths below 18 are often found in dangerous jobs in the camps and sawmills. Oregon and Wisconsin are the only states which prohibit children below 16 from working in lumber camps and obviously this age is still far too low in so hazardous an occupation.

An inadequate number of signal men, terrific speed in logging, giving the men insufficient time to "get in the clear," and defective equipment are primarily responsible for the terrific toll of life and health. The safety commissioner of the State of Washington declares that "fallers and buckers work where no mechanical safeguards can be provided to minimize the danger or prevent accidents. . . ."¹⁴ In other words, the men are at the mercy of the inherently dangerous conditions of the job. As they are too fatigued by the hard and rigorous work of the woods to be alert, and as they are being speeded-up at a rate which makes it impossible for them to think of personal safety, accidents will continue to mount.

Exposure to unguarded machinery, conveyors, belts and saws in the mills have caused many serious accidents. Dangers are intensified by the speeding up of the processes. "The human element is geared to the machine . . . for lumber must be handled as rapidly as it is produced in order to prevent confusion and lost motion . . ." said an employer before the Woodworking Section of the National Safety

Congress in 1928 in discussing sawmill dangers. Live rolls, carriages and shaftings are responsible for many deaths and accidents. The boom-men who sort the logs in the pond frequently lose their footing on the slippery logs and are drowned or seriously injured. Men are hurt or killed by power driven saws and planers, by lumber thrown from saws and edgers, by falls from platforms and by the handling of heavy materials. The safety of the deckmen, carriage-men and head rig off-bearers are in the hands of the sawyers. The following description of a fatal accident directly due to the speed-up is given by a worker :

The head sawyer was directly responsible for the death of a worker because of his determination to keep production up to par at all costs. He was cutting a number of 40 foot cants 4 inches thick and sending them down to the edger. The edgerman had 6 saws to set and as a consequence was unable to keep up with the head rig. The conveyor was covered with a wide white strip of 4 inch cants from the edger to the head rig. The rolls had been stopped to avoid any danger and when the sawyer saw things at a standstill he let out a streak of curses that thickened the atmosphere considerably, especially when the off-bearer refused to start the rolls. The sawyer, in a furious rage, hooked a cant on the cross beam of the carriage and by running the rig the length of the track was able to put the long wide strip of timber into motion. The transfer man, who stood beside the conveyor and shot the cants to the edgerman, was unaware of the impending danger that was bearing down upon him. He was caught in the stomach and crushed against the edger. They carried him out and so great was his agony that he begged the men to end his misery with an ax. In a few hours he was dead.

The heavy work, continuous standing, the speed-up and monotony of machine tending in the mills, as well as the incessant noise of buzzing saws, comparable to the roar in the steel mills, fatigues the workers and prevents them from being more alert to the dangers of unguarded machinery. In the sawmills of Washington alone 475 lives were lost from 1919 to 1929; while in the four-year period from

1924 to 1928 over 19,000 injuries occurred. Frequency of accidents has increased since 1924.

Nor are the mill workers exempt from industrial diseases. Sorting, piling, loading and transporting of lumber is done out of doors, rain or shine, and the health of the men who must work with clothes soaked from perspiration from the heavy work, exposed to cold, is gradually undermined. Inhalation of the fine dust from planing and sandpapering machines irritates the nasal and throat passages and the lungs. Dust from hardwood is finer, harder, and more irritating than other wood dusts to the respiratory passages.¹⁵ The mortality rate from tuberculosis among woodworkers is high, being 6.6 out of every thousand.¹⁶

In the shingle mills, workers' fingers come in close contact with the saws. One rarely meets a shingle weaver who has not lost one or more fingers and some have lost hands and arms. "It's our trade mark," a shingle weaver cynically remarked. The photograph on page 96 was taken by the secretary of the International Shingle Weavers' Union who writes how these accidents occurred:

The hand to the right is a recent accident. The man still works at sawing. The hand in the center was also recently injured. This worker got \$700 for his fingers but he has lost the tools he needs for his job. He has had to quit sawing and has tried to do packing in the mills. The hand to the left is that of an old time shingle weaver whose fingers were cut off on one of those old double block machines still found in some of the mills. When he went to turn the block it did not clear and he could not let go before his hand got to the saw.

One out of 10 shingle weavers has an accident each year.

Cedar lumber used for shingles brings on cedar asthma. In Washington shingle mills where this species of timber is used in the manufacture of shingles, over 30 per cent of 279 workers examined in 1925 were suffering from the disease.¹⁷ The vapor arising from the green cedar timber and the fine dust of the dry timber are both causes of asthma

attacks. Installation of blower systems to remove the dust are found in only a small percentage of the mills.

Statistics of the toll of industrial accidents, deaths and occupational diseases in the lumber industry are not available. Accident reports of the federal government cover only a few plants in a few states. Many states do not gather accident statistics. Where employers are required to report, they conceal many injuries which occur. The lack of uniformity in accident records makes the available figures unsatisfactory. Inquiries addressed to the labor departments of important lumbering states for information regarding accidents among lumber workers brought replies revealing that in 1927, 11,530 accidents occurred in Washington; 6,194 in California; 3,153 in Wisconsin; and (excluding loggers) 2,339 in Michigan. In 1928, Minnesota reported 1,419 and Arkansas 2,924 accidents in the lumber industry. Oregon does not classify its accidents by industry groups but reports that out of 39,390 industrial accidents in 1928, 75 per cent to 80 per cent, or approximately 29,530, occurred in lumber. In these states alone there was a total of over 58,000 accidents in a single year.

Even in plants where some sort of safety work may be expected the accident rate is high. In 167 woodworking and lumber manufacturing plants belonging to the National Safety Council, one out of every seven lumber workers suffered an injury.¹⁸ In eleven small sawmills and logging plants, having the same number of workers as one large plant, the number of accidents was nearly twice as great, while the severity of the accidents was more than six times that of the large plant.¹⁹ But as fierce speed-up in the large plants minimizes the value of any safety appliances which may be used, accidents there continue to increase.

Medical care for injured lumber workers is inadequate in all the states. Logging operations are usually far from hospitals and seriously injured workers must be carried over

bumping logging trains for 20 to 50 miles before proper medical attention is rendered. First aid equipment, required in some states, in the camps takes care of only minor injuries. In four of the lumbering states, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi and Arkansas the absence of compensation laws leaves the workers and their families unprotected in the event of injury or death. Compensation for injuries in other lumbering states range from one-half to two-thirds of the wages received, an amount far too small to enable a sick worker to obtain the necessary care and utterly inadequate for the support of his family if he has one. Money cannot compensate workers for loss of limb but whatever compensation insurance is received, is insufficient to provide for a crippled worker's future. In Washington and Oregon employers and workers meet the cost of compensation insurance jointly. This means that the worker must pay for the insurance and medical care—by check-off from his wages—for injuries on the job caused by inherently dangerous conditions for which he cannot be held responsible.

Special safety codes calling for adequate safeguards and protection of lumber workers in the camps and sawmills are found in only a few states. The provision of safeguards is left to the whim of individual employers who, when they do use safety devices, "equip guards on the machine only as far as practicable without interfering with its efficiency," as a safety engineer expressed it. Machinery is well oiled, horses are carefully fed and housed as valuable property, but the workers are exposed to serious dangers and even death without the proper protection. Safety journals, trade papers and all periodicals of the employers, in an effort to escape responsibility, blame industrial accidents and deaths on the "human element." It is generally known that the employers have to be "sold" the safety idea as a "good investment." As a writer on safety says:

[Employers] prefer to buy financial protection against the consequences of accidents, rather than try to prevent the accidents. The average employer spends a definite amount . . . for workmen's-compensation insurance and then proceeds to "stop worrying about accidents" . . . He [the employer] would rather do this than hire a safety engineer and undertake a thoroughgoing accident-prevention campaign, because he then knows at the beginning of the year exactly what accidents will cost him; he simply incorporates this amount in the total cost of manufacture and thereby passes the cost of accidents on to the ultimate consumer in the price of his commodity or service.²⁰

The installation of safeguards is frequently more expensive than the payment of workmen's compensation which is carried by insurance. Employers energetically oppose the enactment of compensation laws and the improvement of the laws to provide increased payments. They put every obstacle in the way of workers to keep them from receiving their compensation insurance even when the law grants it.

CHAPTER VIII

METHODS OF COMPANY CONTROL

COMPANY unions were used in the offensive of the employers against successful union activity during and after the war. Strikes, increased labor turnover, and union agitation for improved working conditions curbed the control of employers over their workers and interfered with mounting war profits. The employers were bent on crushing militant activity and securing contented "loyal" workers. The organization by the government of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (the Four L), assisted them in attaining this objective.

Organization of the Four L

The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen purports to be a "voluntary association of employers and employees of the logging and lumbering industry in the Pacific Northwest, supported and controlled jointly by men and management." It claims to be "neither a trade union nor a company union, but an employee-representation organization operating upon the twin principles of conference and co-operation." But for the workers, membership in the Four L is not voluntary. When an employer joins, the workers in his plant are compelled to become members or forfeit their jobs. Whether they attend meetings or not their monthly dues are automatically checked off their wages. The Four L is, therefore, merely a company union covering many companies, instead of one.

The Four L came into existence as a patriotic organization designed to further the government's war program of

increased production of spruce. Colonel B. P. Disque, representative of the War Department's Spruce Production Division, had been sent to the Northwest in October, 1917, to rush the government's lumber orders. Soon after his arrival he took the suggestion of the employers of creating an organization to "stabilize labor turnover," to counteract unionism and to speed-up output. The report of the President's Mediation Commission reveals the fact that the government was eager for the formation of an organization such as the Loyal Legion, for its conclusions suggest some means of contact other than trade unions between the employers and workers, stating that "it would be too abrupt a step in the evolution of the industry to deal collectively with trade unions." ¹

The War Department had already sent troops to work in the woods and, according to estimates of the Timber Workers' Union, 45,000 soldiers had taken the jobs of strikers. These men in uniform formed the basis of the organization of the Four L; and army officers, serving as organizers, recruited members among workers in the woods and mills. Favorable propaganda for the Four L was widely spread and reformists hailed the organization as a significant venture in "industrial democracy," and a panacea for "labor unrest." But it was ushered in by intimidation and coercion and patriotic hysteria was stirred up to force workers to join. As a worker put it:

Droves of organizers were plentifully supplied with money. Clothed in the uniform of the army they were immune even from expressions of disrespect from the men they were forcing into line. . . . It was a brave man who refused.²

When the 8-hour day was conceded in the lumber industry by government order on March 1, 1918, and camp conditions were improved, the Four L claimed these gains although they were granted due to the militancy of the unions. After a few months of organization by coercion, the Four L reported

that it had 75,000 members including 800 lumber companies in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

A. F. of L. officials had, at first, compromised with the Four L. In July, 1918, President Covert of the Timber Workers Union reported: "Practically all our membership in the Northwest are loyal members of the Four L and joined it with good intentions and with the understanding that it would not interfere with any of their civil rights. . . ." An official of the union informed the writer that organization work in California was called off when A. F. of L. officials tacitly agreed not to invade what the Four L claimed as its territory.

The Four L was outspokenly anti-union. Army officers and soldiers gained admission to union meetings and attempted to create hostility among the membership against the unions or to break up the meetings. This provoked objection by the A. F. of L. Colonel Disque then issued an order expressing the sentiment of the Four L towards the workers' own unions:

Advise officers of Loyal Legion in the field that they have no authority to break up meetings which are not directly Loyal Legion meetings as such. Also advise them to notify members of Loyal Legion that this office does not approve of creating any other organization for the purpose of looking after the interests of the laboring man during the war and whenever members of the Loyal Legion decide to organize themselves into any other club or association with a view to protecting their interests as laboring men that this office will withdraw all association in connection with that local, it being impossible that two organizations can exist and accomplish the same results.⁸

Persecution was especially directed against the I.W.W. and the attack against them became more severe as the Four L grew. The "open shop" was endorsed by resolution and agitation was carried on against strikes with the Four L functioning as a strikebreaking agency. When a group of workers in Bend, Oregon, struck for an increase in wages,

members of the Four L appeared before the Oregon Conciliation Board to testify that the wage increase was unnecessary. When a strike was declared in the Bloedel Donovan mills for the reinstatement of union men, the Four L sent workers to fill the strikers' places and appealed to the company to join the Four L to do away with "labor troubles."

The Four L proved so valuable to the employers that after the Armistice they met and decided to continue the organization in peace time. Colonel Disque explained:

Our only object was war and we had no thought of a permanent organization for the management of the lumber industry . . . but the members would not have it die after the armistice.⁴

In anticipation of a slump in the industry following the war which would call for wage cuts and lengthened hours to keep profits up to wartime standards, the employers looked to the Four L to serve as a safety-valve against the seething discontent of the workers. Conventions of Four L employers and "workers' delegates" were called in Portland and Spokane to "vote" on continuance of the organization. The method by which the favorable vote was obtained was described by the president of the Timber Workers' Union:

There were many superintendents and bosses carrying credentials representing the workmen. On talking with delegates I learned that many camps and mills were not represented because they were opposed to continuation of the Loyal Legion and in many cases only 30 or 40% of the crews took part in the election of delegates. . . . A referendum vote which was to have been taken on continuance was not reported on. Workers complained that they had to state their positions openly before the employers while employers had held their own convention previously, had agreed on a plan and had adopted it for this convention. Two motions to allow the workers to retire and go into private assembly, excluding those who hire and fire, were tabled.⁵

In Spokane, workers in the convention who voted against continuance of the Four L were refused a vote as having

interests inimical to the organization. Another vote was taken without them.

