

University of North Carolina at Asheville

The Brotherhood of Timber Workers Struggle for Recognition in  
the Deep South:  
A Time When the Law Should be Broken

A Senior Thesis Submitted to  
The Faculty of the Department of History  
In Candidacy for the Degree of  
Bachelor of Arts in History

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Asheville, North Carolina  
November 25, 2013

In May of 1912 one of the founders of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), “Big Bill” Haywood, arrived at the convention hall in Alexandria, Louisiana. He was to give a speech encouraging the labor organization known as the Brotherhood of Timber Workers (BTW) to affiliate with the IWW. Haywood noticed that although this was an interracial union he only saw white faces in the crowd. He was told that integrated meetings were illegal in the Jim Crow South. Haywood responded, “You work in the same mills together. Sometimes a black man and a white man chop down the same tree together. You are meeting in a convention now to discuss the conditions under which you labor...If it is against the law, this is one time when the law should be broken.”<sup>1</sup> The union agreed and the black delegates entered the room.

The BTW’s heart and soul were located in western Louisiana and to a lesser extent eastern Texas from 1910-1914. It also had reported activity in Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Oklahoma.<sup>2</sup> Of these latter states only Arkansas (7-8) and Mississippi (1) had documented locals.<sup>3</sup> Estimates vary in regard to the total number of people who joined the BTW. Haywood claimed the union had 30,000 members.<sup>4</sup> Historian Bernard Cook puts the membership at 20,000-25,000.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Fannin, *Labor’s Promised Land: Radical Visions of Gender, Race, and Religion in the South* (Knoxville, TN: Univ Tennessee Press, 2003), 200.

<sup>2</sup> M.L. Alexander to C.E. Slagle, September 20, 1911, Louisiana Central Lumber Company Records (LCLC), Western Historical Manuscript Collection (WHMC), The University of Missouri at Columbia, Collection no. 3660, folder 696, (hereafter cited as LCLC).; M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 22, 1911, LCLC, folder 696; Kirby to R.L. Weathersby, January 13, 1912, John Henry Kirby Papers, 1884-1944, Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries (hereafter cited as the Kirby Papers), box 92, folder 7; Covington Hall, *Labor Struggles in the Deep South and Other Writings*, ed. David R. Roediger (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1999), 126; Geoffrey Ferrell “The Brotherhood of Timber Workers and the Southern Lumber Trust” (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1982), 99.

<sup>3</sup>List of Local Lodges, September 7, 1911, LCLC, folder 693; M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, October 14, 1911, LCLC, folder 701; M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, November 11, 1911, LCLC, folder 707.

<sup>4</sup> William D. Haywood, “Timber Workers and Timber Wolves,” *International Socialist Review*, August 1912, 108, <http://archive.org/stream/InternationalSocialistReview1900Vol13/ISR-volume13#page/n117/mode/2up/search/%22timber+workers+and+timber+wolves%22> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Bernard A. Cook, “Covington Hall and Radical Rural Unionization in Louisiana”, *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 228,

At its 1912 convention the BTW voted 71 ½- 26 1/2 to affiliate with the IWW.<sup>6</sup> After the convention the affiliation was unanimously ratified by the locals.<sup>7</sup> Several historians have argued that this affiliation led to the destruction of the union.<sup>8</sup> Historian John Reed Tarver stated that the BTW lost “whatever ray of hope it had” when it joined the IWW.<sup>9</sup> Historian Ruth Allen called the merger a “mistake,” citing the IWW’s “antireligious attitude” and “uncompromising antisegregationism” as alienating to Texas workers.<sup>10</sup> Although most of his work focuses on union member Covington Hall, historian Bernard Cook’s 1977 article did not agree that the ideology of the IWW was an anathema to the rural populace of Louisiana.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the primary documents relating to the BTW are contained within lumber company records and housed at three separate archives. Previous scholarship has relied upon the use of one, or rarely two archives in conjunction with newspaper articles and occasionally court documents. This research utilizes all three of the main archives as well as court records and news articles to articulate the most comprehensive analysis of primary documents relating to the BTW’s affiliation with the IWW. This paper will demonstrate that IWW influence in the region not only preceded the advent of the BTW, but that interaction between the unions was constant.

