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Union Organizing In the Timber Industry of the Pacific Northwest: An Annotated Bibliography

This bibliography was written for any paper examining the union organizing that went on within the timber industry during the late 19th century until the beginning of the World War II. Some of the sources like *Labor and Lumber* or *Lumber and Labor* focus specifically on labor organizing inside logging camps while others apply to a broader analysis of the industry as a whole. All of this research was done in Washington and so much of it focuses on the I.W.W., since they were a key part of the conflict over labor rights in this state. Other topics that these sources would provide information on are; early I.W.W. organizing, the Seattle general strike of 1919, American Syndicalism and radicalism in the Pacific Northwest.

Bergen, Myrtle. Tough Timber. Vancouver: Elgin Publications, 1979.

In Tough Timber, Myrtle Bergen uses interviews and other primary sources to document the woodworkers union in a small town in British Columbia. This book is a unique source because it only focuses on a small area and was able to provide insight on things that slip through the cracks when authors try and tackle the issue of logging in the entire Pacific Northwest. It also helps contrast the differences between American and Canadian experiences in the area of union organizing.

Brissenden, Paul. The I.W.W.; A Study of American Syndicalism. New York: Russell & Russell, 1957.

This book has a small section pertaining to the I.W.W. relation to the timber industry. Instead I used this sources' appendices and near fifty page bibliography to help supplement my own research. The appendices held old union songs, charts tracking membership, an organizational map, and laws on criminal syndicalism. I also was able to find many articles on the Industrial Workers of the World from his bibliography.

Carroll, Matthew. Community and the Northwestern Logger. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.

Community and the Northwestern Logger provides a short introduction to the timber history of the Northwest. It contains a dozen pages devoted to early labor organizing by the I.W.W. before and after WWI. Although it isn't centered directly around the union struggles inside the industry this book is a good way to get a broad understanding of the conditions; economic, social, and political that were present at the time that the fight for the workers was at it's height. It also contains a section of notes at the end of each chapter that I found very helpful in finding other sources.

Cornford, Daniel. Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.

By examining the work ethic of loggers, in the Redwood forests of Northern California and Southern Oregon, Mr. Cornford begins to piece together how the Jeffersonian Republicanism of the frontier eventually lead to the conservative political view of labor after World War I. He follows the workers through their brief recognition and struggle against the class structure and how during WWI their movement fell apart in the face of American Imperialism at home and abroad.

Crowther, Samuel. "What the Reds are After - and Why." Worlds Work March 1920: 477-483.

Samuel Crowther tries to form a line of connection between Russia with the I.W.W. and inspire fear in the general population with this article. It is a perfect example of the kind of slanderous lies put out by various news outlets to try and discredit union organizers views and fight against workers rights. It deals only with the overview of the conflict between organized labor and people who own the mean of production but was a good primary source to frame the battle going on specifically in the timber industry.

Dubofsky, Melvyn. We Shall Be All, A History of The Industrial Workers of the World. Chicago: Quadrangle Book, 1969.

In this volume on the history of the Industrial Workers of the World there are a few chapter that provide detailed accounts of organizing within the limber industry. From the union halls in Portland, Seattle, Astoria, and Vancouver to the small camps on the Olympia Peninsula the I.W.W. seems to be everywhere and Dubofsky presents this by providing primary sources from various cities. Most of the sources he uses in compiling this historical account are from letters and newspaper articles during the time and gives the reader an intimate glance into the past. This is a very complete history of the I.W.W. and also has a enough specific information on the subject of lumber organizing to fit with my project.

Hanson, Ole. "Seattle's Red Revolution." Worlds Work February 1920: 401-408.

This article was published in Worlds Work by the mayor of Seattle, Ole Hanson. Viewing it as an interesting piece of propaganda provides the researcher with a unique glance inside the conflict between the state and organized labor in the Pacific Northwest. This article in particular provides a first hand account of the rise of the I.W.W. and the beginning of class struggle in Washington.

Hanson, Ole. "The Victory Over Seattle's Reds." Worlds Work March 1920: 484-487.

This second article by Ole Hanson followed the first one cited and summarizes the Seattle General Strike of 1919. Again this article slings mud at the strikers while glorifying the city and the "honest citizens" (Hanson 485) that inhabit it. Hanson repeatedly paints the organizers of the strike as violent, vicious men without hearts or values. This source really shows the intense oppression received by labor organizers in the Northwest, not just physically but in the media. While this article focused solely on the strike I thought it was important piece to look at and consider when studying the region as a whole because it was the high point of the labor movement.

Jensen, Vernon. Lumber and Labor. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945

Between the covers of Lumber and Labor lies some of the best information I have found on the subject of timber industry organizing. The book spans the whole country examining the relation between labor and lumber but spend a large portion of it's time just focusing on the Pacific Northwest. Jensen goes into detail to describe the division between the A.F.L. the I.W.W. and how the power dynamics between the two evolved, which helped advance my understanding of the topic. He also uses extensive bibliographical notes to back up his work that I then used to help strengthen this bibliography.

Johnson, Victoria. How Many Machine Guns Does it Take to Cook One Meal? Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

In this book, Johnson argues that because labor, in general, stopped relying on the ideas of work place democracy that the I.W.W. espoused it failed to capture the interest of the American worker after the end of World War I. Much of the organizing that went on before then was based on non-hierarchical leadership and the principles of solidarity. She spends time looking at the effectiveness of the Wobblies in lumber camps, mines and the docks and attributes their success to drawing from the political philosophy's of Thomas Jefferson and other individualists of the time. This

book was very useful in understanding the rise and fall of labor organizing during the early 20th century.

