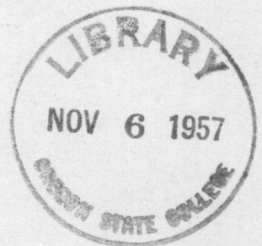


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LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY.

by

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis has been written on the labor problems of the lumber industry, showing the effect of organized labor upon the private industry as a whole.

I have tried to show the development of the lumber industry from its very beginning to the present, and in turn, the growth of the Labor Unions.

It is easy to understand that with the changes that have been made in the logging and lumbering methods, that the type of personnel must also change from the less intelligent to the more intellectual. In our great progressive machine age of today, man's ideas and intelligence must also change in order to operate the machinery more efficiently. Thus as time progresses, the average worker has become more intelligent and is more easily dissatisfied with his surrounding conditions, both in private life and at work.

The more intelligent the more apt to strike?

I doubt if there has been a strike from 1824 to 1936, which has not been caused by too little pay, poor living conditions in the camp, long hours, and no voice in the general production of lumber.

I have obtained the information and figures for this thesis from books, periodicals, trade journals, Government bulletins, newspapers, and personal interviews.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY ON THE WEST COAST

Early Sawmills

The building of a trading post at Astoria in 1811 by John Jacob Astor marked the beginning of the economic development of the West Coast. It was not, however, until the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company's post at Fort Vancouver, Washington, in 1824 and 1825, that a permanent settlement was made. The control of the country by the fur traders was not disputed until after 1840, although a few pioneers had built homes in the Willamette Valley before 1835. The Oregon migrations really began in 1843. Throughout the West Coast region the towns grew up about the sawmills or, in a few cases, about grist mills, Vancouver being the only notable exception.

The earliest traders and settlers built their trading posts or homes of round and hewn timbers, rived boards, and some pitsawn lumber, but it was not long before better materials were available. During the winter of 1827 and 1828, the first sawmill on the Pacific coast was built by the Hudson Bay Company. It was built on a small stream which entered the Columbia River from the north about six miles east of Fort Vancouver. A quotation from an early visitor to the mill is of interest:

"The sawmill is a scene of constant toil. Thirty or forty Sandwich Islanders are felling pines and dragging them to the mill; sets of hands are plying two gangs of saws by night and day. Three thousand feet per day, nine hundred thousand feet per annum, are constantly being shipped to foreign lands."

Most of the lumber was shipped to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands where it brought from \$55 to \$80 per thousand feet. The second sawmill on the West Coast was built at Newberg, Oregon, in 1837 or 1838. After a few years operation, it was swept away by high water in the winter of 1840 or 1841. The third mill in this region was erected by the Methodist Mission at Salem, Oregon, in 1840.

The first mills in Oregon to cut for more than a purely local market were built at Oregon City in 1842 or 1843. In October, 1842, a milling company composed of citizens of the United States built a sawmill on an island in the Willamette River a short distance below the falls. Almost immediately the Hudson Bay Company built a mill on the river bank near the Island. The total cost of the Hudson Bay Company's mill was \$2,300, of which \$800 was for machinery which included a power planer. The first record of lumber shipments from the West Coast to California was in 1847; "The pine lumber brought down has sold for \$50 per thousand feet and is still in demand, the shingles \$5 per thousand."

After the settlement of the boundary dispute in 1846, Oregon was rapidly settled, and saw and grist mills, separately, or in combination, were built in considerable numbers. In 1849, there were 30 sawmills in Oregon and the lumber cut in the Territory was valued at \$1,355,500.

The Fort Vancouver mill was the only sawmill in Western Washington before 1847. In that year a milling company was organized, which built a sawmill and grist mill at Tumwater,

at the head of Puget Sound. The second sawmill on the Sound was built in 1851 not far from Tumwater. Both mills were of the sash-saw type and were run by water power. The first lumber shipped from Puget Sound to California was undoubtedly carried by the brig Sacramento, which, in March, 1850, loaded a cargo of lumber, shingles, and piles at Nisqually. The lumber was cut in the Tumwater mill; the shingles were made by hand.

Except on the Willamette and lower Columbia Rivers, there was but little development of the lumber industry on the West Coast until 1853, but in that year mills were erected at many other points. In March, a steam mill at Seattle began cutting lumber, and before the year was over other mills were in on Puget Sound at Alki Point, Port Ludlow, and Appletree Cove. During the same year, mills were in operation along the Washington coast on Willapa Harbor, Grays Harbor, and Bakers Bay, and along the Oregon coast at Port Orford and Astoria, and probably on Coos Bay. The building of sawmills went on rapidly during 1854 and 1855. On October 1, 1855, Major H. A. Goldsworth of the United States Coast Survey office reported that there were then 16 sawmills on Puget Sound with a combined capacity of 85,000 feet per day. There were four mills near Olympia, two at Nisqually, two at Port Ludlow, and one each at Henderson Inlet, Hammesley Inlet, Steilacoom, Puyallup, Seattle, Port Orchard, Port Gamble, and Bellingham Bay. By 1857 there were 37 mills in Washington. The largest of these was the mill at Port Gamble, with a capacity of

20,000 feet per day, which began cutting on January 31, 1854, and before the end of the year had shipped 3,675,000 feet of lumber.

Types and Equipment of Sawmills

The earliest sawmills on the West Coast were very much like the seventeenth and eighteenth century mills in the East. Water power was general and the sash-saw was the usual equipment, but it was not long before better machinery was available. In 1846, an Oregon City mill was running a circular saw; in 1854, gang saws, planers and lath machinery were in use; and in 1861, the muley saw was in operation. The first steam mill was built at Portland, Oregon, in 1850 and after 1853 all the large mills were steam mills. The use of steam power made it possible to build large mills, and by 1870 the Port Gamble and Port Madison mills each cut 100,000 feet of lumber per day. The equipment of these mills was much like that of some of the older mills now in operation in this region--circular head saws, gang edger, power log turners, and carriage drives. Band saws, automatic trimmers, slashers, and slab conveyors do not seem to have been in use. By 1880 the larger mills were cutting up to 200,000 feet per day each, and were beginning to introduce most of the major modern improvements, excepting band saws, automatic trimmers, and electric power, which did not come until about 1900.

It was not until about 1880 that the crosscut saw was perfected to the point where it was available for felling

timber, bucking, or cutting the fallen tree into log lengths, was done with the saw, but it was a two-man job. During most of the time before 1880 logs were hauled to some stream or bay by oxen, then floated to the mill. The logs were hauled over a "skid road," made by placing skids at right angles to the line of haul and about 8 feet apart. The center of the skid was notched to keep the log in the center of the road. To make hauling easier the skids were greased, at first with dogfish oil and later with tallow. Teams of 6 to 12 oxen would haul from 1 to 10 or more logs over such a road. About 1880 the horse began to replace the oxen and in 1890 the donkey engine had begun to supplant both oxen and horses.

Influence of Railroad Building on Lumber Industry

After 1870 the development of the lumber industry on the West Coast was very intimately connected with the progress of railroad building. Until this time the lumber markets had been small. Although some lumber had been sent to foreign markets, chiefly to the Hawaiian Islands, China and South America, most of the demand came from the local communities and from California. None of these regions were developed industrially and, with the exception of China, all were sparsely populated. Railroad building began about 1871, and after 1880 progressed rapidly until the completion of the Great Northern Railway in 1893, greatly extending markets and leading to a remarkable expansion of the lumber industry, as during

the course of their construction the railroads used large quantities of lumber, and the great influx of population which followed the opening of the roads increased the demand for lumber. The roads also gave access to the markets of the Rocky Mountain region and the Missouri and Upper Mississippi Valleys, and thus permitted expansion in that direction.