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<http://0www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/pdfplus/4231678.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed September 5, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> *State of Louisiana v. L.F. Johnson et als*, Fifteenth Judicial District Court of Louisiana, Case no. 6021, 1912, Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, May 6-9, 1912, 13; Hall noted that half of the votes cast by the Merryville local were cast by an operative in opposition to affiliation. These votes in addition to the three other “No” ballots Hall claims were cast by operatives indicates that there might have been even more support for affiliation than presented by the vote. It could have been closer to 82 -16 in favor of affiliation. Hall, 130.

<sup>7</sup> John Reed Tarver “The Clan of Toil: Piney Woods Labor Relations in the Trans-Mississippi South, 1880-1920” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1991), 543.

<sup>8</sup> George T. Morgan “The Gospel of Wealth Goes South: John Henry Kirby and Labor’s Struggle for Self-Determination, 1901-1916.” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (October 1971): 315-36, [www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/30236713](http://www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/30236713).

<sup>9</sup> Tarver, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Ruth A. Allen, *East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture, 1870-1950* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), 183.

<sup>11</sup> Cook, 228.

Furthermore, it will be shown that the demise of the BTW was due to the external pressures placed upon it by the lumber companies and not because of an IWW-inspired ideological division among its supporters.

Much of the scholarship on the topic is dated and relies on earlier seminal works such as Ruth Allen's 1961 examination of the lumber industry and how it changed over time. The BTW was a part of labor's response to these changes. She argued that labor unrest was constant in the region and that the BTW's roots were grounded in the Knights of Labor.<sup>12</sup> This notion was seconded in a 1973 article by historian James R. Green.<sup>13</sup> Both historians noted the interracial membership and the organizational structure as specific influences. Overall, Green utilized the BTW as a means to address labor's response to industrial capitalism.<sup>14</sup> Although the work of Allen and Green is still relevant, this research will show that access to previously undiscovered documents significantly alters the narrative.

Many scholars have concentrated on the conflict between the BTW and the Southern Lumber Operator's Association (SLOA). These accounts are often narrowly focused on specific events. Historian Charles McCord's 1959 master's thesis provided the most comprehensive study of the Grabow trial.<sup>15</sup> Historian George T. Morgan's 1969 article on the BTW relied heavily on the records of the Kirby Lumber Company and led him to erroneously describe John Kirby as the primary adversary of the BTW. Morgan also argued that the "fatal" amalgamation of the unions provided the SLOA with a "tactical advantage" due to the IWW's radical reputation.<sup>16</sup> In 1975 historian James Fickle focused on the conflicts and also championed John Kirby as the leader of

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<sup>12</sup> Allen, 173.

<sup>13</sup> James R. Green, "The Brotherhood of Timber Workers 1910-1913", *Past and Present* 60 (August 1973): 176.

<sup>14</sup> Green, 161.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Rudolph McCord, "A Brief History of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers" (Master's thesis, University of Texas, 1959).

<sup>16</sup> George T. Morgan "No Compromise-No Recognition: John Henry Kirby, the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, and Unionism in the Piney Woods, 1906-1916", *Labor History* 10 (Spring 1969): 193-204.

the opposition.<sup>17</sup> Tarver's 1991 PhD dissertation utilized the Louisiana Central Lumber Company records. He acerbically denied Kirby's leadership role, though he inaccurately oversimplified it by relegating Kirby to a minor public relations figure. In 2003 historian Mark Fannin argued that although the consolidation brought "new momentum" to the BTW it also gave the companies a new reason to "vilify" them.<sup>18</sup> New analysis will prove that the BTW was publicly, and privately, associated with the IWW virtually from inception, indicating that attempts to smear the union because of its relationship to the IWW were not new.