Previously the organization's expenses were met entirely by the War Department. Dues payments were now imposed and joint conference committees for the "adjustment of grievances" established. The program of the Four L continued the wartime policy to destroy the trade unions. At a board of directors' meeting in September, 1919, the Four L went on record:

To extirpate the "reds" from the industry; to approve the open shop, to give preference in employment to Four L members; to favor drastic legislation for deportation of aliens and against admitting aliens as members.⁶

A special leaflet with the theme, "The Reds Must Go," was issued to stir up hatred against the I.W.W., following the Centralia attack. It read in part:

To-day the emphasis of the title of that organization of which you are a member shifts from your craft of logging and lumbering to your allegiance to your country.⁷

The Four L constitution stipulates that fines be imposed on workers who "strike or walk off the job."

In a previous chapter, the Four L's part in initiating wage cuts was discussed. Speed-up and increased efficiency is repeatedly urged upon the workers as a measure to prevent threatened wage cuts. The pretense of bringing the workers "closer to the problems of the company" tempers friction when wage cuts are made. Participation of employees in the "control over working conditions" is merely a smokescreen to assist exploitation, for the worker has no real influence. Labor papers of the Northwest print letters from workers showing the domination and control of the employers over the joint committees and the election of "straw" bosses to represent the workers. The power of the employers to fire the worker from the job, effectively kills free expression.

Even when the workers do express their opinion the employer's will is decisive. The elaborate machinery which is supposed to adjust controversial questions is never used. A recent bulletin boasts:

It is a gratifying fact that in 11 years of Four L experience no case has required submission to a Board of Arbitration and few cases on appeal have ever reached the Board of Directors.⁸

The organization makes the 8-hour day its chief issue in its publications to appeal for workers' support. Even advocacy of the 8-hour day is specious for printed regulations provide an 8-hour day of *production* and state:

To maintain 8 hours of production certain preparatory work must be done outside of and in addition to regular hours of productive labor.⁹

In many Four L mills the 9- and 10-hour day has superseded the 8-hour day, and the Four L has accepted this on the ground that the conditions of the industry demand it. To divert attention from the important question of hours and wages, activities such as "wood promotion" committees are encouraged among the workers, to advertise the use of lumber and wood products by exhibits and contests. The leisure of the workers is utilized in other ways for the employers' gain.

Four L "Welfare" Inducements

Early in its career the Four L established employment offices and gave preference to its members. The employment offices were fitted up as recreation rooms with "wholesome" literature. But more recently the Clearing House of the Western Operators' Association has taken over the black-listing activities of the employers and has so weakened the Four L employment service that the Seattle Four L employment office has ceased to function.

Reading rooms and club rooms are established by the locals.

Picnics, banquets, and socials are arranged to develop a "get-together spirit." Disability insurance is offered to members. Four L meetings are concerned with petty details of social affairs.

A journal and newspaper, published by the Four L, have the tone of the lumber trade journals dealing with the state of the market for lumber, methods of increasing plant efficiency, the protection of the employers' property against fire, the glorification of special feats of production by the workers and reports on the activities of the Four L locals. A recent issue of the *Four L Lumber News* tells how workers built streets in the company towns *on their own time!*¹⁰

Attitude of Workers Towards The Four L

The attitude of the lumber workers towards the Four L is one of indifference, suspicion, or open hostility. Few workers participate in Four L activities. The workers who are the most interested are the highly skilled or key men who seek advancement or have financial interest in the companies. Letters from workers express their attitudes:

Every worker must become a member of the local Four L lodge here. The Humbird Company (Idaho) furnished the club-shack. The business activity is almost nil. A few workers get together to discuss their own problems but are very meek about offering suggestions for improvements. The local is officered and dominated by the men who have better jobs with the company and the workers do not speak freely for fear of their jobs. The main function of the local seems to be in social affairs. It holds dances and socials and large crowds turn out for them.

A big company man was slated to represent the workers on the Four L council. The men were told they must vote for him or be fired. We wanted 20 cents a day increase and representatives of the men on the Four L council voted against it. The workers here ignore the Four L and recognize that it is not operating in their interest. Four L men carry on agitation to introduce the 9-hour day in all mills in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

We have a monthly check-off of 45 cents for the Four L but none of us ever hear of a meeting or any activity. It is just that much more out of our pockets and wages are low enough. This is the second Four L mill in which I have worked and each time I have to pay the initiation fee of one dollar and a half, but you have to join or you are fired. Once I asked whether I could decline to join and was told that they never hired a man who wouldn't join. The organization has never benefited me and most of the workers here distrust it.

Present Strength of The Four L

Membership in the Four L reached its maximum in 1918. It made little headway in the camps due to the strong influence of the real unions. By 1921, 115 operators, employing 10,000 workers, belonged to the organization according to Four L reports. No official figures are given on present membership but officers still claim a membership of 10,000 although it is certainly lower. The paid circulation of the paper which goes to all members was reported as 6,700 in 1929. The Four L is now primarily an organization of small and middle-sized operators and even among these it is of little consequence. The large-scale operators do not want outside agencies intervening in their relations with the workers. When the large-scale companies, however, have found it to their advantage, the Four L remains, as in the case of the Humbird Lumber Company, a Weyerhaeuser plant in Idaho, which retains the Four L, although other Weyerhaeuser companies do so no longer. In the small plants which have limited funds to provide adequate housing facilities, employers use the Four L as "welfare bait." On the other hand the large-scale operators can afford to furnish better housing facilities, their own "welfare" schemes and other methods of control over the workers.

Although the Four L is not now important in the lumber industry it has an apparatus of formidable proportions which is always at hand to fight the advancement of union organization in the industry.

Company Control at Longview

Subtle methods of influencing workers to make them contented and "loyal" are practiced especially in company-owned towns of the large operators by means of welfare schemes and other company activities. Longview, Washington, is an excellent example of company domination with the power of the Long Bell Company behind every social, economic and political institution. Mr. Long, president of the company, who lives in Kansas City, the company's headquarters, donated the Longview public library, the high school, the parks and playgrounds, the hospital, and part of the highway which connects the city with the main arterial, and contributed heavily toward building the church. The ferry lines, the bus system, the railroad and the power and light companies are owned by the Long Bell Company. It controls the daily paper, the department store, the First National Bank and the land company, the subsidiary industries and even the movies. Directors of the Long Bell Company are also directors and occupy key positions in the large majority of the industries of any proportion in the city. The company gets the profits not only from the workers' toil but also from their rent, their clothing, their food and even their amusement.

In return for the donations which Mr. Long has given, he expects a docile, regimented and thoroughly "loyal" set of workers. As the employment manager of the Long Bell plant stated:

We do not want to make radicals so that we often swallow our pride and take a lot from the men. Recently 5 men who were not Bolsheviks but who lost their head demanded a pay increase. If they had asked rather than demanded, the situation would have been different. The foreman paid them off. We later re-employed three of them but the two whom we thought started it, were not reemployed. We have no trouble here, even a few I. W. W.'s work for us but they make no trouble. There is no

chance for this in Longview. We do a lot for our employees. . . . Mr. Long has invested millions in good schools, playgrounds and hospital facilities. Of course the community participates in these projects but Long Bell money is behind them.

Annual community celebrations, called "rolleos," at which pæans of praise are sung for Mr. Long and the products of the Long Bell Company are widely advertised, are financed by the company.

The company makes it a fixed policy to hire married men and the children of residents of Longview. It ties them to the plant by forcing every worker to live in Longview and urges them to purchase a house and lot from the Longview Company. "We do not insist that they purchase but prefer that they do," is the way it was put. Workers know fairly well that their job depends on this. Houses are sold to employees on the basis of \$111 a month for each thousand dollars of investment inclusive of all expenses except city and county taxes. The company never loses on this transaction because it deducts the rent before the workers receive their pay checks. When workers cannot make payments due to unemployment or when they are fired the homes revert to the company. It was reluctantly admitted, in 1929, that 25 per cent of the homes had already reverted in this way.

Not only is pressure put on the workers to buy homes in Longview but they must patronize Longview stores. The wife of a worker in the Long Bell plants told the writer that she bought her provisions in a neighboring town because prices were lower. This had been reported to the company which promptly inserted a notice in the worker's pay envelope advising him to buy in Longview stores and shops. When the housewife continued her purchases out of the city, the company threatened the worker with the loss of his job. "It is the bus driver's job to report such matters to the company. The spying goes with the job," she explained.

Welfare schemes and economic pressure are not the only measures used by the company to secure obedient workers. "Wood Promotion Committees" are organized among the workers to urge changes in the taxation laws for the benefit of the timber growers, to spread the merits of wood for all purposes and to boost the industry and the city. The company wants the workers to become "wood conscious" rather than class conscious. Young Communist League members are arrested for distributing leaflets and warned to "keep out."

The Weyerhaeuser companies have their "welfare" schemes also. A system of compulsory medical examinations for its many workers is one of the effective methods used by the Weyerhaeuser Company in Everett, Washington, to select only the healthiest workers for employment and to discard those who have lost their health in the industry. The medical examination must be taken by the men from the company doctor within a month after they have been given a job. The company doctor admits that workers having serious ailments are not eligible to remain in the company's employ. Those having minor defects may remain only if these are corrected at the worker's own expense. The elimination of workers as poor compensation risks is the motive behind Weyerhaeuser's "benefit."

CHAPTER IX

STRIKES AND STRUGGLES FOR A UNION

THE lumber workers have made a persistent and heroic effort to build a union since the beginning of the century, not only in the far West but in the Lake States and in the South. Union organization in all these regions has been marked by some of the most bitter struggles in labor history and has been fought with bloodshed and murder. Neither the Industrial Workers of the World nor the American Federation of Labor have been successful in organizing unions able to cope with the powerful opposition and attacks of the employers, who have used all the traditional means of strike breaking—espionage, injunction, terrorism and frame-up. Temporarily defeated, the workers have always rallied anew to organize a union, the most recent effort to organize the lumber workers being made under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League.

Early Struggles of the Western Lumber Workers

Unions among the lumber workers date back to 1878 when the workers in the redwood region of California organized and took out a charter in the Knights of Labor. Several active locals flourished and maintained a paper called *The Western Watchman*. The union fought many successful battles to increase wages and lower the working day from twelve to ten hours and established a labor hospital at Eureka, California. After a militant career of 5 years it was broken up by the work of a detective agency which established a blacklist for the operators.

In 1890, the workers in the shingle industry, who have

always been aggressive in union organization, organized the West Coast Shingle Workers' Union with six local unions in Washington. With the panic of 1893 the union ceased to function. It was reorganized in 1901 and 1902, spurred on by the activities of the Western Federation of Miners. Several successful strikes for higher wages resulted in the organization of several federal unions affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. and loosely connected through a "Grand Council." In Everett, Washington, in 1903, a convention of the shingle weavers' federal unions was held and an international was organized. At the start 1,300 members were enrolled in the union. Membership increased as the agitation for better conditions continued. Local unions were organized in California, Michigan and Wisconsin, but in the East little could be done since the mills were closing down due to lack of timber. At its height the organization numbered 500 locals. The International published the *Shingle Weaver*, first as a monthly journal, and later as a weekly paper.

In Everett, in 1904, the employers broke an agreement with the union and declared a wage cut of 20 per cent. After a strike of five weeks, however, the previous rate was restored.

Ballard, which is now a part of the city of Seattle and still an important shingle center, was the chief battleground of the shingle weavers. The earliest strike there was fought in 1906. The union demanded increased wages and recognition and went on strike on April 1 when the employers, among them the Stimson Company, refused to negotiate. After the strike had been under way 3½ months the International called out all its members on the West Coast and tied up 60 per cent of the shingle production in the state. The employers secured an injunction against the union on which a hearing was never held. Two weeks after the sympathetic strike had been declared a special convention in Tacoma called it

off. Many of the mills refused to reemploy the strikers and the union was temporarily crushed.

The union recovered in 1911 through an organization drive in the Grays Harbor region. Several mills refused to employ union men and a strike was called in October, 1911, which lasted six months and was partly successful.

The employers were now organizing more strongly than ever before, and in 1911 they formed the Employers' Association of Washington, composed predominantly of lumbermen. In its declaration of principles, the association stated: "We are unalterably opposed to the principle of the closed shop. It is un-American, and illegal and unfair to the independent workman who does not desire to join a union, to the employer who prefers to operate, and to the public. Therefore, we shall defend the right of every workman to be free and to dispose of his time and skill advantageously and we shall maintain the right of every employer to conduct an open shop."¹

In April, 1913, the Shingle Weavers' Union struck in Ballard for an advance of 10 per cent in wages to conform to the union scale. About 300 men walked out. But the operators called in strike breakers and fought the strike viciously. The weapon of the frame-up to stir up sentiment against the union and intimidate the workers was used by the employers, as E. B. Ault, editor of the *Seattle Union Record*, testified before the Industrial Relations Commission:

Some firm furnished private guards to the employers and they were deputized by the county sheriff . . . in Ballard, in the shingle weavers' strike. There was more or less violence . . . due almost entirely to the use of these guards. They picked fights and got them when they picked them. And in Ballard particularly there were dynamite plants placed by one of these guards with the object of throwing odium on the union involved, but it was unsuccessful because of the prompt action taken by the union in exposing the entire affair.²

STRIKES AND STRUGGLES FOR A UNION 155

In July, the union called off the strike and the men went back to work.