The railroads came first to Oregon and that State developed earlier than Washington. In 1873 the Oregon and California Railroad was opened, thus connecting Portland and the Willamette Valley with San Francisco and the California Valleys. This greatly stimulated the settlement of the Willamette Valley, and thus widened the lumber market. The chief development of the industry in Oregon between 1869 and 1879 occurred along the line of the new road. While there had been some railroad building in western Washington during the decade, the amount was small and did not appreciably affect the industry. The industry there became even more definitely centered on the middle Sound, where in Pierce, King, Kitsap, Jefferson, and Island Counties, 11 mills cut over 88% of the total lumber production of the territory in 1879. The total was valued at \$1,734,742.

After 1880 there was a large amount of railroad building in western Washington and the lumber industry there grew rapidly. In 1883 the Northern Pacific Railway reached the coast. At first, it entered Tacoma by way of Portland, but in 1887 the direct line over the Cascades to Puget Sound was

opened. During the years following a number of branch lines were built, and in 1893 the Great Northern Railway reached Puget Sound. This led to a rapid expansion of the lumber industry in Western Washington. In 1887, over 400,000,000 feet were sawn on Puget Sound and in 1888 over 450,000,000 feet.

In spite of the opening of excellent railroad connections with the lumber using regions of the Missouri and Mississippi Valleys, it was not until after 1900 that the price of lumber was high enough to permit extensive shipment to markets east of the Rocky Mountains.

TECHNOLOGY

The processes by which standing timber is transformed into finished lumber ready for the market are very fascinating in themselves, but in this study interest in them arises from their connection with the labor problems of the industry. The conditions under which it is necessary for men to live and work, the kind of work the men do, the way in which workers mingle--all of these are of vital importance for an understanding of the labor problems. None of these can be known apart from some knowledge of the technology of the industry. For example, one must know something about the nature of the work they do before one can understand why workers in shingle mills are more favorably disposed toward radicalism than are workers in sawmills or why loggers are more radical than either.

The lumber industry is usually divided into five parts:

(1) The ownership of standing timber; (2) logging, cutting, and transporting logs to the mills; (3) milling-saw, shingle, and planing mills; (4) wholesale distribution; (5) retail distribution.

The sawmill is the center of the industry, and is closely connected with all the other operations. It is usual for the company owning the mill also to own the standing timber and to conduct it's own logging operations. However, in the fir region there are a large number of independent loggers who sell their logs in the open market. They may own timber or buy stumpage. Some of the mills act as their own wholesalers, selling direct to retailers while a few mills conduct rail yards. Nearly all mills do a retail business in the community in which they are located. However, there are few men employed in connection with timber ownership or lumber marketing, and these do not appreciably affect the typical labor problems of the industry.

Extent and Causes of Labor Unrest

One of the surest signs of a contented labor force is a low labor turnover. If men are happy and contented with their work, they will stay with it; if they are restless and discontented, they will move on to another job. Where job or conditions are satisfactory, turnover is low and many men stay year after year. On the other hand, a high rate of turnover indicates something wrong with the plant.

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Extent of Labor Turnover

In the West Coast lumber industry the labor turnover has usually been very high, although, like so many other aspects of the situation, adequate figures on the subject are hard to find. A few mills have made careful turnover studies. Four Oregon mills report that during three years, 1919 to 1921, the average number of separations was 703 per mill, per year, while the average working force per mill was 343, indicating a turnover of about 205%.

Causes of Labor Turnover

The causes of this turnover are many and ramify through all the relations of workers and owners in the industry. Some turnover is inevitable in any industry, due to sickness, accident, death, old age, promotion, removals, family affairs, etc. Some of the turnover is peculiar to this industry but inevitable in it. Men find it too exacting to continue working indefinitely in some of the extreme weather conditions of the region, and leave to rest up or dry out. Rain even when it reaches a precipitation of 4 or 5 inches per day, does not hinder operations in mill or camp until something washes away. High wind will stop logging. Snow also interferes with it, but only rarely is there enough snow to interfere with operations except well up in the mountains. There is also a considerable amount of idle time due to breakdowns or necessary repairs. All of these result in increased turnover. It has been estimated that 20% constitutes the minimum turnover for any length

of time.

There has been for years a very general and deep-seated belief on the part of the workers that much of the turnover has been deliberately encouraged by the employers. The conviction is very general that many foreman have an arrangement with some employment agency for splitting the fee. In such cases, the foreman will not hire a man who does not have a ticket from the proper employment agent, even though he is in need of men, while he will hire a man with such a ticket even though it be necessary to discharge a satisfactory workman to make room for the new man. Another alleged reason for encouraging turnover is to prevent organization of the crew. A large turnover may be profitable when it is the result of excessive exploitation of labor, wearing out the worker, discarding him, and getting another. It is probable that in some of the mills and camps that this is the explanation of most of the turnover.

The chief causes of labor unrest in the industry are:

(1) Long hours; (2) low wages; (3) unsanitary camps; (4) lack of family life; (5) absence of community life; (6) unsatisfactory working relationships with foremen and superintendents.

THE WORKERS

Most of the employees in the lumber industry on the West Coast are Americans or Scandinavians, although there are a few men of other nationalities, usually in the unskilled positions.

Social Viewpoints

Cutting across all lines of race or skill, there are widely different social viewpoints held by the lumber workers. These attitudes toward life and society lie at the root of any and all labor problems. The first step towards an adequate understanding of these men is to classify them upon the basis of their social viewpoints, but in this connection it is necessary to remember that it is often impossible to fit any given individual into any possible scheme of classification. In this attempt to classify labor types, the basis chosen is the attitude of a man toward his job, although it will be necessary occasionally to take account of other significant differences.

While in general, every job is taken and held because of the money made on the job, either as wages or otherwise, yet in many cases the worker may find enough pleasure in his job to induce him to accept it at lower wages than he would accept elsewhere. He may feel that in addition to the wages he receives for his labor, there is in the work itself a chance for self-expression and so may take real pleasure in doing good work. While there are some men who feel something of the artist's interest and pride in their work, for the majority of the workers in the mills and camps, work is drudgery and endurable only because of the wages paid. While these attitudes are determined partly by the kind of work done, this is by no means the whole story, as will appear when we consider

the question a little further.

Since all men look upon their jobs, as in a very significant sense, a means toward an end, it is important to inquire as to the things they hope to secure as a result of their labor. An examination of lumber workers from this point of view shows the men have five quite clearly defined ambitions. Some of them think of their work as furnishing only a temporary help in securing something which has no connection with the work itself, as, for example, buying and clearing a farm. Another type of worker thinks of his job as a stepping stone to a higher position in the industry--as a training ground for an executive position or for ownership. A third, and by far the most numerous type, consists of men who think of the job as furnishing the means to live as ordinary citizens and usually to maintain a normal family life. This group contains both those with and those without interest and pride in their work. The members of the fourth group have cast aside all social ties and obligations and seek in the job merely the means to live a self-supporting, but essentially unstable life. In the last group, we find those who have lost all touch with society and who work just enough to secure a stake to provide only for a mere animal existence, which stake will be supplemented from less respectable sources.

The five groups above may be illustrated in order by the following classes of people; (1) The stump farmer; (2) the ambitious worker; (3) the typical lumberjack;

(4) the migratory worker and (5) the hobo.

LABOR UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

International Shingle Weavers' Union of America

The first union activity among the workers in the lumber industry on the West Coast occurred among the workers in the shingle mills, commonly called the "shingle weavers," about 1890. The shingle weavers were never very numerous, the group in any mill being small. They were very mobile, the range of skill required was small, and most of the work could be done by any one of the group. In addition, the method of wage payment--by the piece--and the dependence of all the crew upon the pace set by the shingle sawyers, drew them together. The dangers of the occupation, particularly to the sawyers, made them daring. This group was much better fitted to take the lead in union activity than any other group in the industry.