Sociologist Geoffrey Ferrell's 1982 PhD dissertation is an excellent Marxist analysis of the material. Utilizing the Kirby Papers, local press accounts, court records, and field interviews with Grabow survivors, Ferrell compiled a massive amount of information on the BTW. Although his timeline of events and list of locals are incomplete, they provide the researcher with invaluable reference points. Historian Steven Reich's 1998 PhD dissertation is a comprehensive investigation into race and class before the advent of the BTW.<sup>19</sup> In addition, Reich added a critical perspective to the analysis of race within the BTW.

Historians of the IWW have not thoroughly examined the relationship between the unions prior to affiliation. In the 2000 edition of historian Melvyn Dubofsky's history of the IWW he described the pre-affiliation connection as "tenuous at best."<sup>20</sup> In 1955 Fred Thompson simply mentioned that the union was formed in 1910 around the nexus of 90 IWW members in DeRidder, La. Thompson did acknowledge the fraternal delegates sent to the 1911 IWW Convention, and the subsequent affiliation. He also incorrectly indicated that the BTW was the

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<sup>17</sup> James E. Fickle, "The Louisiana-Texas Lumber War of 1911-1912", *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1975): 59-85, URL: <http://0-www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/4231438>.

<sup>18</sup> Fannin, 36-37.

<sup>19</sup> Steven A. Reich, "The Making of a Southern Sawmill World: Race, Class, and Rural Transformation in the Piney Woods of East Texas, 1830-1930" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1998).

<sup>20</sup> Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: a History of the Industrial Workers of the World*, Abridged ed., ed. Joseph A. McCartin (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 122.

product of a “homeguard” with no real links to the organization.<sup>21</sup> The 1997 edition of historian Philip S. Foner’s classic work on the IWW repeated Thompson’s claim of the DeRidder-IWW connection. Foner mentioned assistance the union received from socialist newspapers, but did not examine the IWW presence prior to the advent of the BTW. He did note that the SLOA associated the BTW with the IWW after its 1911 convention, but he failed to document that the unions had already begun discussing the possibility of a merger. Foner used Jay Smith’s April 1912 pamphlet *An Appeal to Timber and Lumber Workers* as evidence that the lockout led to increased militancy, and ultimately to the affiliation with the IWW.<sup>22</sup> New documentation will demonstrate that the BTW previously espoused ideology similar to the IWW’s and that they had essentially been in protracted negotiations regarding affiliation since the summer of 1911. This paper is necessary due to a lack of recent scholarship examining the relationship between the unions. In addition, previous historians have missed, or have not had access to documents that definitively demonstrate the BTW’s relationship with the IWW.

Much of the BTW’s historical record comes from the surviving files of its lumber company adversaries. Within these records there are a few documents produced by the BTW allowing the union its own voice. The BTW newspaper, *The Lumberjack*, began publishing in January of 1913 after the union affiliated with the IWW and was already in steep decline. Although women were given membership rights in 1912 only the words of a few women have made it into the record. Even rarer is the voice of the black male BTW member. It has not been documented that any women of color were members. In addition, there was at least one lodge

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<sup>21</sup> Fred Thompson, *The I.W.W.: Its First Fifty Years (1905 - 1955)* (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1955), 67.

<sup>22</sup> Philip S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the Word 1905-1917*, 2nd ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1997), 236-242.

comprised of Mexican nationals, in Sulphur La., but only its voting record remains.<sup>23</sup> The voices of other racial minorities, such as Italian immigrant members and Redbones (a Native American, black, and white tri-racial isolate), have similarly been difficult to document.<sup>24</sup> Despite the lack of records it is possible to piece together the union's early involvement with the IWW.