In every convention of the International Shingle Weavers' Union the issue of affiliation with the I.W.W. came up, but the officials of the union were strenuously opposed. At the 1912 convention a resolution proposing affiliation was rejected, although there was tremendous sentiment for the Industrial Workers of the World among the rank and file. During this year John Mitchell, former head of the United Mine Workers, came to the West on a lecture tour and the union officials raised the question of extending their jurisdiction over the organization of other sections of the industry. Mitchell agreed to support this at the American Federation of Labor convention. There had been an International Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers, a craft organization with headquarters at Lothrop, Montana, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with a membership numbering about 1,250 when it was organized in 1905. By 1911 its membership had declined and it was later dropped from the A. F. of L. on the grounds that it had failed to pay per capita tax. The A. F. of L. convention of 1912 extended the jurisdiction of the Shingle Weavers' Union and in 1913 the International revised its charter to include loggers and sawmill workers and inaugurated a campaign of organization by putting special organizers into the field. The Washington State Federation of Labor also put special organizers to the task. The union changed its name to the International Union of Shingle Weavers, Sawmill Workers and Woodsmen, and the name of the Journal to the *Timber Worker*. A year later the name of the union was changed to the International Union of Timber Workers. The union in 1913 had more than 3,000 members.³ At this time William Z. Foster, at present secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, became an organizer of the union.

At the 1914 convention in Aberdeen, Washington, at-

tended by delegates from British Columbia, the Northeast and Middle West, as well as the West Coast, the International Union of Timber Workers by unanimous roll call voted to demand an 8-hour day in the mills and camps of the state on the first of May.⁴ At the same time the convention drew up other demands for: the same pay for the shorter day, a minimum wage of \$2.25; time and a half for overtime; and the installation of ventilating fans in shingle mills to clear the air of shingle dust. A strike was to be called if the demands were not granted but little preparation was made for it and no referendum vote was taken among the locals to make the strike vote valid. The officials argued that the employers would yield. But instead of granting the demands, the employers launched a bitter attack against the union, in some instances discharging men, locking them out and later operating on an open shop basis. In February, 1914, before any measures could be taken by the locals to demand a referendum on the strike, the executive board called a special convention in Seattle and, ignoring the previous decision, resolved to suspend all plans for a strike for the 8-hour day and to turn their attention to winning an 8-hour law for the state, which would come up as an initiative measure in the November elections. Commenting on this action the vice-president, E. P. Marsh, now a Federal labor conciliator, gives the typical position of the A. F. of L. officials:

That there will be a state-wide strike in the timber industry on May 1st is now a remote possibility owing to action taken by a special International Convention held last week. This does not mean that the 8-hour program is abandoned but a change of tactics. The timber workers were willing to cooperate with the manufacturers to place the industry on a fair competing basis. The union has no intention of calling a state-wide strike against the entire opposition of the manufacturers of the state when the shortened work-day may be obtained a few months later at the polls.⁵

The measure was defeated at the polls, where the forces of the employers were working to destroy it, and where thousands of migratory lumber workers were disfranchised.

Conscious of the betrayal by the official leadership of the A. F. of L., the workers lost confidence in the union and dropped out. The membership declined from 2,500 in 1914 to 700 in 1915. In 1915 the employers slashed wages and went on the open shop basis in the attempt to destroy the union. The official report before the Washington State Federation of Labor Convention shows the bitter struggle which prevailed and the employers' tactics for breaking the union:

In the spring of 1915 the shingle men declared open war upon the unions, putting into effect a reduction in the wage scale, and posting "open shop" notices. The shingle workers refused to compromise their wage scale and the battle was on in that city, quickly followed by wage reductions in every part of the state. Everett was the storm center of the fight. Bull pens were erected around the plants, armed thugs were imported as guards, the usual strike-breaking tactics employed. The men established a picket line and a commissary, which for some weeks staved off defeat. The tide turned against the men with the issuance of an injunction against the local union from the Superior court. . . . The injunction had the moral effect it was intended to have by the employers, it killed the picket line, making it an easy matter to bring strike breakers in at will. The Everett weavers lost and the result was a general lowering of the wage scale, and a disintegration of the union movement generally.⁶

In 1916 the jurisdiction of the shingle weavers over the loggers and sawmill workers was revoked by the A. F. of L. and the union returned to its previous craft basis of organization. By 1916 the membership had declined to 400 and in that year a convention to reorganize the shingle weavers' union, at which 17 locals from Washington, 1 from California, 2 from Wisconsin and 4 from Michigan affiliated, was held. The new union adopted the former name of International Shingle Weavers' Union of America and pub-

lished a paper called *The Shingle Weaver*, which was printed weekly as part of the *Seattle Union Record*. Again in 1916 several strikes occurred for increased wages, some of which were successful. The most bitterly fought strikes in Everett and Anacortes were lost. The strike in Everett created the setting and aroused the hysteria of the employers which culminated in the Everett massacre.

The record of A. F. of L. activities in the International Shingle Weavers was one of compromise at the most crucial time and the responsibility for the destruction of the industrial form of organization is attributed by the rank and file membership to the capitulation of the officials in 1914.

*Industrial Workers of the World in the
Lumber Industry*

"In 1902," writes James Rowan, "the Western Labor Union, an organization closely allied with the Western Federation of Miners, began to gain a foothold among the lumber workers of Western Montana. In 1905 this organization, which had changed its name to the American Labor Union, was one of the unions which went to make up the I. W. W. By that time it had a considerable membership among the lumber workers in Western Montana and the union charter hung in many bunkhouses."⁷

Between 1910 and 1913, some 13 strikes of lumber workers, one of which occurred in the South, were carried on under the leadership of the I. W. W.⁸

One of the most important of these early strikes occurred in 1907 in Portland, Oregon, when a group of sawmill workers struck against an 11-hour day and for an increase in wages. In a few days the strike had spread to 3 other plants and 300 workers had joined the I. W. W., Local No. 319. Soon 1,100 men were out with 1,400 already in the I. W. W. local. The I. W. W. formulated the demand for a 9-hour day and a minimum wage of \$2.50. By the end

of the first week all but one of the 12 mills in Portland were tied up. I. W. W. leaders estimated that from 2,000 to 3,000 workers were involved in the strike. The Western Federation of Miners sent \$20,000 for financial assistance and I. W. W. locals in Washington also sent funds for relief. The Portland Central Labor Council voted to endorse the strike but later withdrew its endorsement and denounced the I. W. W. Rowan reported that: "The strike lasted about three weeks and was broken by the scabbing of the A. F. of L. . . ." John Kenneth Turner, in a press article entitled the "Story of a New Labor Union," wrote:

Portland has just passed through her first strike conducted by the Industrial Workers of the World, a new and strange form of unionism which is taking root in every section of the United States, especially in the West. The suddenness of the strike and the completeness of the tie-up are things quite unprecedented in this part of the country. These conditions did not merely happen—they came as direct results of the peculiar form and philosophy of the movement that brought the strike into being. . . .

One peculiar feature about the great mill strike was that . . . there was absolutely no violence, no law-breaking and no crying of "scab." . . . Other strange features were the red ribbons, the daily speech-making and the labor, night and day shifts, of organizers who received not a red cent for their services.¹⁰

The depression of 1907 and 1908 affected the organization work of the I. W. W. but in 1909 the I. W. W. published the *Industrial Worker* as a weekly and by 1911, lumber workers' locals had been organized in the principal cities of the Northwest. In February, 1912, these locals formed the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers of the I. W. W. Membership in the I. W. W. locals from 1910 to 1913 was estimated by the I. W. W. as: in 1910, 1,200; in 1911, 800; in 1912, 1,227.¹¹

In March, 1912, workers in the sawmills of Grays Harbor struck for an 8-hour day and a minimum wage of \$2.50 and

joined the I. W. W. In a week 6 mills were forced to shut down. The strike spread to Raymond, where Finnish and Greek workers were driven out of town by the companies.

On the part of the workers this strike was peaceable, but the lumber companies employed their usual tactics of lawless violence. Many of the most active strikers were arrested on flimsy pretexts or on no pretexts at all and were held for many weeks in the filthy jails of Aberdeen, Hoquiam, and Raymond. Many others were brutally slugged and beaten by hired thugs and scab herders. Some were dragged from their beds at night, beaten, deported in automobiles, and warned not to return on pain of death.¹²

An "impartial" citizens' committee proposed that the strike be settled on the basis of a minimum wage of \$2.25; that preference be shown to American labor; that no I. W. W.'s be employed; and that a strict open shop be maintained. To guarantee this they suggested an "impartial" employment agency financed by the mills but administered by this citizens' committee. The workers rejected the offer. The strike lasted five weeks. Rowan reports that the loggers and sawmill workers gained an increase of 50 cents a day and that the loggers forced the companies to furnish springs and mattresses and to clean up the camps. In 1913 the membership of the lumber workers' locals fell to 650.

The National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers lasted only a year although several locals continued to function separately. With the formation of the Agricultural Workers' Organization of the I. W. W. in 1915, many of the lumber workers, who also worked in the harvest fields, joined it and the Spokane local of lumber workers affiliated. An energetic campaign in the woods of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Montana was started.

In many camps meetings were openly held, much literature was distributed by the delegates and organizers and branches of the A. W. O. (Agricultural Workers' Organization) were

formed in the principal lumber centers of Eastern Washington, Idaho and Western Montana. During that summer, fall and winter thousands of lumber workers lined up in the union. Great enthusiasm prevailed and the bunkhouses in the lumber camps nightly resounded with the songs of the I. W. W. Wages in the woods that fall were very low, ranging from \$9 to \$25 a month; but to such a degree were they increased in some places owing to I. W. W. agitation that before spring \$35 a month were the lowest wages paid and from that up to \$50.¹³

At the convention of the A. W. O. in the fall of 1916, 4,000 to 5,000 lumber workers were represented and it was voted that they must form an industrial union of their own.

The Everett Massacre

During the strike of 1916, the lumber companies of Everett, among the most bitter open-shop advocates, refused to grant the demands of the International Shingle Weavers' Union for increased wages to restore the 1914 scale. The strike had been on since May 1, and a determined effort was being made by all the locals to assist the shingle weavers to win. *The Shingle Weaver* of July 22, 1916, reported that "a good crowd is continually on the picket line, including women. . . . The women have beat the men two to one doing picket duty. They succeed in getting the men out as fast as the scab herders bring them in. . . ." At this time also, the I. W. W., which had headquarters in Everett, held street meetings to further the interests of the strike and to carry on organization work.

The Everett Commercial Club, over which an owner of one of the mills presided, decided after a so-called investigation, that the wages requested by the strikers were unjustified. At the instigation of the Commercial Club, volunteers were enrolled as deputy sheriffs and an attack was started on the speakers of the I. W. W., who were beaten, arrested and deported from the city. On October 30, 40 workers were taken from a boat coming in from Seattle, beaten,

loaded into automobiles and taken beyond the city limits to Beverly Park where they were compelled to run the gauntlet of deputies with gun butts, blackjacks and pickhandles. The *Seattle Union Record* reports that visitors to the scene of the beating, the following day, found the place damp with blood.

Undaunted by this intimidation, the I. W. W. decided to make a public protest for their right to use the streets by holding a street meeting on Sunday, November 5th. They distributed leaflets urging the workers to attend the demonstration. The steamer *Verona* was chartered out of Seattle, and 250 workers filled the boat bound for Everett, singing the songs of Joe Hill, who had been executed on a framed charge the year before. A spy of the Pinkerton agency sent the news of the time of the boat's departure ahead, and as the boat neared the dock Chief Deputy McRae and patriotic citizens, including the mayor, gathered on the wharf armed with guns and rifles. In the harbor a tugboat with armed volunteers was ready to go into action. When the boat was tied, Sheriff McRae rushed forth and ordered the passengers not to land. Whereupon the men on the dock fired into the crowd on deck and shots from the tugboat in the harbor poured into the ship. A shot from behind killed young Abraham Rabinowitz. Hugo Gerlot, a lad of 18, was singing with the crowd the English Transport Workers' song: "Hold the fort, for we are coming, Union men be strong . . .", when he was killed by a bullet. A few of the workers, who were armed for possible attack, fired back. As the workers crowded to the side away from the dock the boat listed. Men fell from the deck to the water and drowned. Over 12 were lost this way and their names are unknown. Three other workers, Johnson, Looney and Baran, were killed by bullet shots and 50 were injured in the 10-minute battle. Two sheriffs were also killed on the dock. When the authorities tried to place the responsibility for

these deaths they found that bullets from the rifles of the "vigilantes" had riddled the sheriffs.

The boat turned back to Seattle where it was met by the police who arrested 74 workers and charged them with murder of the deputies. No one was ever arrested for the death of the 17 workers. Sheriff McRae was rewarded by a lifetime job as guard at the state capitol in Olympia. Eleven of the leaders were picked for trial. A change of venue to Seattle was secured and only one, Thomas H. Tracy, was tried. A tremendous national defense campaign and effective publicity in the labor papers, combined to swing the sentiment of the masses to the workers. The perjured testimony of the lumber owners and their hired gunmen was exposed and after 2 months' trial Tracy was acquitted while the other workers were released. November 5th, Bloody Sunday, was the prelude for the struggles of the lumber workers to be fought in Washington and Idaho in 1917 and in Centralia in 1919.

After the Everett Massacre, the opportunist officials of the International Shingle Weavers' Union called off their strike "to take steps to establish industrial peace," having the "best interests of the city at heart."¹⁴

The 1917 Strike for the Eight-Hour Day

The Everett Massacre did not stop the onward march of the lumber workers' unions. In spite of all opposition the work of organization went on, and in the spring of 1917 hundreds of workers joined the I. W. W. "Criminal syndicalism" laws were passed in Idaho, Minnesota and Montana but the workers were not intimidated. A new International Union of Timber Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L., was organized at a convention of sawmill and logging camp workers in Washington in January, 1917. But this time it was independent of the shingle weavers. The war had increased the demand for lumber; prices were

rising. The cost of living was increasing, while wages remained the same. Labor was in great demand due to the requirements of the war, and the unions recognized the time was ripe for a fight for the 8-hour day and improved working conditions. At the annual convention of the International Shingle Weavers in May, 1917, it was voted to inform all shingle mills of the union's demand for an 8-hour day. An immediate strike was planned but postponed at the intervention of E. P. Marsh, a vice-president of the union, and a member of the State Council of Defense, a government war committee. Again in June, 1920, Marsh was able to swing the union, meeting in convention, to postpone the date of the strike to July 16, 1917, "so that the Council may have the opportunity to get the facts and place responsibility where it belongs." The Timber Workers' Union, also meeting in convention on July 6, voted to strike on the 16th if its demands for union recognition, better sanitary conditions in camps and mills, a minimum wage, 8 hours a day in the mills and 9 hours in the camps were not granted. The union also demanded that the employers stop censoring the mail received by the workers in camp. The Shingle Weavers and Timber Workers united in efforts to pull out "100,000 men on strike and to organize the sawmill workers and loggers."