About 1890 they formed the West Coast Shingle Weaver's Union. In 1893 the union struck against a cut of one cent per thousand and lost. This strike and the panic which occurred while the men were out, destroyed the union. During the next few years, wages went down until the men were packing for three cents per thousand. Attempts seem to have been made during the two or three years preceding 1901 to reorganize the union, but little seems to have been accomplished. Taking advantage of the good shingle market in 1901, the weavers carried on a vigorous agitation for better wages and conditions.

This resulted in a general increase in wages and the formation of shingle weavers' locals in many of the shingle centers of western Washington. In nearly every case the union was the result of a successful strike for better wages. These locals were chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, but were loosely associated together through a "grand council."

In January, 1903, the various shingle weavers' locals held a convention at Everett, Washington, at which they united to form the International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.

International Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers

Among the many attempts made before 1913 to organize the sawmill and logging camp workers on the West Coast there are few which deserve more than passing notice. A number of locals were organized among these workers before 1905, but they do not seem to have had a very vigorous or long life. In 1905 the American Federation of Labor granted a charter to the International Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers. By 1911 the membership had fallen to about 600, and the union was suspended from the Federation of Labor for failure to pay the per capita tax. In 1906 an organization called the Royal Loggers was formed among the loggers on Puget Sound. It appeared to have been making good headway when the promoter absconded with its funds and was disrupted.

International Union of Timber Workers

Following the suspension of the International Brotherhood of Woodsmen and sawmill workers by the American Federation of

Labor in 1911, the tenth annual convention of the Shingle Weavers' Union, meeting at Sedro Woolley, Washington, in January, 1912, voted to instruct the officers to attempt to secure from the American Federation of Labor an extension of jurisdiction to cover the entire lumber industry. This extension was granted in November, 1912, and during December the extension of jurisdiction was indorsed by a referendum vote of the Shingle Weavers' Union. The name of the union was changed to the International Union of Shingle Weavers, Sawmill workers, and Woodsmen, and the name of its journal was changed to the Timber Worker. These changes became effective on March 1, 1913. A year later the union voted to change its name to the International Union of Timber Workers.

From 1913 to 1915 this union functioned peacefully, then the union demanded an eight hour day with increase in wages. During 1914 and 1915, the lumber industry was slowed down due to the depression of those two years. With the lumber industry in a slump the union the also became weakened.

The employers took advantage of the weakened condition of the union and during 1915 launched many attacks upon it. On February 1, 1915, the union was engaged in 15 strikes and lock-outs in as many towns in Washington--and the number was rapidly increasing. On February 19, the Everett mills posted notice of cut of 20% in wages, effective March 1. The union voted to strike and went out on February 22. The strike was lost, and on May 12 it was called off on the promise of the operators to

raise wages again when the market improved. During the year the union fought 55 lockouts, involving the entire membership and lost in nearly every case. The union was almost completely destroyed.

Reorganization of International
Shingle Weavers' Union of America

As a result of the disastrous strikes in 1915 and the complete failure of the Timber Workers' Union to organize the lumber industry, the American Federation of Labor, in the fall of 1915, revoked the jurisdiction of the union over the sawmill and camp workers. This left the union with jurisdiction over only the shingle weavers, just as it was before 1913. Early in 1916 the shingle weavers began to revive the union, and by April 1, 1916 there were 24 locals functioning, although only 14 were represented at the convention in Seattle on April 3. At this time the union was reorganized with the name it held before 1913, - The International Shingle Weavers' Union of America. The control of strikes was put in the hands of the executive board and the Seattle Union Record was made the official organ of the union.

New International Union of Timber Workers

After the American Federation of Labor revoked the jurisdiction of the International Timber Workers' Union over the sawmill and camp workers, these workers began to form locals. Finally, in 1916, these locals merged into a new International Union of Timber Workers, which did not include the shingle weavers.

In January, 1917, the union held a convention at Aberdeen. The union was indorsed by the State Federation in the spring of 1917, and at about the same time received a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

Industrial Workers of the World

Principles and attitude of the I.W.W.

To understand the nature and significance of the I.W.W. in the West Coast lumber industry, it is necessary to recall the analysis of labor types previously made. The members of the I.W.W. have been recruited almost entirely from the migratory and hobo groups, with a sprinkling from the lower levels of the settled workers. The number of this latter type depends upon the general industrial and social conditions. Such workers feel more easily and naturally than do the more permanent portions of the laboring classes the appeal of closing words of the communist manifesto: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of the world, unite!" It is easy for the I.W.W., a frankly revolutionary organization which takes these words wholeheartedly, to make headway among men of this type; in fact, the migratory lumber worker has had no small place in shaping the ideals and tactics of the I.W.W.

It is perhaps possible to express the essential principles of the I.W.W. in five statements: (1) The interests of the employer and the employees are absolutely contradictory; they have nothing in common; (2) the wages system must give place to

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an industrial society managed by the workers themselves; (3) labor organizations must be based on industrial rather than craft lines; (4) the aims of labor must be secured by industrial rather than political action; (5) a new moral ideal and code must be developed which shall recognize the rights of human life and happiness as taking precedence over the right of property. Most of these ideas are clearly expressed in the "Preamble," the real platform of the I.W.W., while the other ideas are held by the leaders to be implicit in that statement. The assumption underlying all of these ideas is the belief in the class war. The relation between the lumber workers and these principles is set forth in the following paragraphs.

Among the important points of difference between employers and employees, we may note the questions of wages, hours, working and living conditions, and the control of the industry. It is these which attract the notice of the migratory worker, and he is not apt to notice those points where their interests are harmonious--in the general prosperity of the industry and the community and the general well being of all parties to the industrial arrangement. However, he comes in contact with a great many employers who also fail to see these points of mutual interest. The wandering worker is, by virtue of that fact, not normal, and he fails to get the normal and sensible point of view. He is very likely to personalize all the evils of the present maladjustment of industrial conditions in the employer, whom he believes to

be in control of those conditions, and to believe the guilt personal when it is properly institutional.

With this diagnosis of the situation--that the whole trouble comes from the selfishness of the employer--these workers desire to eliminate the source of the trouble, the employer himself. While they are doing this they want to overthrow the whole system which permits an employer to secure control over the lives of the workers. Because the employer has abused his power he should be shorn of it, they claim. There is a real desire on the part of the wandering worker for a measure of authority. One of the elements of his dissatisfaction is the thwarting of his instinct for mastery, and he dreams of the time when he will be able to control industry for his own good. The syndicalist ideal of control of industry by syndicates or trade-unions offers just the means needed to satisfy this longing. Not merely does it furnish release from bad conditions, but it also gives a new system which has elements of real psychological worth.

The lumber industry, particularly the logging branch of it, is not readily organizable along craft lines. The logging camp employs a large number of unskilled or semiskilled workers and only a few highly skilled men of many different crafts. The same thing is true to a somewhat lesser degree of the saw-mill. There are engineers, machinists, carpenters, blacksmiths, and many other crafts peculiar to the lumber industry, but usually there are not more than two or three men of any

one craft in a given camp or plant. In the camps most of the men live together in the bunk house, and when not at work are associated very closely together. In the mills, the contact is not so close, but acquaintance among the workers is quite general. This close affiliation of all workers, whether or not of any craft, as well as the small number of any craft in a locality, has hindered the formation of the craft type of union. In most of the mills the skilled workers have risen from the ranks of the unskilled and still feel a strong community of interest with the poorer paid men. While in a few mills there has been an attempt made by the management to break down this solidarity by paying the skilled workers unusually high wages and the unskilled men low wages, in general the feeling of solidarity is strong, thus making for the industrial rather than the craft type of organization.