The conflict between the lumber companies and the BTW took place in the virgin forests of the post-reconstruction South. As the nation's thirst for lumber decimated the forests of the North and upper Midwest, the eyes of the lumber barons turned south and west. In some cases lumber companies literally loaded their mills onto trains and shipped them south.<sup>25</sup> Lumber became the South's fastest growing industry, employing more workers than any other from 1870-1910.<sup>26</sup> By 1914 Louisiana led the country in lumber production.<sup>27</sup>

The workers were overwhelmingly male, and references to women in the industry are scarce. Estimates vary on the racial makeup of this workforce, but many scholars put the number of black workers at approximately 50%. Tarver claimed that foreign workers totaled less than 10%, though he noted the widespread use of undocumented Mexican immigrants.<sup>28</sup> Although the workforce was interracial it would be difficult to describe it as integrated. Reich noted that black workers were generally confined to subordinate positions.<sup>29</sup>

Due to sparse population, towns were quickly constructed around sawmills and designed to last as long as the timber supply. Some of these towns were within company property and

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<sup>23</sup> Minutes, 9-12.

<sup>24</sup> Bernice Larson Webb, "Company Town: Louisiana Style", *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9, no. 4 (Autumn 1968): 325-39, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4231031> (accessed October 29, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> Tarver, 58.

<sup>26</sup> William P. Jones, *The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 1.

<sup>27</sup> Anna C. Burns, "The Gulf Lumber Company, Fullerton: A View of Lumbering during Louisiana's Golden Era," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 20, no. 2, (Spring 1979) 197. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4231890> (accessed on April 7, 2013).

<sup>28</sup> Tarver, 253.

<sup>29</sup> Reich, 129-131.

demonstrated the paternalistic nature of their owners.<sup>30</sup> Tarver noted that a deputized sheriff was often employed to euphemistically “keep the peace” in black and Italian quarters.<sup>31</sup> Mill towns were notorious for their unsanitary conditions.<sup>32</sup> Economic success did not trickle down to the workers. The work was often dangerous, the hours long, and conditions deplorable.<sup>33</sup>

The American Labor Union (ALU) established 11 locals in the region in 1905, the same year that it became a part of the IWW.<sup>34</sup> The ALU was a radical offshoot of the Western Federation of Miners and their presence indicates that ideology similar to the IWW found previous success among the sawmill workers. It may also denote direct previous IWW activity in the region’s lumber industry. Allen offered no specifics, but claimed that the IWW was active and somewhat successful in the region prior to the BTW.<sup>35</sup> Another early link to the IWW was Leesville resident Pat O’Niell, whom Green referred to as one of the founders of the IWW.<sup>36</sup> Prior to the advent of the BTW, O’Niell produced a weekly paper called *The Toiler*, which has been described as a “recruiting organ” for the IWW.<sup>37</sup> Leesville would become a “hot-bed” of BTW unionism.<sup>38</sup> These early attempts at unionization and their occasional success did not go unnoticed by the lumber industry. The SLOA was formed in 1906 specifically to combat union activity and would become the principal adversary of the BTW.<sup>39</sup>

Further IWW presence in the region can be demonstrated through its association with the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party had engaged in attempts to organize in the area; there was

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<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of paternalism in the sawmill towns, see Reich, 209-261.

<sup>31</sup> Tarver, 253.

<sup>32</sup> Louisiana State Board of Health to Slagle, December 15, 1910, LCLC, folder 638.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of worker injuries see Ferrell, 170-193.

<sup>34</sup> Tarver, 169; Allen, 168-170.

<sup>35</sup> Allen, 173.

<sup>36</sup> Green, 175.

<sup>37</sup> David G. Anderson et al., *Archaeology, History, and Predictive Modeling: Research at Fort Polk, 1972-2002* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 474.

<sup>38</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 18, 1911, LCLC, folder 695.

<sup>39</sup> C.D. Johnson to mill owners, October 4, 1906, LCLC, folder 266. The date for the formation of the SLOA has been erroneously recorded as 1907 in many earlier works on the topic.



reportedly a black local of the Socialist Party in Litcher La. in 1902.<sup>40</sup> In addition to *The Toiler*, there were at least 15 other socialist newspapers published in the region.<sup>41</sup> Contemporary press accounts noted that socialist publications were circulated “extensively.”<sup>42</sup> Party leaders Eugene Debs and Daniel DeLeon were founders of the IWW. IWW firebrand Bill Haywood was also on the Executive Committee of the Party. Historian Grady McWhiney noted that in the 1912 general election one out every 14 voters in Jim Crow Louisiana cast their ballot for the Socialist Party. Furthermore, the official Socialist Party candidate for governor in 1912 was a member of the IWW.<sup>43</sup> The support the Socialist Party received indicates that the politics of the IWW may not have been as detested by the local populace as some historians have previously intimated.