The lumber workers affiliated with the I. W. W. had also been active. They had called strikes in Minnesota and Virginia in January, 1917, for increased pay, a 9-hour day and better sanitary conditions in the camps. They held a convention in Spokane in March, 1917, to organize an industrial union in the industry. Thirteen delegates representing the branches of the Agricultural Workers' Organization in eastern Washington, Idaho and Montana, 2 delegates from Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan and 2 from Seattle and Tacoma founded the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 with a membership estimated at from 6,000 to

10,000. Branches from western Washington and Oregon later joined the union, and efforts were made to organize in California and Louisiana. Arrangements were made to call a strike in the Spokane district in the summer of 1917, to demand an 8-hour day, a minimum wage of \$60 a month and board, pay twice a month in cash or with checks redeemable without discount, springs, mattresses and bedding to be furnished by the company, shower baths and drying rooms and an all around improvement of conditions in the camps, abolition of hospital fee, and men to be hired from the Union hall. The strike of the river drivers was to be called as soon as the season started. Rowan tells of these strikes where typical terroristic tactics were used by the employers:

About the middle of April the drives started, and one by one they were tied up by strikes. Some of these strikes were successful, all demands being won. Others were long drawn out and bitterly contested, the companies trying to get the work done by scabs, and the strikers maintaining pickets on the rivers as long as the drives lasted. . . . Gunmen patrolled the rivers. Stool pigeons attempted their work of disruption from within the ranks. Strikers were arrested and jailed. Lying stories of riot and anarchy by the strikers were spread by the press. In some places troops were brought in for the purpose of intimidation. But in spite of all opposition the strikers remained firm; and in nearly all cases in which the demands were not granted the greater part of the logs remained up river when the water went down.¹⁶

On June 1, 1917, the committee of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 decided to call a strike on July 1. It was estimated that by that time 85 per cent of the lumberjacks had been organized and a small percentage of sawmill workers. In June a strike against poor food at the Humbird Lumber Company at Sandpoint, Idaho, started a series of strikes in that region and it was decided not to wait until July 1 but to call the strike at once. On June 20 when

the strike call went out, thousands of loggers responded, completely paralyzing the lumber industry in Eastern Washington, Idaho and Montana. "Strike camps were formed and the entire zone was covered by a network of picket lines." At Bonner, Montana, and Elk River, Idaho, the sawmill workers also walked out but even where the sawmill workers did not strike, the mills were forced to shut down due to lack of logs caused by the loggers' strike. Despite attempts to intimidate and terrorize the workers by gunmen and spies, the picket lines held firm and a generous response came from the workers on the outside to the call for funds. Hundreds of workers were arrested, halls were closed and strikers run out of the towns. Scores were held in prison on flimsy charges and released after months of starvation and maltreatment. A logger was burned to death in a prison in Troy, Montana.

July 16 came and the Timber Workers and Shingle Weavers in Washington walked out. In western Washington a convention of delegates from locals of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union called a strike with the 8-hour day as the paramount issue. The industry was at a standstill. Only those mills which agreed to operate on the 8-hour day basis were running. The first strike bulletin of the Timber Workers' and Shingle Weavers' unions estimated that 20,000 workers were out on strike and that 98 per cent of the 10-hour mills were closed down. These unions conducted the strike in the mills while the loggers struck under the leadership of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. Smaller mills indicating their willingness to yield to the union were coerced by the large mills who refused to sell them logs. The employers stiffened their organization, raised a fund of half a million dollars to break the strike, fined the members of their association \$500 a day if they operated less than 10 hours and refused to deal with any union or to accede to its demands. When Washington mills

attempted to get logs from Oregon where the unions were weak the Oregon workers walked out. The lumber operators attempted to stop the spread of the strike in Oregon by terrorism. I. W. W. halls and property were destroyed; organizers were arrested or run out of town. Rowan writes:

At Klamath Falls, Oregon, there was a reign of terror similar to that of Everett, the previous summer. A mob ruled the town. The committee of vigilantes arrested all suspected union men at work in neighboring camps and jailed them on charges of vagrancy. Forty members of the I. W. W. were held in jail in constant danger of lynching by the mob. . . .¹⁶

On August 19, military authorities closed the I. W. W. headquarters in Spokane, arrested all members and officers who were in the hall and seized all the property of the union. Throughout the Northwest there was a wave of hysterical mob violence against the I. W. W. but the workers continued their struggle.

In one mill, Japanese workers walked out in a body and declared they would strike "to the finish." When, later, they applied for admission to the A. F. of L. as a Japanese local their request was refused in line with the traditional A. F. of L. policy of discriminating against Orientals, Negroes and other colored races. Chinese, Japanese and Hindu workers in British Columbia also joined the strike. On August 4, 600 sympathetic shipyard workers walked out in Grays Harbor and Olympia, Washington. The A. F. of L. unions claimed that 15,000 workers signed up as members of their lumber unions during the first three weeks of the strike.

The officials of the Shingle Weavers and Timber Workers frequently announced that they were keeping to a policy of "negotiation and conciliation." They made separate agreements with mills. On the other hand the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union refused to negotiate with single camps demanding that all the camps accept their terms. On August 13 a conference between the A. F. of L. unions and the

operators was arranged by the State Council of Defense. The union officials agreed to waive all other demands including union recognition if the 8-hour day were granted. They offered to work "10 hours without additional overtime pay on all government contracts." But the employers refused the terms. To assure the government of its patriotism the Seattle Central Labor Council wired the War Department "to commandeer and operate plants sufficient to provide all the lumber needed."

Early in September 5,000 shipyard carpenters, joiners and shipwrights downed tools refusing to handle lumber produced on a 10-hour schedule. Troops had already been sent by the Federal government to aid the mills to produce lumber for war purposes with strike breakers. In October the Secretary of Labor in conference with union officials "promised" the 8-hour day. Whereupon the A. F. of L. unions called a convention at the end of October and declared the strike in the hands of the local unions to be settled according to the local situation. It was estimated by this convention that 160 mills had granted the 8-hour day.

Previously, in September, the I. W. W. had taken a referendum and decided to transfer the strike to the job or, "that the strikers should go back, and work no more than 8 hours a day or if at times they found it necessary to stay on the job 10 hours they should work slow so that no more than 8 hours' work should be done in 10 hours. Poor work for poor pay, poor food and poor conditions." Tactics of blowing the whistle and leaving the job at the end of 8 hours were effective, for when the crew was fired a new crew was certain to practice the same measures. Frequently the men would walk off the job in a body and find work elsewhere, leaving the companies completely disorganized.

At this time the Federal government fearing interference in its war program of lumber production sent Colonel Disque, a former warden of a penitentiary, to take charge of increas-

ing output of spruce by prevention of strikes and militancy among the lumber workers. It is significant that at this time Samuel Gompers wired Jay G. Brown, president of the International Shingle Weavers' Union, advising him to cooperate fully with Colonel Disque who later established the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, which, as has been shown, eventually became a menace to union organization in the camps and mills. Although the 8-hour day was not declared universal for the industry in the Northwest until March, 1918, when it was so declared by government order, it was a concession won as a direct result of the bitterly fought strikes of both unions.

Self-Defense in Centralia

The heroic struggle of the lumber workers of the I. W. W. to build a union and to win the 8-hour day set in motion a determined and brutal counter-offensive by the employers to destroy the union. The hostility of the employers was so great that no I. W. W. union hall was safe from attack or its leaders from persecution. Patriotic hysteria was created to incite attack. The union hall in Centralia, Washington, a town in which the lumber workers congregated when away from the camps, was destroyed in the spring of 1918 by a crowd of citizens led by F. B. Hubbard, president of the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, who had suffered a financial setback by the strike of 1917. They wrecked the hall, auctioned some of the furniture and made a bonfire of the remainder. The men in the hall did not defend themselves and were brutally beaten and driven out of town. The union continued to grow and in about a year new headquarters were opened in Centralia.

In June, 1919, the employers organized a "Citizens Protective League," which met later to discuss how to "deal with the I. W. W. problem." A committee was appointed including among its members F. B. Hubbard, Warren O.

Grimm and Arthur McElfresh of the American Legion. The committee met secretly and planned a raid on the I. W. W. hall for Armistice Day, 1919. When the I. W. W. learned of the plot they issued a leaflet appealing to the people of Centralia to prevent the attack.

On Armistice Day, the American Legion marched through the streets of Centralia, the line of march being past the union hall. When the Centralia division came to the hall on the return march a signal was given to attack. The Legionnaires broke ranks and crashed through the doors and windows. This time the workers defended themselves against their assailants, the first time in all the attacks on their halls. During the fight which followed, 4 of the Legionnaires were killed, among them Grimm and McElfresh. All the men in the hall were arrested and Wesley Everest, an ex-soldier who ran from the hall pursued by the mob, in self-defense shot Dale Hubbard, nephew of F. B. Hubbard. He was then overtaken by the mob, brutally beaten and thrown in jail in a dying condition with the others who had been arrested. At night he was stolen from the jail by a mob and hung from a bridge after his body had been mutilated. No one was ever tried for this lynching. In the hysteria which followed, hundreds of men and women suspected of being I. W. W. were rounded up and thrown in jail. At the trial, a special prosecuting attorney was employed by the lumber operators to try the 11 men.

Soldiers and Legionnaires in the employ of the lumber companies sat in the courtroom in their uniforms creating a setting to intimidate the jurors. The militia was called out and camped in the courtyard. Despite the hysteria, threats and intimidation, the workers were not convicted of "conspiracy to murder," which was the charge on which the lumbermen hoped to send them to the gallows. The jury rendered a second degree verdict with a plea for leniency to which the judge replied by sentencing seven men to from

25 to 40 years, the heaviest sentence the law allowed, and giving one, Roberts, what seemed to be a life term for "insanity." Three were acquitted. Six of these men are still in the penitentiary at Walla Walla, Washington, for their activity in organizing a union for the lumber workers: Eugene Barnett, Ray Becker, Bert Bland and O. C. Bland, John Lamb, and Britt Smith have served 11 years of the sentence. James McInerney died in prison, August, 1930, of tuberculosis contracted there. Loren Roberts, who had been declared sane by a jury in April, 1930, was released in August. Seven jurymen have repudiated their verdict and every shred of evidence against the men has been exposed, but the six are held in prison, by the open shop lumber operators in spite of continued agitation for their release.

Struggles in the South

"Extending the organization of the lumber workers in the southern lumber districts involves a contest with the employing class in a section of the country where the employers have held undisputed sway since the American continent was first settled," wrote Vincent St. John in regard to the drive of the I. W. W. to organize the southern lumber industry.¹⁷ A great spontaneous strike broke out in western Louisiana in 1907 when the operators attempted to slash wages but the workers returned when promised that the old wage would be restored when "prosperity" returned. This promise was not kept and when a union called the Brotherhood of Timber Workers was organized in 1910, Negro and white workers joined by thousands. In July, 1911, the operators, to break the union, declared a lock-out in all the largest mills in western Louisiana and eastern Texas. The lock-out lasted more than 7 months and over 5,000 of the active union workers were blacklisted. The Brotherhood affiliated with the I. W. W. in April, 1912, and organizers, among them Bill Haywood, were sent to conduct the strike.

In his autobiography, Haywood writes of his trip to the South to help the lumber workers in their fight:

I visited several of the southern lumber camps. At one of them, Graybow, offices, warehouses and post office were enclosed in a high lumber fence. The company store which provided all the supplies of the workers did business on the scrip basis; that is, the company issued its own money, made of paper and brass, called "batwings" and "cherryballs," which was not good anywhere else.

In spite of all the surveillance at Graybow, a strike was declared against the Long Bell Lumber Company, which rapidly spread to other mills and lumber camps. At Graybow some of the guards and company men were killed, as well as some of the strikers.¹⁸

He describes his effort to bring white and Negro workers together:

The Timber Workers' Union was having a convention at Alexandria, Louisiana.

I knew that the lumberjacks and mill workers of that part of the country were both black and white, and when I went to the convention hall in Alexandria, I was very much surprised to find no Negroes in the session. When I inquired as to the reason, I was told that it was against the law in Louisiana for white and black men to meet together. The black men were meeting in some other hall.

I said, "You work in the same mills together. Sometimes a black man and a white man chop down the same tree together. You are meeting in convention now to discuss the conditions under which you labor. This can't be done intelligently by passing resolutions here and then sending them out to another room for the black men to act upon. Why not be sensible about this and call the Negroes into this convention? If it is against the law, this is one time when the law should be broken."

The Negroes were called into the session without a murmur of opposition from any one. The mixed convention carried on its work in an orderly way, and when it came to the election of delegates to the next I. W. W. convention, black men as well as white were elected.