Kornbluh, Joyce. Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968.

This book is another of the sources from the list I have compiled that stood out. The chapter relating to lumberjacks and logging camps has many unique stories, speeches, songs, and pictures that I didn't come across anywhere else in my research. For example, at the back of the book there was a list of slang terms that lumberjacks used while on the job which included phrases like play the woods and pay-pole.

"Labor Organizing." Washington State History Museum. 24, January 2009.

The exhibit on union organizing at the Washington State History Museum initiated my interest in this topic. There were pins, banners, and song books from the I.W.W. along with written account of the Seattle general strike. While looking at the artifacts there were recordings of famous speeches made during that time playing. After that visit I narrowed my topic down to organizing in the timber industry but it provided me with a general context to start my project in.

Parker, Carleton. The Casual Laborer and Other Essays. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920.

In this essay Mr. Parker describes his journeys and conversations with people around the west coast. This includes information on logging camps and the victories that had been won for the eight hour work day and sanitary conditions in the bunk houses. He also spends a fair amount of time discussing the migratory patterns of the American worker and how unions can use this for toward their advantage when fighting the property owners.

Prouty, Andrew. More Deadly Than War!: Pacific Coast Logging 1827 - 1981. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1988.

Prouty's book More Deadly Than War! contains an intense examination of the dangers faced in the life of Pacific coast loggers. It goes into detail on the various activities that put loggers in danger and gives charts and numbers to back this up. Understanding the conditions of life that drove lumbermen to organize unions is an important step in piecing together the web of causality that links all these events. This book also has very detailed appendices and bibliographies that contain valuable sources and notes on the subject.

Riebe, Ernest. Mr. Block: Twenty-four IWW cartoons. Chicago: C.H. Kerr Publishing, 1984.

This small piece of political cartoons from the I.W.W. publishing center of Chicago presents a notably different picture of the struggle for labor organization than most of the other sources one can find. Instead of focusing on large systematic problems this cartoon series follows the journeys of Mr. Block, a stupid but genuine worker. The plot always involves Mr. Block putting his trust in the capitalist system of wages, savings and work and then ends with him being fired, arrested, or losing all his money. Although it contains no reference to the Pacific Coast or the lumber industry I felt like it was an interesting set of cartoons that provide a different lens in which to view the I.W.W.

Schwantes, Carlos. "Protest in the Promised Land: Unemployment, Disinheritance, and the Origin of Labor Militancy in the Pacific Northwest." The Western Historical Quarterly 13.4 1982: 373-390.

In this article Carlos Schwantes argues that because of the entrenched individualism and isolationism of the frontier the Pacific Northwest evolved into a region where people highly valued "the power workers retained over their own lives." (Schwantes 373) This led to the violent clashes in Centralia and Everett and many other conflicts on strike lines across the

area. This was most prevalent in logging camps where men were completely isolated from society and when this isolation was coupled with the ideas of unions that began to organize men took began to take things into their own hands

Schwantes, Carlos. Radical Heritage. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.

While this book only contained a few short passages that related directly to the organizing that went on in the lumber camps of the Pacific Northwest it had an expanded bibliography that I used to find many of the other sources. Radical Heritage did explored the differences between British Columbia and the Oregon Territories and how the political division between the two led to two different approaches to how labor developed. Schwantes suggested that because Canadian politics allowed for the representation of a smaller minorities radical organizing wasn't as prolific there as it was across the border.

Smith, Walker. The Everett Massacre: A History of the Class Struggle in the Lumber Industry. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.

In trying to understand the extreme repression of I.W.W. organizing in the Pacific Northwest this book proved an excellent source. It contains many

pictures and first hand accounts from the people directly involved in the events that transpired in Everett, Washington. Although it did not list any sources or citations this book was an semi-useful tool in understanding labor organizing in lumber camps.

Thompson, Fred. The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years. Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1976.

Fred Thompson provides a beautiful and detailed account of the history of the Wobblies organizing in the early lumber camps in his book, The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years. He says that, on account of the transient nature of logging jobs the I.W.W. was the only group that had any early success in making inroads into this rough and dirty industry. This is captured in this quote of Senator Borah, "The I.W.W. is about as elusive a proposition as you ever ran up against... it is intangible... you cannot reach it... it is simply an understanding between men" (Thompson 122). Chapter nine contains lists of the workingman's demands and describes how they fought for them which is something I had not found anywhere else before. All and all this book became the backbone for my understanding of I.W.W.'s working in the Pacific Coast's lumber industry.

Todes, Charlotte. Labor and Lumber. New York: International Publishers, 1931.

Labor and Lumber was another source that made up the core group of books that really narrowed in on the specific topic of union organizing in the timber industry. It holds more information than any other source on the working and living conditions in the camps, what a logger would do during any given day, and the conditions that lead to union organization. Todes shows how workers were not interested in the "pie in the sky" (Todes 98) but wanted safer work, better pay, and shorter hours. He also includes a helpful set of appendices that describe types of jobs loggers had along with statistics and charts relating to the number of workers and amount of land in the industry.

Tyler, Robert. Rebels of the Woods: The I.W.W. in the Pacific Northwest. Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1967.

Robert Tyler's book Rebels of the Woods describes the early years of the Wobblies and the attacks they received in the woods, on the streets, by the police, in the courts, and in the media. He spends time talking about the oppression that occurred in the work place, especially at logging camps, and how union organizing helped solidify the workers while winning protection from the boss and bullets. This book also proved a great source for finding more detailed accounts of life in the camps and how workers dealt with it on various levels.