Ferrell stated that the BTW began with Arthur L. Emerson organizing around Fullerton, La. in June of 1910.<sup>44</sup> Although the exact timeframe is unclear, Jay Smith quickly began to assist Emerson. To avoid SLOA detection, it originated as a “semi-secret organization” with passwords and grips.<sup>45</sup> Organizers worked under the cover of various disguises.<sup>46</sup> Once the union became public, Emerson shed his cover and became the BTW’s most effective organizer and a prolific public speaker. In December of 1910 the BTW publicly announced the formation of a local in Carson, La. One of the initial organizational focuses was DeRidder, which had been an area of significant resistance in previous strikes. An early IWW presence can be demonstrated through

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<sup>40</sup> John Earl Haynes “Unrest in the Piney Woods: Southern Lumber and the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in the Early Twentieth Century” (master’s thesis, Florida State University, 1966), 41, [http://digitool.fcla.edu/R/KT3QC11EEV37CJYQ2VA75YK8S9SLM2295F6FM2NEGSN5XKAYBN-02049?func=dbin-jump-full&object\\_id=158597&local\\_base=GEN01&pds\\_handle=GUEST](http://digitool.fcla.edu/R/KT3QC11EEV37CJYQ2VA75YK8S9SLM2295F6FM2NEGSN5XKAYBN-02049?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=158597&local_base=GEN01&pds_handle=GUEST) (accessed April 6, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Ferrell, 313-315.

<sup>42</sup> “The Grabow Riot,” *Caucasion* (Shreveport, La.), August 6, 1912, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064469/1912-08-06/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 17, 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Grady McWhiney, “Louisiana Socialists in the Early Twentieth Century: A Study of Rustic Radicalism”, *The Journal of Southern History* 20, no. 3 (August 1954): 315-36, <http://0-www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/2955153> (accessed March 3, 2013).

<sup>44</sup> Ferrell, 95.

<sup>45</sup> Hall, 122.

<sup>46</sup> Foner, 236-237.

Emerson and Smith's enlistment of workers in DeRidder, a few of whom were already IWW, and "most" of the others who were sympathetic to it.<sup>47</sup>

Haywood claimed that Emerson worked in the mills of Texas and Louisiana before traveling to work in the Pacific Northwest, where he learned the value of unionism.<sup>48</sup> Fannin claimed that in 1907 Emerson witnessed the work of the IWW in Portland, Oregon.<sup>49</sup> Emerson was arrested in 1907 for assaulting a black worker in a Texas mill. This arrest places Emerson in the southern mills during a time of labor trouble and raises questions about his possible involvement.<sup>50</sup> It is unclear if the assault was racially motivated or related to a labor issue. Kirby referred to Emerson as a "rank socialist" who worked in the mills of Texas and Louisiana for the past ten years.<sup>51</sup> Kirby described Smith as a socialist who had worked as a sawyer in the South and the Pacific Coast for 20 years.<sup>52</sup> If Smith was a socialist and worked in the lumber industry of the Pacific Coast he would have inevitably had contact with the IWW.

In their attempt to eliminate the union, companies engaged in espionage by hiring detectives, whom they referred to as operatives. Both white and black operatives were employed in fighting the BTW "infection."<sup>53</sup> In addition to the operatives, mills employed armed guards to keep organizers out. Many of these guards were deputized by the local sheriff, providing the impression of legal sanction and creating a militarized environment. In early April of 1911 the SLOA recommended that mills employ a "yellow card" system.<sup>54</sup> Many men refused to sign the anti-union yellow cards and were fired. In some cases enough men were fired to force mill

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<sup>47</sup> Foner 236.

<sup>48</sup> Haywood, 108.