There was to be a mass meeting at the Opera House in

Alexandria, at which I was to speak. I said that in this meeting as in the convention, we would have to make it known that the Negroes would come on the same terms as the white men, take part and sit where they pleased. There was to be no segregation of the Negroes in the top gallery, as the law provided. This was the first time that such a meeting had ever been suggested in Alexandria. The members did not know what might happen, but they were determined that the meeting should be held as we had planned. The Opera House was crowded from pit to roof. While many Negroes went up to the gallery, probably from habit, many others sat downstairs among the white workers. There was no interference by the management or the police, and the meeting had a tremendous effect on the workers, who discovered that they could mingle in meetings as they mingled at work.¹⁹

On July 7, 1912, at a union meeting held on the public road at Graybow, workers were attacked by guards of the Galloway Lumber Company during which three men were killed and forty wounded. A. L. Emerson, president of the southern district organization of the I. W. W., was arrested together with sixty-four members including Negro strikers, and an attempt was made by the mill owners to railroad them to the gallows. Emerson and nine workers were later acquitted while the others were released. When the sawmill owners discharged workers who had testified in defense of Emerson, the local of lumber and mill workers declared a strike to force the companies to reinstate them. Company gunmen drove out the strikers and their families and destroyed the union. Organizers were assaulted, killed, or shipped out of town. According to the *International Socialist Review*:

Three hundred gunmen seized fellow-workers Charles Cline and Charles Deeny and gave them a terrible beating and drove them out of town; tore down the tent in which the soup kitchen [for strikers] had been, pulling it down on the heads of the women, and shipped it with a part of the contents of the Union Hall to De Ridder, Louisiana. . . . Men drifting into town who

had never heard of the union were seized and thrown into jail, brought into court and given the option of going to work for the American Lumber Company or being run out of town. . . .²⁰

The Brotherhood still fought on and led a strike at Merryville, Louisiana, in 1912, which tied up the mills for five months, and one at Sweet Home Front, Louisiana, in 1913, when the loggers walked out against the Iron Mountain Lumber Company. A campaign of violence on the part of the operators and the deportation of the most active members finally succeeded in crushing the union.

The early struggles anticipated the fierce combat which was to take place in Bogalusa.

The Bogalusa Attack

In 1919 union organization among loggers and sawmill workers spread through the South and the International Timber Workers' Union of the A. F. of L. established locals in many of the lumber towns. While the Timber Workers' Union was supposed to have jurisdiction over all sawmill workers and loggers, jurisdictional demands of the carpenters and other crafts reduced the Timber Workers' Union to a mere craft body with only the laborers and the men in the woods in the organization. Throughout the South employers' intimidation of workers, responsive to the appeal of the union, increased and Negro workers were especially persecuted.

Following wage cuts in 1919, approximately 1,000 workers, including many Negro workers, of the Great Southern Lumber Company enrolled in unions. The company which had always terrorized the workers by gunmen, hired an additional force and erected a barbed wire fence around the mill and lumber yard. Armed guards let the workers in and out of the gates. Negro preachers were ordered to denounce the union or leave town. The Great Southern Lumber Company then attempted to use the old weapon of

race prejudice to break the union. It called in Congressman Saunders who, as the company spokesman, attempted to give the impression that the company favored unions for whites but not for Negroes, and tried to sow dissension between the Negro and white workers. "The unions would be the first step towards social equality for the Negroes," he declared. On June 5 the union officials were willing to accept compromise and, following the advice and the policies of the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L., called a meeting of Bogalusa business men and merchants and proposed the following telegram to Saunders which was endorsed and signed by a representative of the Chamber of Commerce:

Union offers not to organize Negroes if Great Southern Lumber Company agrees not to use Negroes as strike breakers. We wish to avoid Negroes having to be organized. Will you use your influence to have company recognize white union and agree not to use Negroes as strike breakers?

This telegram was ignored, as was a similar communication to Congressman Saunders on an earlier date.

The action of excluding Negroes was a capitulation to race prejudice on the part of backward white workers, influenced by race-baiting leaders of the A. F. of L.

When the company disregarded the union's offer the latter became more aggressive and urged the 2,000 Negroes employed by the company to join. The Negro sawmill workers, eager to become union men, joined as a body. Under the leadership of Sol Dacus, a Negro organizer, the Negro loggers also responded. A report in the *Timber Worker*, official organ of the International, of July 5, 1919, tells how the Negroes were organized:

A hundred men armed with shotguns guarded the Negro quarters while the Negro workers attended a meeting of the timber workers and organized a local. The posse marched in columns of two with some 12 or 15 discharged soldiers in full uniform. After marching through the streets of the Negro

quarters and informing the colored workers that they meant to protect them from the abuses of the thugs and hirelings of the Great Southern Lumber Company, the posse was divided into small squads and escorted the Negroes from their homes to the meeting place, where 412 Negroes enrolled into their respective A. F. of L. organizations.

Later about 200 Negroes were driven out of town or beaten to death by thugs of the Great Southern Lumber Company to intimidate them and prevent them from joining.

The Great Southern was militarizing its factories from within by discharging popular foremen and superintendents and replacing them with army officers, as from the outside they were militarized by the barbed wire entanglements. Unionists, including Lum Williams, president of the Central Labor Union of Bogalusa, and leader of the Timber Workers' Union, who had been with the company twelve years, were being discriminated against and fired.

The union threatened to strike unless conditions improved. The manager of the company, Colonel Sullivan, seeking to delay the strike, spoke before a union mass meeting making promises to reinstate the workers, and to better the situation. Again the union took a conciliatory attitude. After the company had filled its orders, it locked out the men. Union sawmill workers and loggers who attempted to find work elsewhere found that they were blacklisted by the Southern Pine Operators' Association. Negro and white workers were evicted from company houses, the whites being given 10 days' notice to leave while the Negroes were given but a single day. Vice-President O'Brien of the central labor body was run out of Bogalusa, having expressed sympathy with the imprisoned Centralia loggers whose union hall had been raided a few days before.

The life of Sol Dacus, the Negro organizer, was repeatedly threatened, but he persisted in his work. One day in his absence his house was riddled with bullets by members of

the "Loyalty League," headed by a group of gunmen paid by the Great Southern, who also smashed his furniture and hurled it out of the windows. Dacus avoided the mob and hid in a swamp for a few days. Upon his return on November 22, he went to the union office to ask Lum Williams for protection and was given an escort of two strong white workers who were armed. Hardly had he left the office when a mill whistle blew calling the gunmen together. They marched to the headquarters of the union and shot down Lum Williams, who had previously refused a company bribe, and two other mill workers in cold blood. They injured two others, one of whom died later in the company hospital under the care of a doctor who had participated in the attack. No one was ever prosecuted for the murder. Nine years later Williams' widow obtained \$4,500 as damages from the company. The company terrorism and the failure of the American Federation of Labor to send assistance to the workers at the critical time led to the collapse of the union. The A. F. of L. hushed up the murder and gave it no publicity.

In 1920, a strike of Negro lumber workers against the Lutch Moore mills in Texas was crushed when the company held out against the union and the workers, lacking any relief from the outside, were starved into submission.

In an effort to crush the union in other parts of the South, the lumber companies beat up union organizers. Charles H. Franck, general organizer of the International Timber Workers in Mississippi, Alabama and Florida, was driven out of Sumrall, Mississippi, and John E. Winstanley, a special organizer for the American Federation of Labor, who was sent to lead a strike of 1,000 sawmill workers in Florida was taken off a train, attacked and permanently injured by men hired by the St. Andrew Lumber Company.

Organization efforts in the South among the lumber workers were discontinued and the unions ceased to function

when the International declined in membership and activity. The A. F. of L. deserted the workers, leaving them to meet the brutal opposition of the lumber companies without a union.

Decline of the Timber Workers' Union

Following a joint convention of the International Shingle Weavers and the International Timber Workers Unions the two unions united in March, 1918, under the earlier name of the International Union of Timber Workers. Membership in the Shingle Weavers Union had declined to 206 and that of the Timber Workers to 2,324. But great progress in organization was made in 1919. Some 171 locals, with an estimated membership of 8,241, were organized not only in Washington, Idaho and Oregon, but in Minnesota, Tennessee, Alabama, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. The majority of the union members were in the Lake States.

At the A. F. of L. convention of 1920 the union was granted votes on the basis of a membership of over 10,000.

In spite of the compromise of the A. F. of L. leaders several valiant struggles were carried on by the union. In July, 1919, a strike was called in Bellingham when the Bloedel Donovan Company discharged the shop stewards of the union in one of its plants. A walk-out of workers of all the plants of the company occurred, the men demanding reinstatement of the unionists. The company refused to reemploy the leaders of the strike and set up a shop committee, a company union plan, to counteract the influence of the union.

The union also called a strike for the 8-hour day in the Lake States in 1920, where there were 74 locals and a membership of 5,000 workers. It also called a strike at Klamath Falls, Oregon, against a return to a 9- and 10-hour day.

The depression of 1921 with its resultant unemployment

led to a decline in membership. By 1923 the union ranks were so far depleted that the union ceased to function. A weak, conservative leadership, bent on compromise and conciliation, was unable to withstand the espionage, blacklist and company union—all weapons of the employers to defeat and crush the union.

I. W. W. Dwindles

Continued persecutions under anti-syndicalism laws after the Centralia attack turned the attention of the I. W. W. to defense work. As a result they concentrated on these activities to the exclusion of organization work. But at the 1921 convention, the I. W. W. claimed 15,000 in the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. A strike call was issued to the lumber workers of the Northwest on May 1, 1923, to demand the freedom of the Centralia prisoners and for improvements in camp conditions. Some camps already had struck in April. More than 10,000 workers left their jobs in Washington and Oregon and in some sections the tie-up was complete. The Four L tried to prevent the workers in the camps and mills under its control from joining the strike; nevertheless many Four L camps struck. On May 7, the strike was called off and transferred to the job. Vacillating policies and chaotic organization had brought about the failure of the strike and eventually led to the disintegration of the I. W. W.

Since 1923, membership in the I. W. W. has steadily declined and no active organization work among lumber workers has been carried on. Numerous splits within the organization and the "folded arms" policy adopted in recent years of "forming the new society in the shell of the old" without militant struggle, further decimated the ranks of the I. W. W. The persistent attack of its leaders against the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union also drove away the militant elements. Now the Lumber Workers' Industrial

Union is virtually non-existent. Only the fighting traditions of the past remain.

Union Policies

Some of the dominant policies of the lumber workers' unions which determined their organizational and strike activities should be considered, although a thorough discussion of these policies is impossible within the limits of this study. The International Timber Workers' Union, forced to recognize that the nature of the industry demanded this type of organization, attempted to organize along industrial lines, exceptional among A. F. of L. unions. But, in view of its craft origin and its affiliation with the A. F. of L. which is built on a craft basis, jurisdictional difficulties arose both in the South and West, weakening the organization. This became one of the factors leading to its final collapse.

The collaboration policies of the A. F. of L. lumber union officials in industrial struggles are best summarized in a statement issued by the International Timber Workers' Union and published in its official organ:

. . . It [the union] is committed to a policy of trade agreement, arbitration, negotiation, and conciliation. While refusing to surrender its right to strike, if there be need for a strike, it takes the position and has made it a part of its policy to employ the strike weapon as an agency to secure equitable conditions of employment, only after all other reasonable and honorable methods have failed. . . .²¹

This statement also expressed loyalty to the government, the desire for an 8-hour day "to stabilize the lumber industry," and gave assurance that the union was "not given to hysteria or wild and fanciful action." In a later issue it continued: "We have acted in a manner to give us the confidence of every one. We have shown that our policy is one of construction, not destruction, that we progress through

evolution, not through revolution. We have marched down the middle of the road. . . ." ²²

On the other hand the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union attempted to organize on a broad industrial basis, emphasized the importance of winning the unskilled workers and directed the struggles of the workers in the spirit of the I. W. W. preamble, "that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Their organization work, however, was concentrated in the camps and insufficient attention was given to the mill workers.

Vincent St. John explained I. W. W. tactics in struggles:

Where strikes are used, it aims to paralyze all branches of the industry involved, when the employers can least afford a cessation of work—during the busy season and when there are rush orders to be filled.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of our organization. Therefore we seek no agreements with the employers.

Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and a more favorable time awaited to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.²³

An issue of the *Industrial Worker* in 1923 sets forth the position of the union towards the strike and the secondary importance of immediate issues:

The Industrial Workers of the World always has one fundamental aim in view when going on strike. Other aims and purposes may be at times—in fact generally are—the most widely advertised and better known. Decent camp conditions, shorter work days, larger wages, the release of class-war prisoners and other things may be put to the front as the main cause of the strike.

But back of them all and vastly overshadowing them all in importance is the one fundamental thing for which we strike: Raising the standard of consciousness and aggressiveness of the working class.²⁴

Believing that prolonged strikes were seldom successful and tended to exhaust and discourage the strikers, they advocated a return to work when the strike threatened to be of long duration, continuing "the strike on the job," and arguing that: "to stay away from the job too long would result in 'scabs' replacing the workers . . . with a consequent defeat of the strike and breaking up of the union." In contrast to the A. F. of L. policy, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union was opposed to trade agreements believing that employers only respect agreements when the workers are strongly organized and then agreements are not necessary.

But when strikes were called off or transferred to the job, the leaders of the I. W. W. withdrew to other fields and virtually deserted the newly formed union. Organization efforts were left to local workers who were inexperienced in holding the union together. The chaotic organization and the desertion of the leaders resulted in disillusionment and discouraged the workers. The I. W. W. union was a loose organization, with little machinery for carrying on the work, no clear program for building on a permanent basis, as a result of which locals would disintegrate shortly after a strike.

International Shingle Weavers' Union

The International Shingle Weavers' Union was organized in 1927 following a successful strike of shingle weavers in the Grays Harbor region against a wage cut. The Communist Party assisted the workers to organize and the International Labor Defense sent strike relief. Opposition to the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World in the ranks of the union led it to decide to remain independent of either body. It has remained a craft organization admitting only the relatively skilled sawyers and packers in the shingle mills. The union now has about 400 members with locals in Raymond, Centralia,

Everett, Kalama, and Grays Harbor. Its strength is greatest in the Grays Harbor region while other important shingle centers in Washington, such as Anacortes, Longview and Ballard are unorganized. Several small strikes against wage cuts and for union recognition have been led by the union, some of which have been successful.