Very shortly after its organization in June and July, 1905, the I.W.W. began its propaganda on the West Coast and soon had a number of flourishing locals. The Seattle local had several branches with a combined membership of 800 before the organization was a year old. By March, 1907, there were locals at Portland, Tacoma, Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Ballard, North Bend, Astoria, and Vancouver, Washington.

The most important lumber strike with which the I.W.W. was connected before 1917 began at Hoquiam, Washington, on March 14, 1912, when 25 members of the crew of a sawmill walked out and closed the mill. No demands were made at this time, although it was generally understood that the strike was for better wages.

THE 1917 LUMBER WORKERS' STRIKE

Beginning of Strike

The strike in the lumber industry in the Northwest during the summer of 1917 deserves special attention, not only because it was by far the most extensive labor disturbance the industry had ever known, but also because it furnishes the key to an understanding of the industrial problems there before and since. This strike, which extended to most of the West Coast, brought to a head many influences and tendencies which had been gathering strength for years, and in its settlement set in motion forces which have profoundly affected the subsequent course of industrial relations.

During the spring and early summer there were a number of small local disturbances on the West Coast, but it was not until July 14 that the big strike broke. At the annual convention of the Shingle Weavers' Union on May 21, 1917, the union instructed the Executive board to write to all the shingle mills in an endeavor to secure the eight-hour day by conference. In case this attempt had not succeeded by June 20, the board was instructed to call a special convention for June 30. The special convention voted to call a strike on July 16, and opened the charters of all the locals for new members. On July 6, the Timber Workers' Union, in convention at Aberdeen, drew up a set of demands. The most important of these were for a minimum wage of \$3 for eight hours in the mills and \$3.50 for nine hours in the camps; better sanitary arrangements in mills and

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camps; greater freedom from control by the employer in matters not properly a part of the work, as for example, employers' censoring of mail in camps; union recognition; and the closed shop. The union demanded a conference before July 12, with a threat of a strike on July 16 if its demands were not granted. On July 10 the president of the Timber Workers' Union and the president of the Shingle Weavers' Union conferred in Aberdeen and agreed that the two unions should work in closest harmony in all matters pertaining to the strike.

Instead of conferring with the union as requested, the employers got together on July 9 and decided to fight. At this meeting the Lumberman's Protective Association was formed to resist the demands of the union. It was decided to raise a campaign fund of a half million dollars and to fine any member who operated his plant less than 10 hours per shift, \$500 per day.

Attempts were made by Federal and State officials to bring the two parties together, but although the unions were willing to accept mediation, the employers refused and nothing came of it.

Meanwhile the I.W.W. had been actively discussing a strike, especially during the first week in July, when the camps were shut down. About the time the camps resumed, the I.W.W. sent out from its Seattle office on July 9, a notice to all of its members, to the effect that it had called no strike and advised the workers not to "fall for the bunk" of a timber workers' strike. A few days later, a conference of I.W.W. leaders and

job delegates was held at Seattle to canvass the situation and decide on a course of action. It was the general feeling at this meeting that all the members of the I.W.W. would go out on July 16 with the timber workers. It was decided that the time to strike had come, and a strike call was issued. The delegates went back to the camps with the: "Boys, the strike is on; roll up and get out." Most of these delegates reached the camps on July 13, and the strike began the next morning. The action of the I.W.W. in striking two days before the other unions may be partly explained by the bitter feeling between the two groups, but probably a better explanation is the well-known I.W.W. plan of surprise attacks on the employer. Monday, July 16, the timber workers and shingle weavers went out as they had planned, and the strike of the three unions spread rapidly over the West Coast.

The I.W.W. demands, formulated and presented some time after the strike began, were similar to those of the timber workers. These included a demand for an 8-hour day in both mills and camps, with a minimum wage of \$3.50 per day in all places; more sanitary and attractive camps; the abolition of the hospital fee, piecework, and bonus systems, and no discrimination against the I.W.W., but included no demand for the closed shop. The I.W.W. did not expect to secure all of these demands, but the strike was a protest against conditions under which its members had long suffered, and the inclusive nature of the demands reflected the thwarted ideals of years. These

demands show that the causes of the strike can not be found in any single incident, (such as the Everett trouble of the preceding fall.) It was an outburst of resentment against conditions which had been growing more and more intolerable for years, but for which no remedy had theretofore been apparent.

Extent of Strike

On August 1 the West Coast Lumberman reported that probably 75% of the lumber production in western Washington had been cut off by the closing of the mills, but it denied that all of the mills which were shut down had been forced to close by strike trouble, as some of them claimed to have been able to continue cutting had they so desired. A few days later, a representative of the American Lumberman reported that not over 15% of the mills on the West Coast were running.

Late in July the strike began to interfere with the supply of lumber for the Camp Lewis cantonment, and soon after the ship carpenters on Grays Harbor refused to handle lumber from 10-hour mills. The Government was thus brought into the trouble and Secretary of War Baker and Governor Lister, of Washington, urged the employers to grant the 8-hour day with time and a half for overtime. The latter did the unprecedented thing of issuing a proclamation calling upon the employers to concede the 8-hour day with 9 hours' pay and time and a half for overtime, but the employers would not yield. The lumbermen believed that the 8-hour day was economically impossible owing to the keen competition of other lumber regions where camps and mills were running 10 hours. This interference of

the Government was bitterly resented by many of the employers.

At the very outset of the strike Secretary Baker and Governor Lister sent troops to Grays Harbor to protect mills which were cutting lumber for the Camp Lewis cantonment. The I.W.W. established picket camps near every struck camp that they could reach and attempted in every possible way to prevent men from going into the camps, while the other unions did most of the picketing in the mills. In some places, particularly at Raymond, injunctions were secured to prevent picketing, and some strikers were fined for violating the injunctions.

Termination of Strike

It was estimated that about 10 per cent of the mills and camps, about 150 in all, mostly shingle mills, granted the 8-hour day and were able to resume. None of these were members of the Lumberman's Protective Association. Some of these mills later went back to a 10-hour day, and the unions declared it was because of the pressure of the Loggers' Association, which refused to supply logs to 8-hour mills. It is more reasonable to account for the shortage of logs for 8-hour mills by the fact that there were not logs enough for all mills, and the loggers naturally preferred to furnish logs to mills which stood with them in the fight for 10 hours.

By September 1, it was apparent to the leaders of the I.W.W. that they would not be able to bring the employers to terms by means of a prolonged strike, since strike funds were

running low and the men were drifting back to their jobs, permitting the mills and camps to reopen. Accordingly, a referendum was held to determine the sentiment of the members with regard to a future policy. While no report was ever made as to the exact vote cast, it was announced that the members of the I.W.W. went back on the job to continue to strike there. The shingle weavers and timber workers did not officially call the strike off, but they permitted their members to return to work. The former held a special convention late in October and decided not to call the strike off until the 8-hour day was universal in the shingle mills, but it permitted any local union to determine its attitude with regard to resuming work.

The employers took the general position that the strike was a good thing for the industry in that, among other things, it saved the market from a collapse, it demonstrated the solidarity of the employers, it showed the radical nature of the unions and it eliminated disturbing elements. They had early taken the position that they could open their plants when they were ready, but that they preferred to fight the matter out once for all. It is probably true that they could have resumed sooner had they made a determined effort to do so, but it is also probably true that six months later they would have made a different statement with regard to the seriousness of the situation.

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Strike on the Job

When the mills resumed operations in September, 1917, the Shingle Weavers' and timbers workers' Unions dropped out of sight, and the remaining trouble was furnished by what the I.W.W. called its "strike on the job" or "job strike." In this type of strike the workers remained on the job, but they did everything possible while there, to hinder production and reduce profits. The tactics practiced there were slowing down, rapid shifting from job to job, and sabotage. In the slowing-down process, or the "conscious withdrawal of efficiency," they very definitely curtailed production, sometimes to less than one-fourth of normal.