<sup>49</sup> Fannin, 26.

<sup>50</sup> Cain to Kirby, August 7, 1911, Kirby Papers, box 92 folder 7.

<sup>51</sup> Kirby to E.P. Ripley, August 8, 1911, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 4.

<sup>52</sup> Kirby to E.P. Ripley, August 8, 1911, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 4.

<sup>53</sup> General Manager to M.L. Fleishel, November 23, 1911, LCLC, folder 711.

<sup>54</sup> SLOA to mill owners, April 8, 1911, LCLC, folder 659.

closures. In an attempt to preserve income the BTW eventually instructed members to sign the cards while maintaining loyalty to the union.<sup>55</sup>

SLOA operatives thoroughly infiltrated the BTW prior to its affiliation with the IWW. Operative L.T. Mabry had access to high level BTW members and information. In creating his union persona Mabry organized at least a dozen locals.<sup>56</sup> He was also a doorkeeper at the 1912 convention and was appointed to serve on committees.<sup>57</sup> The SLOA routinely received updated membership lists and lodge locations from operatives within the BTW. Emerson confided to an operative that he planned to organize the entire south, including the longshoremen. Mention of the longshoremen is interesting because IWW member and future BTW member Covington Hall was an active organizer for the longshoremen. Furthermore, it was reported that Emerson had been discussing strategy with Vincent St. John, General Secretary of the IWW, over a year before they affiliated.<sup>58</sup>

The SLOA was using its operatives to determine the size of the threat the BTW represented. They got a jolt from a disgruntled BTW member who provided detailed information of union operations, which they used to estimate that the union had 11,250 members. An SLOA memo advocated shutting every mill in the south until the BTW was crushed.<sup>59</sup> Another memo declared the need to take “strong measures to avoid having practically all of the plants in the south unionized.” They appointed a five-man committee to combat the BTW, which recommended cutting every aspect of production to four days a week, hoping to deprive the

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<sup>55</sup> General Executive Board of the BTW to Co-Workers, November 16, 1911, LCLC, folder 711.

<sup>56</sup> Allen, 178.

<sup>57</sup> Minutes, 2,4,29.

<sup>58</sup> Industrial Lumber Company, copy of informant report sent to Slagle, May 1, 1911, LCLC, folder 664.

<sup>59</sup> SLOA Confidential Memo, date unknown (estimated to be April of 1911) LCLC, folder 662.

BTW of funds.<sup>60</sup> These memos demonstrate that the SLOA took the union seriously prior to affiliation, and its only intention toward the union was to completely destroy it.

Prior to the BTW convention of 1911 the union presented its goals and organizational structure to prospective members in a circular. In language reflecting the ideology of the IWW, the BTW promised to deliver workers from “the yoke of capitalist bondage” and move “against the CAPITALISTS...”<sup>61</sup> The rhetoric of this document was noticeably toned down in the constitution adopted by the BTW in 1911. “Capitalists” became “employers” who were promised “a square deal.”<sup>62</sup> Unfortunately there is no record of the internal debate which led to the toned down rhetoric of the constitution. This circular also identified the BTW’s early proclamations regarding race, which were noticeably not in line with the IWW. Non-white members would be accepted, but the union would be segregated and black lodges were required to elect white delegates to the convention, ensuring control of the black voice.<sup>63</sup>

Shortly before the 1911 convention the BTW was publicly linked to the IWW and “socialistic tenets.”<sup>64</sup> Other press accounts described the union as a “socialistic movement.”<sup>65</sup> Affiliation with the IWW was officially discussed “from every angle” at the June 1911 convention and not approved, although it is unclear if it was voted upon.<sup>66</sup> Despite the lack of a mandate to consolidate, Emerson and Smith attended the IWW convention in Chicago as

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<sup>60</sup> C.C. Shepard to Slagle, Warren, and Hahn, May 10, 1911, LCLC, folder 666.

<sup>61</sup> Resolutions of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, date unknown, LCLC, folder 668.