In July, 1930, a strike involving several hundred shingle weavers broke out in Moclips, Washington, where the workers who were receiving an average of \$3.40 a day defied a 20 per cent wage cut. The shingle weavers followed the leadership and guidance of the Trade Union Unity League. Strike relief was provided by the Workers' International Relief. In the effort to break the strike, the employers resorted to tear gas bombs, and to brutality against the strikers by special hired police who made frequent arrests. The International Labor Defense provided bail and legal defense for the strikers. The American Federation of Labor ignored the strike and the I. W. W. attempted to disrupt it from within by creating hostility among the workers against the Trade Union Unity League.

As at present constituted, the union is unable to carry on successfully the impending struggles with the shingle mill operators, or to organize the unorganized shingle weavers. This is chiefly due to its isolation, its craft organization and its decentralized structure.

CHAPTER X

TOWARDS A NEW UNION

THE lumber companies, producing regardless of demand and confronted with sharper struggles for markets, with price cutting, and with a life and death conflict to survive, are forcing the workers to bear the brunt of the chaotic conditions of the industry. They are encroaching more and more on the living standards of the workers as rivalries at home and abroad develop. The drive to maintain profits leads them to cut wages still further, to intensify the speed-up and to lengthen hours. Powerfully organized, with giant operations in every region, the companies are better prepared for an attack on the "labor front" than in the earlier days. They have developed effective instruments for intimidation through the blacklist, through espionage and terrorism through the company union in the company towns, and through more subtle welfare measures which deceive many workers. As in the past, they will use the forces of their government, their courts and their armed constabulary in efforts to crush the workers' struggles for improved conditions. Unorganized, the lumber workers can expect only ruthless exploitation. With wages reverting to the level of pre-war years, the task of organizing a militant union looms as the major problem before the lumber workers.

The majority of the 450,000 workers in the basic lumber industries work in small operations scattered through many states, but thousands of them are employed in the large scale operations concentrated on the Pacific coast and in the South where the companies have almost feudal control over their lives. Another half million are employed in the fac-

tory processes in the large woodworking and furniture plants. A union including all of these workers will have to be organized to meet the offensive of the companies.

Lessons from the Past

Past strikes, struggles and sacrifices have brought rich experiences to the workers which will assist them in avoiding the errors of the past in the new union's program, policies and tactics. The experiences of the early lumber unions show that only a union organized on industrial lines, parallel to the structure of the industry and including workers in the logging camps, saw and planing mills, shingle, veneer and other by-product and woodworking plants can effectively carry on the struggles against the formidable power of the lumber companies. The I.W.W. recognized the importance of an industrial union but carried on insufficient organization work among the mill workers and the "home guard" so that its "industrial union" was only a union of the migratory workers in the camps. Although the A. F. of L. was forced to accept formally the industrial form of organization of the lumber workers in the West, it retained an essentially craft approach to the problems of organization and returned to the craft basis whenever the union was at low ebb. In organizing the lumber workers in the South, the A. F. of L. retained its traditional craft form and discrimination policy against the Negro workers. Jurisdictional disputes seriously weakened the union. In contrast with these policies, the new industrial union should overcome antagonisms between the migratory workers and the "home guard" and should include every worker in the industry regardless of job or skill. Membership should be open to the Oriental and Negro workers and to workers of all other nationalities and races. In the South the Negro workers, the most exploited of lumber workers, should be organized together with the white workers and encouraged to take positions of leadership in

the union; otherwise the building of an industrial union in the South cannot be realized. In the West, a similar policy must be adopted in reference to Filipino and Japanese workers. Women workers who are entering the industry in larger numbers as the operators develop by-product industries, should be brought into the union. Special attention should be given to the task of drawing into the union the thousands of young workers now being employed in camps and mills.

A traditional method of the employers of breaking down the standards of the workers and defeating the unions in their struggles is to pit the unemployed against the employed. The organization of the unemployed lumber workers into Unemployed Councils closely affiliated with the industrial union becomes a necessary part of the drive to unionize the unorganized.

In contrast to the loose decentralized form of the I.W.W. unions which led to their rapid disintegration, the new industrial union should be based on workers' mill and camp committees inter-connected by central direction and a common program. Camp and mill committees will be best able to vocalize the grievances of the workers into concrete demands, to spread agitation for the union and win the support of the workers. The union should work out the technique and strategy of organizing camp committees and carrying on agitation in the camps taking into consideration the geographic isolation and inaccessibility of the camps, and the fact that the employers can more effectively practice coercion and violence in these remote places. Individual camp and mill papers stressing the forms of exploitation on the job and urging the workers to join the union should supplement the activity of the workers' committees.

The I.W.W. slogan "we are all leaders," while attempting to destroy bureaucracy rampant in the A. F. of L., has led to a contempt for honest, courageous leadership, to confusion

among the membership and to an individualistic approach to the problems and tactics of the union. The new union should carry on a ceaseless struggle against bureaucracy, but should foster militant far-sighted leadership responsible to the workers. The compromise, conciliation and collaboration policies of the American Federation of Labor lead to betrayal of the workers, and to ultimate defeat. They convert the union into an organization serving the employers', not the workers', interests. Employers will attempt to crush the new union by every method of violence and bloodshed, as the lumber workers have learned from their experiences in Everett, Centralia and Bogalusa. The struggle is one of class against class and a militant policy is the only means of attaining the union's objectives in the present period.

The Trade Union Unity League, the central national organization of militant industrial unions, is the only union center in the United States which fights on the basis of uncompromising struggle against the employers for the immediate improvement of the conditions of the workers and the ultimate establishment of a workers' government where workers will receive the full fruits of their toil. The Trade Union Unity League is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, the directing and guiding force of the militant industrial unions in all parts of the world. Uniting the industrial unions in a common program of struggle against the exploiters in every country, it fights for the emancipation of the workers from a system of exploitation, oppression and misery.

The industrial union in lumber should, therefore, be tied up closely with all other industrial unions in the United States through the Trade Union Unity League, and with the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada and other international industrial unions uniting the workers into a powerful world body under the leadership of the Red International of Labor Unions.

National Lumber Workers' Industrial Union

The National Committee for organizing the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union was formed in August, 1929, with national headquarters in Seattle. It aims to organize the workers in the camps, saw and planing mills, shingle, veneer by-product and woodworking plants. The statement of principles declares that "Neither color, race, religion nor nationality shall bar any worker from becoming a member of the National Lumber Workers' Industrial Union." The Committee is affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League. The following immediate demands for the improvement of the working conditions of the lumber workers have been drawn up by the Committee:

A minimum wage of \$6.00 a day for all workers in the industry, with double time for overtime.

A 5-day, 35-hour week with a full week's wage.

A 7-hour day from camp to camp.

Abolition of the Clearing House and the blacklist.

The elimination of the Four L.

The abolition of the "gypo" and piece work systems.

Free employment service under workers' control.

Full pay for loss of time caused by shutdowns due to defective machinery, repairs and other such causes.

An annual vacation of not less than two weeks with full wages.

The elimination of the speed-up system.

Equal pay for equal work for men, women and young workers.

Abolition of child labor. The 6-hour day for young workers.

Installation of adequate washing and toilet facilities in all camps and mills.

Shower baths and drying rooms to be installed in all camps to be kept in good running order.

Elimination of unsanitary conditions in the camps and proper garbage disposal.

Wholesome food in the camps.

Well ventilated, heated and thoroughly clean houses for camp workers with one worker to a room.

Clean blankets and sheets.

Free access to all working class newspapers and literature at all times.

Installation of safety devices in the camps and mills to protect health and life.

Compensation laws providing full wages when a worker is injured by accident. Full medical, hospital and compensation expenses to be paid by the employers.

Social insurance against unemployment, sickness and old age, to be paid by the employers and managed by the workers.

Immediate release of the Centralia and other class war prisoners.

When the new union will attempt to organize and struggle for these demands, the workers will find themselves faced with battles for the right to organize, to hold street meetings and to agitate, to picket in time of strike and to defend themselves against the open attacks of the armed forces of the employers, and their government which always comes to the aid of the employers. The most elementary struggles to improve working conditions and to raise the standard of living of the workers become political struggles as the workers are confronted with the police, the courts, injunctions, criminal syndicalism and sedition laws, and other repressive measures to thwart organization and struggles on the part of the workers. Political action will be necessary to win legislation covering the union's demand for social insurance, involving the participation of the union in election campaigns where these demands should be made the important issues. The two major political parties, as tools of the employing interests, have consistently fought social legislation for the workers and will continue to attempt to defeat the workers' demands. The compromise and collaboration policies of the reformist parties also lead them to serve the employers' interests. The workers will find that these objectives can be gained only through the support of a political party of their own class which fights fearlessly and uncompromisingly against the employers and the capitalist state.

In the Socialist Soviet Republics

Greater unemployment, more part-time work for the employed, and harder work at longer hours for lower wages are in prospect for lumber workers along with other workers in all capitalist countries due to the inherent chaos in capitalist industry intensified by the present economic crisis. In sharp contrast, the workers in the Soviet Union are forging forward. The Soviet Union, under workers' control and with industry socialized, is carrying out a scientifically planned program of industrialization over a period of 5 years which is increasing the number of jobs for workers (in one year ending May, 1930, unemployment decreased by more than 42 per cent, while there is already a pronounced shortage of skilled labor), increasing wages, lowering hours and providing a richer and freer life for the workers. Instead of enabling a few owners to reap prodigious profits at the expense of the workers, the process of socialist rationalization in the Soviet Union gives to the workers the returns of their increased productivity. In the Soviet Union the 7-hour day is now general with a day's rest every 5 days and the present objective is to reduce the working hours to 6 a day.

In the lumber industry in the Soviet Union, the Five-Year Plan calls for an increase in production of 103 per cent through the expansion of industry, the introduction of new machinery and the increased productivity of the workers. Money wages will increase 37 per cent. Added to this are the benefits of social insurance against unemployment, sickness, and permanent disability, the cost of which is borne by the industry, thus advancing the "real" wages of the workers 70.5 per cent. Old age insurance and additional appropriations for the protection of the health and safety of the workers in the industry, and vocational training for the unemployed are also being effected. The Soviet lumber industry

contributes 22 per cent of the total sum paid in wages to a special fund for social insurance.¹

Conditions of Soviet lumberjacks are not only vastly superior to those of pre-war days but compared to the conditions of American workers, the Soviet workers may be said to be in a far more advantageous position. The Soviet lumber trust has a collective agreement with the Forest and Land Workers' Union, comprising all lumber workers in the Soviet Union, which is ready to defend the interests of the workers on the job and energetically initiates improvements in their working conditions. Contrast this with the United States where unions are bitterly fought by the employers, assisted by the legislatures and courts which pass laws and decisions robbing the workers of their right to organize and to secure improvements in their conditions. Transportation to and from camps, expenses for special work clothes and for depreciation of tools, which forms so large an item of expense for American workers is furnished free by the Soviet lumber trust. After he has worked six months, a lumber worker in the Soviet Union is entitled to two weeks vacation with pay. In addition to their wages and social insurance benefits, Soviet lumber workers receive free rent, light and heat.

The Immediate Goal

Under socialized industry, the workers can look forward to more jobs, higher wages, greater leisure, to opportunities for education and to protection against uncertainties and insecurities. Under capitalism, where the toil and drudgery of the workers reap millions of profits for a few and yield bare subsistence for the workers, where the inherent competition, overdevelopment, waste, and overproduction create periods of recurrent and sharper crises which plunge the masses into still greater misery, a powerful industrial union fighting for improved working conditions can wrest a few

concessions from the employers, although it cannot hope to achieve freedom from insecurity or to eliminate poverty and misery. For the lumber workers in the United States the immediate goal is the building of a fighting industrial union. This union must be the instrument of the workers not only to gain increased wages and improved working conditions, but must prepare to be an active force in bringing about the final abolition of capitalism and the building of a new society in which the exploiting class will be eliminated and a socialist system of economy under workers' rule will be established.

REFERENCE NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. J. R. Commons and J. B. Andrews, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. V, pp. 45, 149.
2. U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Corporations, *The Lumber Industry*, Part I, pp. 244-248.
3. J. R. Commons and J. B. Andrews, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 189.
4. W. B. Greeley, *Public and Economic Aspects of the Lumber Industry*, pp. 10-13.
5. *Congressional Record*, February 27, 1930, p. 4572.
6. W. B. Greeley, *Present Needs in National and State Forestry*, U. S. Forest Service, 1927, p. 1.
7. G. P. Ahern, *Deforested America*.
8. Editorial, *Seattle Star*, January 23, 1930.
9. Pine Institute of America, *General Bulletin*, April 25, 1927.

CHAPTER II

1. Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Manufactures, 1927, *Summary by Industry Groups and by Industries*, p. 462.
2. Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Manufactures, 1927, *The Principal Lumber Industries*.
3. U. S. Forest Service, *Annual Report*, 1929.
4. Compiled from Census of Manufactures, 1925 and 1927, *The Principal Lumber Industries*.
5. Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, *Forest Products*, 1928.
6. *Supra*, Note 4.
7. *Supra*, Note 4.
8. *Dun's Review*, New York, January 11, 1930, p. 10.
9. Federal Trade Commission, *Open Price Trade Associations*, Senate Document No. 226, 70th Congress, 2d Session.
10. U. S. Tariff Commission, *The Red Cedar Shingle Industry*, p. 3.
11. H. F. Weiss, "Cellulose Propagators," *Report of the Wisconsin Forestry Conference*, Milwaukee, March 28-29, 1928.

12. "Proceedings Pacific Logging Congress, 1929," *West Coast Lumberman*, November, 1929, p. 37.
13. *The Soviet Union Looks Ahead: The Five Year Plan for Economic Construction*, pp. 74-78.