ORGANIZATION OF LOYAL LEGION OF LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN

Object of organization

When the members of the I.W.W. carried the strike to the job and proved that, although they were regularly at work, they could seriously interfere with the lumber production, the Government had to adopt other measures to secure the requisite amount of airplane material. In August, 1917, the shipment of airplane material was but 202,264 feet. The mills resumed operation in September and shipments increased to 2,683,307 feet and in October reached 3,495,175 feet. Then there was a slight falling off in November. Not only were these shipments far below the requirement of 10,000,000 feet per month, but less than half of the lumber shipped was suitable for actual

construction. Furthermore, demands were increasing.

A representative of the War Department had been sent to Portland in the early summer to supervise and inspect purchases of airplane material, but he failed to secure sufficient supplies, and early in October, Col. Brice P. Disque was sent to the West Coast to investigate conditions connected with the production of airplane materials. He spent about two weeks investigating and reported to Washington early in November, following which he was sent back to Portland with definite orders to get the lumber needed.

While on his tour of investigation in October, Colonel Disque held a conference with 12 or 15 of the leading employers of the West Coast, at which one of the loggers suggested that the Government organize a patriotic organization of some kind, a "loyal legion," to line up the workers behind the Government program. This suggestion was enthusiastically received by the other employers and by Colonel Disque, and from it the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, commonly called the "Four L", was born a month later. As so conceived, the Four L was to be merely a propaganda agency to counteract the I.W.W., and as such it was carried on for a considerable period. After his return to Portland on November 15, Colonel Disque perfected the plans for the launching of the Four L and submitted them to Secretary of War Baker, who on November 23 approved them in a telegram in which he said: "I heartily approve and highly recommend the plan and am convinced the organization will prove

a great asset to the Government in the successful prosecution of the war."

Recruiting Methods

The first Four L local was organized at Wheeler, Oregon, on November 30, 1917, when the entire crew of 110 men joined. A vigorous policy of recruiting was undertaken, and by January 1, 1918, 10,000 members had been enrolled. By January 24, there were 300 locals with 35,000 members. Of these locals, 105 were on Grays Harbor, the center of spruce production.

DEVELOPMENT OF LOYAL LEGION OF LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN

Reorganization after the war

The Four L conventions at Portland and Spokane on December 6 and December 9, respectively, called by Colonel Disque, faced and settled the question of the future of the organization. At Portland, with about 400 employee delegates and 200 employers present, there were but 6 negative votes, all employees, on the question: "Shall the Four L continue?" At Spokane, there was complete unanimity. There were many members, however, who did not desire the Four L to continue into post-war periods, but the officers of the Four L estimated that the opposing votes in the referendum on the question held before the conventions were not over 20 per cent of the total vote cast. The President of the Timber Workers' Union claimed that this favorable showing was made by the use of open voting, by show of hands, with the employers present, and the President

of the Washington State Federation of Labor stated that the two conventions were dominated by Colonel Disque and the employers, so that the employees of the industry had no opportunity to make their desires effective. As far as can be learned, the action taken at these conventions and in the locals was not far from the expression of the will of the majority of the members of the Four L.

These conventions elected a new general council, or board of directors as it has been called. This board met according to the instructions of the convention, on January 14, 1919, adopted a new constitution, and conducted other necessary business. The most important of the other actions of the board at this time was the establishment of several employment bureaus and the appointment of the employee member of the board as organizers.

Opposition to organization

The reorganized Four L inherited a great deal of opposition from the I.W.W., the Timber Workers' Union, and those employers who were not in sympathy with the war-time Four L control. While the I.W.W. has presented the most effective organized opposition, the Four L had had to meet, the Timber Workers Union has been the loudest in it's opposition. While, until recently, the I.W.W. has not devoted much time to condemning the Four L, it has been the prevalent I.W.W. sentiment in the logging camps which has made Four L organization there a precarious thing. Few camps now have Four L locals. The

HIGHEST
SECRET

constitutional bar to membership against members of organizations whose precepts are not in accord with the Constitution of the United States is clearly aimed at the I.W.W. Recently, the Four L has been putting considerable vigor into its attempts to organize locals in the logging camps, and the I.W.W. is devoting considerable attention to the Four L.

The Timber Workers' Union carried on a constant campaign of denunciation of the Four L. During the War the opposition was guarded, but with the close of governmental control it became more open. During 1919 and the first part of 1920, the union spent considerable time in attacks upon the Four L, but since the summer of 1920, its attacks have almost ceased.

While many of the employers were convinced that the Four L contained great possibilities for good, and wholeheartedly supported it, others would have nothing to do with it. Their opposition rested chiefly on three grounds: Opposition to the principle of collective bargaining, opposition to a minimum wage, and a desire to lengthen the working day and break down the standards of working and living conditions. The Four L fights the unfair employer as vigorously as it does the unfair employee. For example, in May, 1922, the Four L Bulletin contained a most scathing condemnation of a large lumber company because of its policy of paying low wages and working long hours. In general, however, the employers supported the Four L. This was regarded as additional proof by the I.W.W. and the Timber Workers that the organization was boss controlled.

THE LUMBER INDUSTRY FROM 1923 - 1929

The lumber industry from 1923-1929, as far as the labor situation was concerned, was relatively quiet. During this time, there were two depressions, one in 1924 and one in 1926-1927. Although these were not as serious as the one in 1929-1934, it was sufficient enough to keep the lumber industry fighting for its own.

There were a few strikes during this time, but they were local and of no great consequence.

THE STRIKE OF 1934, 1935, 1936.

While most of us know in a general way that our livelihoods and the education of our families depend in a considerable degree upon the lumber industry, we are not likely to realize the extent of our economic dependence on that industry. Were we as keenly aware to its emergencies as we would be to our own profession or business under attack, we would be alert to rally to its defense, knowing that it's problems were our problems in the immediate sense that our own living depend on their solution.

BACKGROUND OF THE STRIKE

To understand the causes of this disastrous state of affairs, it is necessary to glance at the industry from its inceptions. The government made the mistake of thinking timber lands could best be exploited in small units under private ownership as are farm lands. Consequently, huge timber tracts

were sold and became subject to taxation, interest, and other expenses of private ownership. Now 47.7% of the timber in western Washington and Oregon is privately owned.

Futhermore, it was popularly presumed that lumber consumption would continue to increase in proportion to the increase in population. Since forests were being depleted, these two trends would combine to enhance timber value. So lumbermen came to believe large tracts of timber could be carried profitably in private ownership until markets warranted their conversion into lumber.

Twenty years ago it became apparent that lumber consumption was diminuation in older regions, such as the south, was not as rapid as had been expected, and that timber taxes and carrying charges were rising and making it impossible to hold the forests. Thus there was created a tremendous pressure calling for conversion of trees into dollars. Manufacturing facilities in excess of consumption followed as this pressure grew.

During the past twenty years the pressure to liquidate lumber investments has gripped the industry, keeping it chronically overproduced. The situation has been especially acute in the past decade. NRA tried production control which might have succeeded if minimum prices had not also been included. A buyer's market led to price-cutting, and as a result, lumber was the first major industry to discard the code.

Two great strikes have smitten the North Pacific Coast since 1933. In 1933 it was the longshoreman's strike; In 1934

1935 and 1936 it was the strike of lumbermen in all branches of the Pacific Northwest Lumber industry. For the past decade the industry has been singularly immune from serious labor disputes. But the American Federation of Labor seized the opportunity presented by the NIRA to begin organizing, and it now considers itself strong enough for a decisive struggle.

PURPOSE OF THE STRIKE

The primary purpose was to unionize the field, crushing the Four L, an industry-wide joint organization of employers and employees.

The strike was called by the new Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union, an affiliate of American Federation of Labor. They wanted: (1) To speed up production (2) 75 cents per hour, and (3) a 30 hour week.