<sup>62</sup> *State of Louisiana v. L.F. Johnson et als*, Fifteenth Judicial District Court of Louisiana, Case no. 6021, 1912, Constitution and By-Laws of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, 1-3.

<sup>63</sup> Resolutions of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, date unknown, LCLC, folder 668.

<sup>64</sup> Lumbermen Plan to Fight Against Union, *Colfax Chronicle* (Colfax, La.), June 10, 1911,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064176/1911-06-10/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 1, 2013); “Lumber Mills Close Down,” *Jefferson jimplecute* (Jefferson, Texas), August 25, 1911,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86089978/1911-08-25/ed-1/seq-2/> (accessed November 18, 2013).

<sup>65</sup> Mill Owners Will Fight Brotherhood, *Colfax Chronicle* (Colfax, La.), July 22, 1911,

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064176/1911-07-22/ed-1/seq-4/> (accessed November 17, 2013).

<sup>66</sup> The office of the Grand President of the BTW, August 14, 1911, The Kirby Lumber Collection (KLC), East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, box 197 folder 7, (hereafter cited as KLC).

fraternal delegates, and they appear to have at least entertained the notion of affiliation.<sup>67</sup> SLOA informants reported that Smith was in favor of affiliation, but Emerson was not.<sup>68</sup> Further reports indicated that they intended to solicit financial and organizing assistance from the IWW, although they both realized that affiliation would be a possible precondition.<sup>69</sup>

A serious discussion of a merger with the IWW at the first meeting of BTW and the subsequent journey to Chicago demonstrate that there was significant interest for some official collaboration. However, the IWW was only interested in the BTW becoming a part of the IWW. Emerson believed the unions were on equal footing and refused. Emerson did not make any statements that indicated he was ideologically opposed to the merger. His concerns appeared to be organizational, specifically regarding a perceived loss of local control. The BTW issued a communique stating its official position declining affiliation was to avoid being “swallowed” up by the IWW.<sup>70</sup>

The failed consolidation did not mean that the unions ceased support for one another, and is most appropriately viewed as the opening salvo of a protracted negotiation. Alexander claimed that Smith quickly returned to Chicago after the failed affiliation, ostensibly to learn the system the IWW used to keep track of its membership.<sup>71</sup> Emerson later returned to Chicago to discuss the potential merger again in early 1912.<sup>72</sup> From this documentation it is difficult to determine a time when the BTW was not publicly, or privately, associated with the IWW. Alexander asserted that this failed affiliation with the IWW “weakened their cause.”<sup>73</sup> This statement by Alexander, who was the person outside of the BTW with the most comprehensive knowledge of it, differs

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<sup>67</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 7, 1911, LCLC, folder 693; M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 20, 1911, LCLC, folder 696.

<sup>68</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 13, 1911, LCLC, folder 695.

<sup>69</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 16, 1911, LCLC, folder 695. Also September 18, 1911 folder 695.

<sup>70</sup> From the office of the Grand President of the BTW, August 14, 1911, KLC, box 197 folder 7.

<sup>71</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, November 7, 1911, LCLC, folder 707.

<sup>72</sup> M.L. Alexander to C.D. Johnson, February 26, 1912, LCLC, folder 733.

<sup>73</sup> M.L. Alexander to Slagle, October 10, 1911 LCLC, folder 699.

from the analysis of Tarver and others as it indicates that he believed the merger would have engendered more support for the union.

The IWW was a logical choice for the BTW if they wanted national recognition and potential assistance from a larger organization. Although membership in the BTW was open to anyone who was “in sympathy with the labor movement,” it organized as an industrial union.<sup>74</sup> Industrial unions differed from craft unions in so far as anyone who worked in the industry was eligible for membership regardless of the level of skill their job entailed. The IWW was the only large union that organized on an industrial basis. During the years the merger was being discussed the IWW was a staple in the national news. It was well-publicized for the Bread and Roses strike of Lawrence, Massachusetts, a major textile strike in Paterson, New Jersey, and the Free Speech Fights in the western United States.<sup>75</sup> The prominence of the IWW on the national stage lends credence to the idea that at least some portion of the BTW membership would have had knowledge of the radical nature of the IWW prior to the 1911 convention where affiliation was first discussed.