CHAPTER III

1. D. T. Mason, *Timber Ownership and Lumber Production in the Inland Empire*, p. 70.
2. Federal Trade Commission, *War Time Costs and Profits of Southern Pine Lumber Companies*, p. 28.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. xi to xvii.
4. U. S. Secretary of Treasury, *Distributed and Undistributed Earnings of Corporations in 1922*, Senate Document No. 85, 68th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 11, 59.
5. Federal Trade Commission, *National Wealth and Income*, Senate Document No. 126, 69th Congress, 1st Session, p. 146.
6. *Congressional Record*, February 27, 1930, p. 4587.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 4579-81.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 4578-86.
9. J. G. Frederick, "A Balance Sheet of American Business," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. VI, No. 2, January, 1928, p. 154.
10. Compiled from Moody's and Poor's Investment Manuals.

CHAPTER IV

1. R. G. Tugwell, "The Lumber Camp in 1920," *Survey*, July 3, 1920, p. 473.
2. J. Rowan, *The I. W. W. in the Lumber Industry*, pp. 9-10.
3. Industrial Relations Commission, *Report*, Vol. V, *passim*.
4. W. F. Ogburn, "Causes and Remedies of Labor Unrest in the Lumber Industry," *University of Washington Forest Club Annual*, 1918, pp. 11-14.
5. A. Shields and E. J. Lowell, *Unpublished Report for the Labor Research Association on the Southern Lumber Industry*.
6. D. T. Mason, *Timber Ownership and Lumber Production in the Inland Empire*, p. 81.
7. *Business Chronicle of the Pacific Northwest*, November 12, 1927, p. 370.

8. C. R. Howd, *Industrial Relations in the West Coast Lumber Industry*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 349, p. 41.
9. Texas, State Department of Labor, *Industrial Bulletin*, February, 1928, pp. 30-31.
10. U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *The New Position of Women in American Industry*, Bulletin No. 12, p. 134.
11. E. N. Munns, "Women in the Southern Lumbering Operations," *Journal of Forestry*, Vol. XVII, February, 1919, p. 144.
12. J. A. Hill, *Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870-1920*, Census Monograph IX, p. 170.

CHAPTER V

1. *Monthly Labor Review*, March, 1930.
2. Compiled from reports in the *Monthly Labor Reviews*.
3. West Coast Lumberman's Association, *News Letter*, May, 1930.
4. U. S. Tariff Commission, *Red Cedar Shingle Industry*, p. 55.
5. Paul H. Douglas, "The Problem of Labor Turnover," *American Economic Review*, June 1918, pp. 308-316.
6. W. F. Ogburn, *University of Washington Forest Club Annual*, 1918, pp. 11-14.

CHAPTER VI

1. Based on figures taken from U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin Nos. 413 and 497, *Wages and Hours of Labor in the Lumber Industry in the United States: 1925 and 1928*.
2. Compiled from Bulletin No. 497, pp. 37-54.
3. A. Shields and E. J. Lowell, *Unpublished Report for the Labor Research Association on the Southern Lumber Industry*.
4. Compiled from Bulletin No. 497.
5. Texas, State Department of Labor, *Industrial Bulletin*, February 1, 1928, pp. 30-31.
6. Based on figures from Bulletin No. 497, pp. 37-54.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-76.

8. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 357, *Cost of Living in the United States*.
9. Labor Bureau, Inc., *Facts for Workers*, February, 1930.
10. E. J. Gaffney, "Contract Logging in the Inland Empire," *West Coast Lumberman*, Report of Pacific Logging Congress, November, 1929, p. 57.
11. E. B. Mittleman, "The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, p. 318.

CHAPTER VII

1. National Minority Movement, *What Is Rationalization?*, London, 1928, pp. 12-14; J. Barnett, *Speeding Up the Workers*, International Pamphlets, N. Y., 1930.
2. E. E. Day and W. Thomas, *Growth of Manufactures*, pp. 46-47.
3. W. Compton, *Looking Ahead from Behind*, pp. 15-16.
4. *Seattle Times*, July 28, 1929.
5. S. Chase, *Men and Machines*, p. 95.
6. *Labor's News*, August 17, 1929.
7. J. Schafer, "Comparison of Steam and Diesel Costs," *West Coast Lumberman*, November, 1929, p. 61.
8. "Logging a Million Feet Daily at Vale," *Pacific Logging Congress, Proceedings*, 1929, p. 54.
9. *Seattle Times*, May 25, 1930.
10. Federated Press, *Daily News Service*, August 22, 1929. See also E. J. Lowell, "Bumping Along a Southern Log Road," *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, October, 1929.
11. American Engineering Council, *Safety and Production*, p. 76.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
13. E. W. Gage, "A Giant Enterprise, the American Lumber Industry," *Dun's International Review*, August, 1928, p. 37.
14. M. J. Flyzik, "Reducing Fatalities in the Logging Industry of the State of Washington," *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1929, p. 787.
15. G. M. Kober and E. R. Hayhurst, *Industrial Health*, p. 203.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
17. Survey of E. J. Davies for the Washington Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis, 1925.
18. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics,

Statistics of Industrial Accidents in the United States to the End of 1927, pp. 86-87.

19. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Handbook of Labor Statistics: 1929 Edition*, pp. 285.
20. L. Resnick, "Safety Last: Why the Safety Movement Has Failed," *Nation*, May 28, 1930, p. 623.

CHAPTER VIII

1. President's Mediation Commission, *Report*, p. 15.
2. Ralph Winstead, "The I. W. W. Answer to the Four L's," *Survey*, July 3, 1920, p. 476.
3. *Seattle Union Record*, June 26, 1918.
4. B. P. Disque, "A Cure for Strikes," *System*, September, 1919, pp. 379-383.
5. *Timberworker*, December 14, 1918.
6. *Four L Bulletin*, October, 1919, p. 22.
7. *Ibid.*, November, 1919, p. 10.
8. *Facts Concerning the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen*, 1929.
9. *Overtime Regulations of Four L*, July, 1926.
10. *Four L Lumber News*, June 1, 1929, p. 29.

CHAPTER IX

1. Industrial Relations Commission, *Report*, Vol. V, p. 4501.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 4189.
3. C. R. Howd, *Industrial Relations in the West Coast Lumber Industry*, pp. 55-60.
4. *Seattle Union Record*, January 17, 1914.
5. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1914.
6. Washington State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings of 15th Annual Convention*, January 1916, pp. 16-18.
7. J. Rowan, *The I. W. W. in the Lumber Industry*, p. 21.
8. P. Brissenden, *The I. W. W.: A Study in American Syndicalism*, p. 368.
9. Rowan, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
10. Brissenden, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
12. Rowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
14. *Seattle Union Record*, November 11, 1916.

15. Rowan, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
17. V. St. John, *The I. W. W.: Its History, Structure and Methods*, p. 24.
18. W. Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book*, p. 242.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
20. Quoted in L. Whipple, *The Story of Civil Liberty in the United States*, p. 221.
21. *Timber Worker*, December 13, 1919.
22. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1919.
23. St. John, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
24. *Industrial Worker*, September 19, 1923.

CHAPTER X

- I. G. T. Grinko, *The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union*, 1930.

APPENDICES

I. TYPES OF JOBS IN LUMBER

WORKERS IN THE LOGGING CAMPS

1. Fallers and buckers
2. Rig-up crew (in the West)
3. Rigging crew
4. Loading crew
5. Railroad crew
6. Section gang
7. Cookhouse crew

The *faller*, also called *sawyer* or *chopper*, cuts down the trees at the stump. Work is done in pairs, one on each end of a cross cut saw.

The *bucker* or *cross-cutter* or *cutter* saws the trees into required lengths after they have been felled.

In the pine region, the *knotter*, *limber* or *swamper* trims off the limbs of the tree.

Where the trees reach tremendous heights, as on the West Coast, the logs are carried by overhead cable systems known as aerial and *high lead* systems of logging. A *high-rigger* or *high climber* or *topper* climbs the tree before it is felled to cut off the top of the tree. He is usually foreman of the *rig-up* crew which sets up the spar trees and hangs and tightens lines from the *donkey* engine.

The *rigging* crew places the *donkey* engine and sets out the lines which are to haul in the logs from their original locations to a central point for transportation to the sawmill by rail or water. The crew consists of a *hook tender* who is the boss of the *side*, four *choker setters*, a *rigging slinger*, a *chaser*, a *whistle-punk*, an engineer, a fireman, and a *wood bucker*. Where ground-yarding is done, that is, where the logs are hauled by dragging them along the ground, a *swamper* and *sniper* are part of the crew. An average crew is from nine to thirteen men.

The *choker setters* place the chokers or wire slip loops around the ends of the logs.

The *rigging slingers* pick out the logs, attach the chokers to

the main cable which hauls the logs, give the signals and detach the chokers when the cable returns.

The *chaser* unlinks the lines and brands the logs.

The *whistle-punk* or signal man transmits the signals from the men to the engineer.

The *wood buckler* or *wood split* chops wood for the engine. When oil is used both the *wood split* and the fireman of the *donkey* engine are dispensed with.

The *swamper* trims the tree and the *sniper* rounds off the corners of the logs to make the haul easier in the short log country. In some camps, the *powder monkey* is employed to dynamite holes, or *gopher* to dig holes to set the lines.

Barkers or *peelers* are employed in the redwood region of California to remove bark which is used for the manufacture of by-products.

Where the ground is broken or steep and railroad construction is difficult or too costly so that logs cannot be brought directly to the railroad, relay *donkey* engines are used and the logs are transported by *swinging*. The relay *donkey* requires a crew of engineer, fireman, *wood split*, *whistle-punk*, two *chasers*, and two *hook-on* men.

The loading crew loads the logs on flat cars. The head loader picks the logs and gives instructions as to which logs to load. The loading engineer takes orders from the head loader. Two second loaders or *tong men* hook and unhook the logs.

The railroad crew runs the locomotives which transport the logs to tide water or to the mills.

The section gang works on road building, the construction and maintenance of the logging railroads and the building of camps.

The cookhouse crew consists of the cook, dishwasher or *pearl diver*, and bedmaker and one or more *flunkeys* who wait on tables.

WORKERS IN THE SAWMILLS

The *boom* man rides the logs in the *cutting pond*, sorts them and steers them to the incline where they are held by sharp mechanical fingers and drawn up on moving chains to the second floor of the mill for cutting.

The *deckman* in the mill *scales* the log, i.e., he measures its length and diameter to determine its contents.

The *sawyer* controls the levers which roll the log on to the

carriage and turn it in the position required for cutting. He moves the carriage back and forth and directs the work of the *setter*. The *sawyer* must arrange for the cutting of the logs according to sizes ordered.

The *dogger* rides on the movable carriage and manipulates the levers which fasten the logs against the head blocks of the carriage by means of hooks or *dogs*. Often *two doggers* are found on a carriage.

The *setter* also rides on the movable carriage and following orders from the *sawyer* moves the head blocks to adjust the log according to the size to be cut.

As the boards are cut they are carried on live rolls to the edger. The *edgerman* adjusts a set of gang saws to cut required widths and to trim the edges of the boards.

The *trimmerman* adjusts the saw for trimming the lumber to desired lengths. The lumber is then sent over the rolls to the yard.

Workers sort and pull the lumber off the *green chain* conveyors and pile it on trucks. A mechanical carrier operated by a driver, removes the lumber to the storage yard or to the kiln.

Tallymen inspect and grade the lumber in the yards.

The filer keeps the saws sharpened and in good condition.

II. OWNERSHIP OF THE FOREST LANDS BY REGIONS, 1925 (In M Acres) (Ch. I)*

	Private		Federal		State	Total
	Forest	Farm Woodlot	Forest	Other	Municipal	
Pacific						
Coast	18,700	7,000	28,300	3,500	1,600	59,100
Rocky						
Mountains ...	3,600	3,500	48,300	3,400	2,000	60,800
Eastern and						
Southern	219,900	116,500	4,600	1,000	7,600	249,600
Total for						
all regions...	242,200	127,000	81,200	7,900	11,200	468,500

* United States Department of Agriculture, *Statistical Bulletin* No. 21, Table 3.

III. REMAINING SAW TIMBER BY REGIONS, 1920
(In M Acres) (Ch. I) *

<i>Region</i>	<i>Virgin</i>	<i>2nd Growth</i>
Pacific	39,683	5,292
Rocky Mountain	37,746	3,313
Lower Mississippi Valley	20,835	20,200
South Atlantic and East Gulf	18,300	27,900
Lake	10,100	13,930
Central	7,600	24,301
New England	2,000	9,261
Middle Atlantic	1,896	9,559
United States	138,160	113,756

* United States Department of Agriculture, *Statistical Bulletin* No. 21, Table 4.

IV. ANNUAL GROWTH IN SAW TIMBER, 1925
(In M Board Feet) (Ch. I) *

	<i>Annual Growth</i>
New England	609,000
Middle Atlantic	714,000
Lake	986,000
Central	1,458,000
South Atlantic and East Gulf	2,428,000
Lower Mississippi	1,752,000
Rocky Mountain	461,000
Pacific Coast	1,262,000
Total Growth	9,672,000
Total Cut	38,338,641
(Timber is cut four times faster than it is grown.)	

* United States Department of Agriculture, *Statistical Bulletin*, No. 21, Table 11.