The strikers, led by the International Carpenter's Union, an American Federation of Labor organization, also demanded in addition to the above, closed shop.

FACTS ABOUT THE WEST COAST LUMBER INDUSTRY FROM 1929 to 1936

West Coast Sawmills

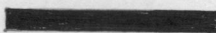






In 1929 the industry had 774 living sawmills. These units on their own records could produce nearly Fifteen billion board feet of lumber in one year. They did produce 10.3 billion feet in 1929. This was 72 per cent of capacity.

Something more than \$145,000,000 had been invested in

these sawmills. An additional \$85,000,000 was in logging railroads, camps and equipment. The industry in 1929 owned about 347 billion feet of timber, for which \$502,000,000 had been paid. The total capital investment was at least \$732,000,000.

Between sawmills and commercial loggers in industry, they had more than 1,000 active units, all with money invested and employing workmen. About 86,000 wage earners were employed in logging and lumbering in this region in 1926 to 1929.

PRODUCTION
(Billions of Feet)

1929	10.4	
1930	7.6	
1931	5.4	
1932	3.1	
1933	4.6	
1934	4.3	
1935	1.1*	






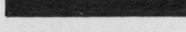
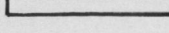
*First 3 months.

The average wage ranged from \$4.70 to \$4.81. The annual income per worker was from \$1,400 to \$1,440, a high years wages for any American industry.

Then, with the rest of the world, West Coast lumber was hit by the depression. What happened is shown in the figures herewith.

These tables show how production fell from ten billion to three billion feet from 1929 to 1932. Sales prices dropped from \$20.63 per thousand to \$11.50.





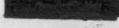

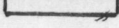
AVERAGE SALES PRICE
(Per thousand feet)

1929	\$20.63	
1930	17.80	
1931	13.55	
1932	11.50	
1933	14.55	
1934	17.23	
1935	15.30	

The number of mills running fell from 706 to 398. Those operating were on short time.

Employees who worked with the industry in 1929 and in 1934 know of this local idle capacity. The logger working in the woods can see the idle equipment. If he worked for a six-side camp in 1929,

SAWMILLS PRODUCING
(Average Number)

1929	706	
1930	540	
1931	432	
1932	398	
1933	388	
1934	418	
1935	363	

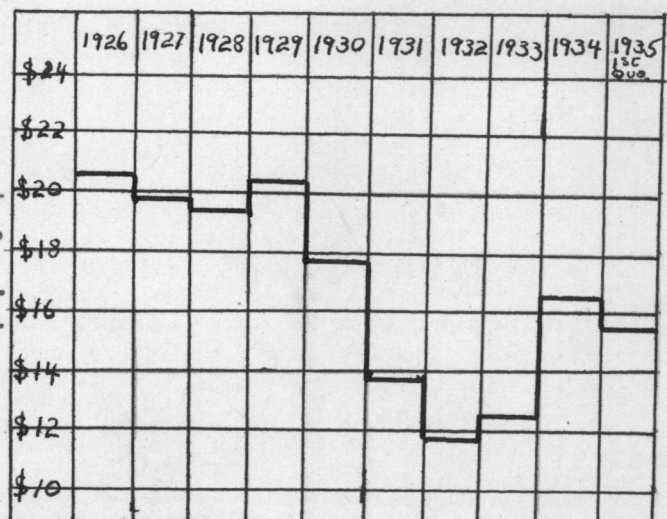
that operation probably worked two sides in 1934, or more sides and fewer days to make the equal of two.

The sawmillman can see idle mills in his own neighborhood. Many of the mills which employed two and three shifts of 48 hours a week in 1929 have been running one shift 30 hours. A former three-shift mill which formerly ran 96 hours is losing 66 hours of crew work weekly.

AVERAGE PRICES OF WEST
COAST LUMBER

The average price received at West Coast mills in 1935 was at least \$4.00 per thousand less than 1926 or 1929.

Generally speaking, approximately half of the price received for lumber goes direct to labor in logging camp and sawmill payrolls.



Industry Operated on it's Savings

The low of the depression, 1932, found the industry operating at 19.8 per cent of capacity. This is the same as a man's working 9.6 hours per week when he formerly worked 48 hours. In 1933 and 1934 the industry got back to approximately 30 per cent of capacity. This when applied to a 48 hour week would mean 14.4 hours. Before the depression, the West Coast lumber industry was taking in \$200,000,000 or more each year. Half of this was paid out directly to logging camps and sawmill labor. In 1932 the industry got \$35,500,000 for its production and paid out between 17 and 18 million dollars directly to labor. In 1934 the industry got 73.7 million dollars for its lumber and paid close to 40 million dollars directly to its own labor.

Timber Taxes

Through these depression years a large portion of the industry was not able to pay its current timber taxes. Almost nothing was returned in 1931, 1932 and 1933 to the more than \$700,000,000 invested in the business. Mostly the industry operated by sacrificing the stumpage which it had bought in former years.

Liquidation

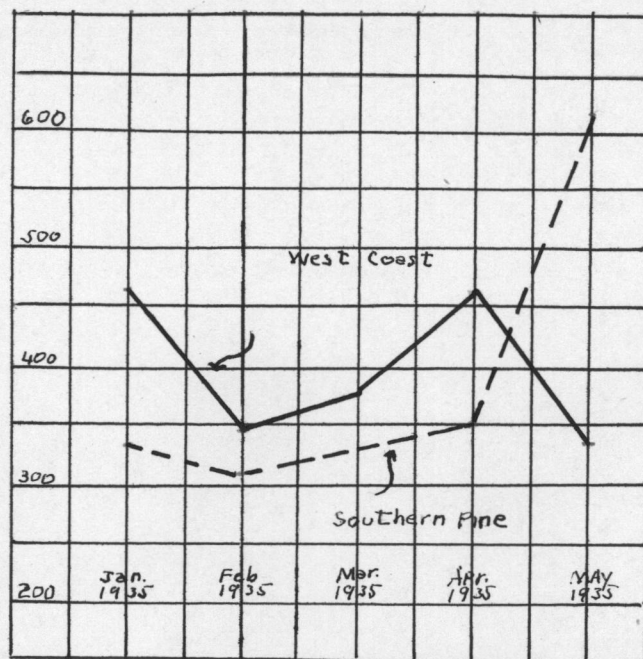
Much the same thing has been done by millions of Americans who withdrew from savings banks or insurance policies the savings of former years, and used these to live. The \$500,000,000 worth of standing timber owned by the industry in 1929 was the

savings of thousands of people. Like other savings, a large portion of this timber investment was wiped out during the depression. Many owners have held on hoping to get back some day a portion of their original investment. These could pay current operation costs, including labor, by logging their own stumpage without getting back its cost. The stumpage represented, let us say, a two dollar investment. The stumpage owner could live and perhaps pay his taxes by logging a certain amount and getting back one dollar for his stumpage. He was sacrificing one dollar of his investment in order to get a dollar in cash. This process, known as liquidation has continued through 1933 and 1934.

Fight For Lumber Markets

In 1929 Southern pine mills cut 11.6 billion and West Coast plants 10.3 billion board feet. Between them was cut more than two-thirds of the lumber made and consumed in this country. Southern pine operated on an average low wage of about 20 cents per hour; the West Coast on about 40 cents per hour. The West Coast worked an eight-hour day; Southern pine a ten-hour day.

The Bureau of the Census of the U. S. Government reported the average mill prices received in 1929 as Douglas fir \$20.05; Southern yellow pine \$25.66. The Western mills had to absorb



In Millions of Board Feet

MOST OF THE BUSINESS LOST BY WEST COAST MILLS THROUGH THE STRIKE
HAS GONE TO SOUTHERN PINE

The black line: Orders taken by West Coast mills, by months.

The broken line: Orders taken by Southern Pine mills, by months.

Period covered from the first of January, 1935, to the close of
May, 1935.

much higher freight rates and this is the reason Southern pine manufacturers could get more for this lumber in competition.

Unfortunately for both employers and employees, the West Coast lumber industry is located in a far corner of the United States. West Coast mills must pay an average of \$18.00 per thousand feet to reach Chicago by rail. Southern pine can be moved to Chicago for \$10.00 per thousand. Our mills must pay \$12.00 per thousand to reach the Atlantic coast markets by way of the Panama Canal, which is about the same railroad freight charge from many Southern pine points. Some much closer, ship for half that amount. Yet the Atlantic Coast and Central

and Eastern States consume 60% of all the lumber used in the United States. It is here that the mills of the Douglas fir region must make the great bulk of their sales.

Our mills must compete with those of the South, directly in price, or lose a large portion of our business.

More than 60 per cent of the total production of Southern yellow pine is cut in small mills employing less than 30 men. These mills operate in little tracts of scattered timber. More than 3,000 additional small mills in the South went into production following the better prices which came with the lumber code. Paying lower wages than the larger pine mills and working employees up to 60 hours weekly, these thousands of little mills are capable of flooding any market from the Mississippi Valley to the Atlantic Coast.

At various points in the South a lot of this small mill lumber is bought at concentration yards, where it is seasoned and remanufactured. Such lumber is regularly sold in the larger American markets on dollar-and-cents competition with our own Douglas fir and West Coast hemlock. Southern yellow pine sold more lumber in 1929 than did the West Coast, with 60 per cent of its production from small mills. The West Coast lumber salesman finds this competition with the South to be constant and serious.

West Coast mills during January, February, March, and April were well ahead of the mills in the Southern pine region in total orders taken. Then in the first week of May came the West Coast strike.

WAGES PER HOUR--IN AMERICAN LUMBER INDUSTRY

Minimum Wage Rate and Average Wages Paid--in cents--

From Reports to Lumber Code Authority

	<u>Min.</u>	<u>Aver.</u>	
Southern Pine			
Region	24.0	29.55	
Southern & Appala-			
chian Hardwoods	24.0	31.80	
Northeastern Softwood			
Region	30.0	36.16	
Northern Hemlock			
Region	30.0	33.37	
Northern Pine			
Region	33.5	35.72	
Redwood Region	35.0	45.07	
Western Pine			
Region	42.5	53.78	
West Coast			
Sawmills	42.5	54.92	
West Coast			
Logging Camps	42.5	60.32	
Red Cedar Shingles ...	42.5	63.29	

Studies made on the 1929 reports of the Bureau of Census show that the mills in the five southern pine states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi produced 9.48 billion feet of lumber, which was sold for \$261,821,072. These mills employed 119,709 wage earners and paid total wages of \$87,080,297.

Continued on center of next page.

Buyers of lumber in the Mississippi Valley, in the Great Lakes states and on the Atlantic Coast, where the most of the people in this country live, turned to the South for their lumber supplies. Southern pine mills sold approximately 350,000,000 feet of lumber in April, and in May, more than 600,000,000 feet. West Coast sales declined from 450,000,000 feet in April to 330,000,000 feet in May. Most of the 250,000,000 feet increase shown on the chart as going to Southern pine would have come to West Coast mills had there been no strike.

Low Wages South and East set limit in West Coast

The minimum wages set up under the Lumber Code for the several regions and the average wages paid per hour in 1934 show the wage competition. These are as shown herewith, as compiled from reports to the Lumber Code Authority.

It may be seen that West Coast sawmills and logging camps combined, paid an average hourly wage of just about twice the rate in the South. This is about the difference from 1920 to 1930 between the West Coast and the South in wage rates.

Continued on center of next page.

SOUTH & PACIFIC NORTHWEST
Comparison between Five Southern States and
the Pacific Northwest States, Oregon & Washington.

WAGES PER THOUSAND FEET

South	\$ 9.18	██████████
Pac. Northwest	10.93	██████████

WAGES TO VALUE, %

South	33.3	██████████
Pac. Northwest	52.4	██████████

PRODUCTION PER WORKER
(Feet per year)

South	79,225	██████████
Pac. Northwest	129,398	██████████

VALUE OF PRODUCT
(Per thou. feet)

South	27.61	██████████
Pac. Northwest	20.84	██████████

WAGES PER WORKER
(Aver. per yr.)

South	723.43	██████████
Pac. N.W.	1,419.93	██████████

In the same year the Census shows Oregon and Washington mills, including Douglas fir and Western pine regions, producing 12 billion feet of lumber, which was sold for \$251,922,074. These mills employed 93,402 wage earners and had total payrolls of \$132,063,560.

Pacific Northwest pays highest Lumber Wages

The average industry in the United States paid labor in wages and salaries in 1929, 16.6 per cent of the value of its production. That is, out of every dollar received for American industry products, wage earners got 16.6 cents. The lumber industry of Washington and Oregon in the same year paid labor 52.4 cents of every dollar received for lumber; Southern pine mills paid their labor 33.3 cents.

The wages paid in the Pacific Northwest are the highest in the lumber industry of the entire world.

The high wage rates at West Coast mills are clearly reflected in the national lumber payroll. Figures compiled by the National Lumber Manufacturers Association show that the total West Coast payroll in 1934 was about \$35,500,000 while the total payroll for all hardwood and softwood mills of the United States was about \$110,500,000. In other words, the West Coast furnished 31 per cent of the total lumber payroll of the country.

For the same year, 1934, the value of the lumber manufactured on the West Coast was \$73,700,000 as compared with \$338,381,000 for the entire country. The West Coast industry realized 21.8 per cent of the entire money return to all lumber manufacturers of the United States.

While the national average was 33.5 per cent going into payrolls, out of the gross returns on lumber sales, the West Coast industry spent in payrolls to its labor 48.3 per cent of its gross returns.

That is to say, in 1934, the West Coast lumber industry got 22 per cent of the national lumber dollar and paid 31 per cent of the national lumber wage; and out of every lumber dollar taken in by the West Coast industry, almost 50 cents went out in wages.

Lumber Code Spread Work

The lumber code established 40 hours as the maximum work week of the industry. The code, however, required the "spreading" of work among all operating mills and their employees. During the entire operation of the code, the lumber quotas allotted to the West Coast Division (which were fair enough in view of the extremely low national consumption) permitted the employment of only about one-third of this industry's normal capacity. The quotas averaged about one billion feet per quarter-year, more or less.

Every operating mill was entitled to its share; and the mills which asked for allocations ranged from 450 up to about 580 in the different quarters.

The code agencies had to spread production and employment out thinly. During the first seven months of the code, all mills were allocated 30 hours of running time per week. Thereafter, the allocations varied, averaging between 20 and 30 hours per week in the different quarterly periods.

This angle of the West Coast lumber wage and employment situation was, up to the strike on May 6, in a fair way to be straightened out for the employees at the mills able to remain in operation. The number of operating millshas declined since 1934, but the volume of lumber demand has increased during April. There was fair indications that Government construction projects, together with a gradual revival of home and farm building, was increasing lumber consumption of the United States in 1935

over 1934 perhaps by as much as 20 per cent. The reduced number of West Coast mills which could remain in production would be able to adhere closely to an operating schedule of 40 hours per week. At such mills, the minimum wage for common labor under the code would return \$17.00 per week; the 45 cent minimum for common labor under the code would return \$18.00 per week; the industry average of 58.3 cents per hour would return \$23.32 per week.

West Coast wages are higher than the average for all American manufacturing industries.

West Coast Mills Lost Export Markets

Through the combined efforts of Roosevelt's administration, the American Federation of Labor and the Communists, the northwest lumber industry is being ham-strung, shackled and racketeered to death.