V. LUMBER PRODUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES
1909-1928 (In M Board Feet) (Ch. II)

1909	44,509,761	1923	37,165,505
1914	37,346,023	1924	35,930,986
1919	34,552,076	1925	38,338,641
1920	33,798,800	1926	36,935,930
1921	26,960,864	1927	34,532,420
1922	31,568,888	1928	34,142,123

VI. LUMBER PRODUCTION BY STATES
(In M Board Feet) (Ch. II) **

	1925 *	1928 ***		1925 *	1928 ***
Washington	7,027,325	7,305,277	South Caro-		
Oregon	4,216,383	4,371,924	lina	980,289	821,900
Louisiana	3,293,091	2,278,422	Michigan	797,610	572,059
Mississippi	3,127,678	2,524,319	Virginia	709,180	547,706
Alabama	2,235,738	1,980,082	Tennessee	642,359	530,306
California and			West Vir-		
Nevada	2,042,991	1,952,659	ginia	583,353	547,823
Arkansas	1,597,130	1,129,731	Minnesota	578,703	412,343
Texas	1,578,008	1,446,686	Montana	388,854	387,879
Georgia	1,365,174	1,039,475	Pennsylvania	330,822	238,615
Idaho	1,140,575	977,468	Maine	330,103	266,523
Wisconsin	1,068,612	818,850	New Hamp-		
Florida	1,063,876	995,072	shire	260,680	239,261
North Caro-			Kentucky	207,278	174,340
lina	1,040,735	1,020,893	New York	197,654	130,106
			Oklahoma	157,580	193,793

* United States Department of Agriculture, *Statistical Bulletin*, No. 21, pp. 59-61.

** Lumber production in the states not listed is negligible.

*** United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Forest Products: 1928, Lumber, Lath and Shingles*, p. 7.

VII. MEMBERSHIP OF LUMBER COMPANIES IN TRADE ASSOCIATIONS SHOWING CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL IN THE INDUSTRY (Ch. II)

	Number of Members	Production Controlled Per cent
West Coast Lumbermen's Association	119	85
Western Pine Manufacturers' Association	43	75
California Redwood Association		80
California White and Sugar Pine Association	36	75
North Carolina Pine Association		25
Southern Pine Association	185	45
Southern Cypress Association		40
Northern Pine Manufacturers' Association (Minnesota)		90
Northern Hemlock and Hardwood Association (Wisconsin)		75

VIII. SIZE OF MILLS BY STATES (Ch. II) *

	<i>Large</i> (Cutting over 50 million ft. yearly)	<i>Medium</i> (Cutting from 10- 50 mil- lion ft.)	<i>Small</i> (Cutting less than 10 mil- lion ft.)	<i>Total No.</i> <i>of Mills</i>
<i>South</i>				
Alabama		37	1,465	1,502
Arkansas	1	31	389	421
Florida	2	24	177	203
Georgia		8	974	982
Louisiana	1	71	154	226
Mississippi	6	56	753	815
Oklahoma		5	91	96
North Carolina ...		14	1,091	1,105
South Carolina ...		19	353	372
Texas	4	42	169	215
Virginia		8	695	703
<i>West</i>				
Washington	53	97	283	433
Oregon	27	55	358	440
California	13	28	124	165
Montana	4	2	113	119
Idaho	4	20	120	144
<i>Lake States</i>				
Michigan		23	118	141
Minnesota	3	5	128	136
Wisconsin	1	33	157	191

* Based on U. S. Census of Manufacturers, *Principal Lumber Industries, 1927.*

IX. DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD'S FOREST AREAS, 1925
(Expressed in percentages) (Ch. II) *

Russia **	21.1 **
Brazil	13.4
British Empire (Excluding Canada) ..	13.1
Canada	7.9
United States and Possessions	9.1
France and Colonies ***	3.9 ***
All other countries	31.5

* C. N. Sparhawk and R. Zon—*Forest Resources of the World*.

** Soviet Union authorities estimate that the forest areas of the U.S.S.R., which include those of the Ukraine, White Russia, Transcaucasia and Central Asia in addition to those of the Russian Republic proper, amount to almost 30 per cent of the world's total.

*** It is significant that Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands which together have but four-tenths of one per cent of the world's forests through their imperialist possessions control more than 30 per cent.

INDEX

- A**
 Accidents, 130 *ff.*
 American Federation of Labor, 45, 86, 119, 143, 152 *ff.*, 163, 167 *ff.*, 174, 177 *ff.*, 180, 182, 185 *ff.*
 Anarchy of production, 31.
- B**
 Bankruptcies. *See* Failures.
 Blacklist, 65, 97, 176, 184, 188.
 Bloedel Donovan Lumber Mills, 42, 44, 54, 65, 123, 126, 128, 144, 178.
 Bogalusa, 26, 38, 59, 174, 187.
 Bonus, 116.
 Booth Kelly Lumber Co., 15, 78.
 Breadlines, 90.
 Brooks Scanlon Corp., 54, 67.
 Bunkhouses, 70 *ff.*
 By-products, 39, 57.
- C**
 Canada, 38, 42 *ff.*, 66, 68.
 Cedar asthma, 137.
 Cellulose, 40-41.
 Centralia, self-defense in, 145, 169 *ff.*, 176, 179, 189.
 Child labor, 80, 89, 108, 188.
 Clearing house, 97 *ff.*, 146, 188.
 Communist Party, 182.
 Company control, 141 *ff.*
 Company insurance, 109.
 Company towns, 59, 62, 67, 77, 79, 80 *ff.*, 149 *ff.*, 184.
 Company union, 14 *ff.*, 64, 178, 184.
 Compensation insurance, for accidents, 139, 189.
 Compton, Wilson, 37, 123.
 Concentration, 16 *ff.*
 Concentration of stock ownership, 51.
 Conservation, 12, 13.
 Contract system, 111 *ff.*
 Cost of living, 111.
 Criminal syndicalism, 163, 189.
 Curtailment of production, 32, 92.
- D**
 Depletion, 17, 25.
 Diamond Match Co., 15, 54, 66, 67.
 Dumping, 46.
- E**
 Eastman Gardiner Co., 104, 125.
 Economic crisis, 90.
 Eight-hour day, 142, 146, 156, 159, 163 *ff.*
 Employment agencies, 95 *ff.*, 188.
 Espionage, 57, 152, 184.
 Everett massacre, 161 *ff.*, 187.
 Exports, 45.
- F**
 Failures, 31 *ff.*
 Filipino workers, 84-86, 186.
 Five-Year Plan, 46, 190.
 Foreign-born workers, 82, 145.
 Forest service, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25.
 Foster, William Z., 155.
 Four L (Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen), 64, 76, 109, 115, 118, 141-148, 169, 179, 188.
 Frame-up, 152.
 Furniture, 22, 23.
- G**
 Government, rôle of, 14, 18, 33, 34, 40, 46.
 Great Northern R. R., 15, 56.
 Great Southern Lumber Co., 26, 42, 54, 58-59, 74, 83, 128-9, 174 *ff.*
 "Gypo" system, 33, 111 *ff.*, 188.
- H**
 Hammond Lumber Co., 14, 15, 54.
 Haywood, Wm. D., 171 *ff.*
 Hazards, 131 *ff.*
 Health dangers, 136 *ff.*
 "High-ball" camps, 78, 133.
 Hines Lumber Co., Edward, 14, 20, 54, 55, 64, 115.
 Homestead law, 12.

Hours of work, 62, 117, 132, 188.
 Housing conditions, 70.
 "Home Guard," 77-8, 185.
 Humbird Lumber Co., 73, 147,
 148, 165.

I

Industrial diseases, 137.
 Industrial Relations Commission,
 71, 154.
 Industrial Workers of the World,
 45, 143, 145, 149, 152, 155,
 158 ff., 163, 167, 168, 169, 171,
 172, 179, 181, 182, 185, 186.
 Immediate demands, 188.
 Importance of industry, 22.
 Imports, 42 ff.
 Injunctions, 152, 157, 189.
 International Labor Defense, 182.
 International Paper Co., 12, 42.
 International Shingle Weavers'
 Union, 137, 153, 154, 155, 157,
 163, 164, 166, 178, 182.
 International Timber Workers'
 Union. *See* Timber Workers'
 Union.

J

Japanese workers, 83, 84-85, 167,
 186.

K

Kirby Lumber Co., 14, 54, 62.
 Knights of Labor, 152.

L

Lake states, 12, 20, 24, 26, 27, 30,
 41, 117, 152, 178.
 Land laws, 11.
 Living conditions, 188.
 Long Bell Lumber Co., 14, 26,
 35, 54, 59-61, 79, 107, 118, 149-
 50, 172.
 Longview Company, 57, 60, 107,
 149-151, 183.
 Loyal Legion of Loggers and
 Lumbermen. *See* Four L.
 Lutch Moore Co., 42, 177.

M

Machinery, new, 75.
 Markets for lumber, 22, 45, 90.
 McCormick Lumber Co., Charles,
 34, 35, 36, 37.

Medical care, 138 ff.
 Mergers, 34, 37-38, 42.
 Migratory workers, 75, 83.

N

National forests, 14, 19, 20, 25.
 National Lumber Manufacturers'
 Association, 19, 32, 33, 37, 62,
 64, 68, 123.
 National Lumber Workers' In-
 dustrial Union, 183 ff.
 Negro workers, 45, 59, 61, 68,
 74, 83-84, 86, 104, 125, 128-9,
 172 ff., 185.
 Nelson Co., Charles, 35, 54, 63,
 86.
 New England, 17, 41.
 Night work, 119.
 Northern Pacific R. R., 14, 15,
 16, 56, 63.

O

Old workers, 94.
 Open Shop, 143, 154, 157.
 Oregon American Lumber Co.,
 34, 54.
 Oriental labor, 44, 45, 84-87, 168,
 185.
 Overproduction, 31, 33, 47.
 Overtime, 119.

P

Pacific Logging Congress, 41, 76.
 Paper, 41-2.
 Piece work, 111, 188
 Pine Institute of America, 19.
 Political action, 189.
 Price fixing, 33, 44.
 Production figures, 122, 202-3.
 Profits, 28, 34, 39, 48, 49 ff., 58
 ff., 190.
 Pulp, 26, 41-42.

R

Railroads, 14, 22 ff.
 Rationalization, 28, 30, 31, 33,
 90, 120 ff., 123 ff., 190.
 Red International of Labor
 Unions, 187.
 Red River Lumber Co., 54, 66 ff.,
 14, 15, 17.
 Reforestation, 18 ff.
 Regional distribution of mills, 30.

S

- Safety, 139, 189.
 St. John, Vincent, 171, 181.
 St. Paul & Tacoma Lumber Co.,
 34, 35, 54, 62-63, 69, 129.
 Saw mill workers, 80.
 Saw mills, size of, 204.
 Schafer Lumber Co., 19, 73, 85,
 116, 126.
 "Scrip," 62, 105-6.
 Shields, Art, 125, 128.
 "Skid roads," 92, 94.
 Skill, 75.
 Small mills, 29, 32.
 Shingle industry, 38-39, 42, 57,
 93, 109, 116.
 Shingle weavers, 109 *ff.*, 137, 152,
 163.
 Shingle Weavers' Union. *See*
 International Shingle Weavers'
 Union.
 Short work week, 61, 102, 107,
 118.
 Skill, 61.
 Social insurance, 189, 190.
 South, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25,
 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 41, 42,
 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 62,
 65, 74, 81, 82, 83, 85, 103 *ff.*,
 117, 118, 152, 171 *ff.*
 Southern Pacific R. R., 14, 15,
 16, 17.
 Southern Pine Operators' Asso-
 ciation, 65, 97, 176.
 Soviet Union, 43, 44, 46, 47, 190.
 Speculation, timber, 15, 49.
 Speed-up, 120 *ff.*, 127, 188.
 Strikes, 64, 70, 71, 114, 141,
 152 *ff.*, 156.
 Substitutes, for lumber, 23-24, 33.
- T
- Tariff, 42, 51, 62.
 Terrorism, 160, 165, 166, 173,
 177, 184.
 Timber, 11 *ff.*, 53, 55, 201, 202.
 Timber Workers' Union, Inter-
 national, 142, 143, 144, 156, 163
ff., 166, 178, 180.
 Timber and Stone Act, 12, 13.
 Trade associations, 32, 97, 203.

- Trade Union Unity League, 152,
 183, 187, 188.
 Turnover, 75-76, 96, 118, 142.
 Types of workers, 199 *ff.*

U

- Unemployment, 90 *ff.*, 190.
 Union Lumber Co., 69, 74, 115,
 130.
 Union policies, 180, 185.
 Unions, 45, 57, 66, 70, 71, 78, 87,
 102, 115, 152 *ff.*, 184 *ff.*

V

- Vagrancy laws, 94, 100.
 Value of products, 21.
 Veneer, 23, 40, 126, 129.
 Vigilantes, 162 *ff.*, 167, 177.

W

- Wages, 55, 59, 61 *ff.*, 66 *ff.*, 69,
 88-89, 94, 101 *ff.*, 106, 114, *ff.*,
 156, 158, 160, 188, 190.
 Walker, T. B. *See* Red River
 Lumber Co.
 War, 23, 41, 42, 49, 87, 114, 123,
 142, 144, 145, 163, 168.
 Waste, 33, 39-40.
 "Welfare" schemes, 146, 151.
 West, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25,
 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 41, 49,
 52, 53, 54, 66, 77, 78, 82, 117,
 152.
 West Coast Lumbermen's Asso-
 ciation, 32, 44, 91, 107, 118.
 Western Operators' Association,
 76, 78, 97, 146.
 Western Pine Operators' Asso-
 ciation, 44.
 Weyerhaeuser syndicate, 13, 14,
 15, 16, 35, 36, 55 *ff.*, 60, 64, 85,
 89, 94, 95, 111, 118, 126, 134,
 148, 151.
 Women workers, 87-89, 186, 188.
 Workers, number of, 21, 27.
 World's forest areas, 205.
- Y
- Yellow dog contract, 65, 97.
 Yosemite Lumber Co., 54, 68.
 Young Communist League, 151.
 Young workers, 61, 76, 80, 108,
 186, 188.