Take a look at the export markets for fir. Through May, June and July of 1934, while a handful of radicals kept the mills in Oregon and Washington closed against the wishes of a vast majority of the employees, buyers of fir turned to the British Columbia mills and they operated to maximum capacity supplying lumber which would otherwise have given employment in Oregon and Washington. The loss of business during those three months is not the real loss. By forcing our foreign customers to go to British Columbia we have lost many of them permanently.

For years, China has bought the bulk of her ties from

mills on this side of the line. This has given employment to thousands of men, especially the small operators over whom Roosevelt so easily sheds tears of pity. What has happened to this important business? It has gone to British Columbia. It has gone to British Columbia because the American Federation of Labor and the Communists are threatening another tie-up of shipping, and the buyers over in China remember their experience in the spring of 1934 and cannot afford to take the chance on delayed delivery. And that is only half of it. On September 23, 1935 it was reported that China bought 15,000,000 feet of fir ties in British Columbia at a price said to be \$2.50 per thousand less than the mills in Oregon and Washington could meet. During the month of August, 1935, British Columbia mills shipped 6,300,000 feet of lumber to China while American mills, with four times the capacity, shipped but 2,600,000 feet.

One of the oldest steamship companies on the Pacific Coast was recently forced into bankruptcy because of losses suffered during the longshoremen's strike; the strike in the sawmills in 1934 and 1935; increased hourly labor costs coupled with a decrease in labor efficiency ranging from 35 per cent to 50 per cent below normal, constantly recurring walkouts with an utter disregard for written contracts and the never ending expense and annoyance of being dragged before the American Federation of Labor dominated arbitration boards. This, together with the threats of added trouble, has been more than the company could stand, and is it any wonder.

When our American owned and operated shipping companies despaired of their ability to move the products of our saw-mills in the northwest, due to our national government having entered into league with those who seek to destroy all industry, no one can blame the foreign buyers of lumber for avoiding this hazard by placing their orders in a country where they will maintain law and order and the influence of radicalism is not encouraged.

Exports of lumber to world markets outside the United States and Canada from the Douglas fir region of Washington, Oregon and British Columbia, according to the annual report of the Pacific Lumber Inspection Bureau, Seattle, totaled 1,356,000,000 board feet in 1935 compared with 1,550,000,000 board feet in 1934, a decrease of 194,421,000 board feet or 12.3 per cent.

This heavy loss from the previous year was borne chiefly by the American mills who shipped 564,131,000 feet in 1935 and 719,787,000 in 1934, a difference of 155,656,000 feet, or 21.6 per cent loss from the previous year.

	Lumber Exports <u>1928</u>	Lumber Exports <u>1934</u>
Washington	1,137,000,000	509,000,000
Oregon	492,000,000	210,000,000
British Columbia	381,000,000	830,000,000
	<u>2,010,000,000</u>	<u>1,549,000,000</u>

British Columbia mills shipped to outside foreign markets 791,965,000 feet compared with 830,729,000 feet last year, a loss of 38,764,000 feet or 4.65 per cent.

In addition, the British Columbia industry shipments, under the classification of domestic, to Alaska, the Atlantic Coast and California, or into American possessions, were 44,431,000 board feet.

Exporters point out that 1935 is the third successive year that the British Columbia mills, with 20 per cent of the capacity, have enjoyed half or more of the foreign lumber trade of the area. Figures of the Bureau for recent years show that the share of the American mills in world trade has steadily grown less since 1929, while the portion going to British Columbia mills has just as steadily increased. This may be seen in the following table made from reports of the Bureau:

Year	Total Combined Exports(000,000 omitted)	From B.C. per cent	From U.S. per cent
1929	2,013	19.85	80.15
1930	1,491	25.48	74.52
1931	1,275	28.12	71.88
1932	904	40.61	59.39
1933	1,278	49.53	50.47
1934	1,550	53.58	46.42
1935	1,356	58.40	41.60

In footage, the British Columbia mills shipped 399,498,000 feet in 1929, and 719,965,000 feet in 1935, a gain of 80 per cent, while the American mills which shipped 1,613,000,000 feet in 1929, were reduced to 564,130,000 feet in 1935, a loss of 1,049,000,000 feet or 65 per cent.

Strike closed mills not needed by major markets

Six weeks after the strike had started it was shown that both the American lumber market and the foreign markets can get

along under present conditions without the sawmill capacity in western Washington and on the Columbia River at all. The whole industry of the United States was operating at about 30 per cent of capacity when the strike started. When the strike closed down from 70 to 80 per cent of the West Coast capacity, buyers quickly found enough lumber in the South, in Western pine, Northern hemlock, and in British Columbia to serve their needs. The Southern pine industry increased its production sharply the first of May, 1934, and further increases have occurred since. It is probable that should the strike continue during the remainder of 1934 and 1935, the lumber which would have been produced out here will mostly be made in the South, and so much capacity will be opened up there by that time that the present gains in Southern pine prices will be lost.

It should be clearly understood by everyone concerned with the West Coast Lumber industry that only in a small proportion of its total market is our lumber free from intensive competition of other woods. The whole United States has billions of feet of idle sawmill capacity. Lumber is bought where it can be produced most cheaply. Aside from the competition of other woods, West Coast lumber is everywhere meeting inroads of other materials. One of the reasons for the loss of 60 per cent of our former business in recent years is the large volume not taken over by steel, cement, wallboard, fiber boxes, and the like.

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The ability of West Coast lumber to remain a large industry and a large employer of labor rests upon its ability to hold highly competitive markets in the price of its products.

LABOR UNIONS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST TODAY

Toward the end of 1935, it was thought that the lumber strike was at an end. It was, but only temporarily. It is true that there was some local congestion, but the major issue was settled. All was quiet on the Western front as it were until March 7, 1936 when members of the Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union of one of Crown-Willamette camps went to Seaside and attacked the workers of the International Sulphite Pulp and Paper Workers' Union, which was also a Crown-Willamette Camp. This strike and riot was carried on at the expense of the lives of two men, members of the Timber Workers' Union, and property damage amounting in the thousands of dollars, to the Seaside camp.

This strike and riot was brought about when the Pulp and Paper workers refused to join the Timber Workers' Union when asked. The Timber Workers' went to the Seaside camp with the intention of picketing the camp, but with a little exhortation on the part of the leader, the pickets were worked into a frenzy and attacked the camp. It is quite apparent that the local atonomy failed to do its principle job--protect the citizenry of its community. It is also true that the attackers were arrested and convicted, but the sentence was suspended and the

rioters were set free.

Shortly after the trouble at Seaside, 28,000 workers up and down the Columbia basin went on a strike for higher pay. This strike included not only the lumber workers, but asbestos workers, building laborers, hod carriers, carpenters, pile drivers, roofers, cement finishers, electrical workers, elevator constructors, floor layers, glaziers, hoisting engineers, iron workers, lathers, painters, plasterers, plumbers, steam fitters, sheet metal workers and teamsters. The striking lumbermen are the most serious of the above mentioned list. In order to combat this, many of the lumber operators are closing shop until the whole affair is settled.

This entire strike is nothing but a "vicious circle", and can be stopped or gotten out of only with the cooperation of the parties concerned. As soon as one strike is settled the losers plan and scheme for some way to get even with the winner--if there is such a thing. As a result of this "back biting", the strikes are really never settled but hang fire for months at a time.

Even as this paper is being read, there is a strike being carried on, and as the saying goes "its the same old song and dance", higher wages, shorter hours, closed shops, and straight wages, no piece work.

But in spite of all the labor trouble, the lumber production has increased and the exports have increased as high as 15 to 20 per cent.

Being partial to the employers, my solution of the problem is to install the American hiring plan, whereby any man may be hired whether or not he holds a union, ^{card} and if he is not satisfied or starts trouble, fire him and get some one who is more willing to work than to start trouble.

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