Further evidence of the fraternal relationship between the two unions can be demonstrated through BTW members subscribing to the IWW newspaper and circulating it from person to person.<sup>76</sup> An operative identified two men associated with the IWW and believed, but could not confirm, that they had met with a member of the IWW executive board.<sup>77</sup> A fired mill hand unwittingly told an informant that sixty-five percent of the sawmill men (in Standard, La.) were IWW and the trainmen and engineers were “all IWW.” During his conversation with the

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<sup>74</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, 1.

<sup>75</sup> Foner, 306-372.

<sup>76</sup> J.W. Lewis to C.P. Myer September 25, 1911, KLC, box 197 folder 7.

<sup>77</sup> SLOA to members, June 2, 1911, LCLC, folder 671.

operative he was recognized as a union man and forced to leave town at gunpoint.<sup>78</sup> Although the numbers may be an exaggeration, they demonstrate IWW influence in the area. Could these instances of IWW involvement have been misreported and actually been BTW? Absolutely, but that may further demonstrate how closely they were associated.

BTW support was strong in the early fall of 1911, at which point the BTW had over 10,000 members with 143 locals.<sup>79</sup> By this time the SLOA had amassed significant information from its operatives and began to take action. Following a series of firings and mass walkouts the SLOA ordered the closure of 23 plants.<sup>80</sup> M.L. Alexander was appointed by the SLOA to establish an information clearinghouse on the BTW at Alexandria, La. The SLOA compiled complete reports on every individual worker. All companies were asked to forward complete lists of their present and past employees.<sup>81</sup> In one the most effective tools employed by the SLOA, the names of all BTW members and sympathizers were put on a blacklist and refused employment. Employee rolls were crosschecked against the blacklist and workers on it were fired. The SLOA was authorized to close any member's mill if it believed there was significant BTW presence.<sup>82</sup> Mill closures not only deprived the union of income they also created enmity among non-members through collective punishment. All SLOA mills were assessed a tax relative to production to fund the anti-union campaign and provide income for closed mills. All of these programs were well established prior to affiliation with the IWW.

Alexander's operation was wildly successful. Companies were instructed to forward operative reports to the Alexandria office so that efforts could be coordinated.<sup>83</sup> The SLOA

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<sup>78</sup> Operative #11 report, June 11, 1911, LCLC, folder 672.

<sup>79</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, September 7, 1911, LCLC, folder 693.

<sup>80</sup> Minutes of General Meeting of the SLOA, August 16, 1911, LCLC, folder 688.

<sup>81</sup> SLOA to Slagle, September 4, 1911, LCLC, folder 692.

<sup>82</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the SLOA, May 24, 1911, LCLC, folder 669.

<sup>83</sup> S.J. Carpenter to LCLC, September 6, 1911, LCLC, folder 693.

retained its own additional operatives at a cost of \$3,600 per month.<sup>84</sup> Within nine months the office was receiving three to five hundred names daily and boasted a list of approximately 40,000 names, with expectations that it would grow to 50,000.<sup>85</sup> Tarver claimed that the list reached 75,000 names by the time Alexander left the SLOA.<sup>86</sup> The SLOA even used surveillance photography as a means of collecting information.<sup>87</sup> By October of 1913 the Alexandria office was receiving 200 reports on the BTW daily.<sup>88</sup> Any action that was perceived to be sympathetic to the union was enough to get a person fired. Some informants and detectives were also actively involved in a disinformation campaign utilizing BTW double agents.<sup>89</sup>

Another factor in the BTW's demise was violence directed toward it by the SLOA and its supporters. In addition to numerous well-documented incidents of violence, there are several previously undocumented or underreported incidents that warrant attention. For instance, there may have been an assassination attempt of W.A. Fussell, the BTW Vice President. There was an armed confrontation between "authorities" and Fussell's supporters in the vicinity of Isabell, though no actual violence occurred.<sup>90</sup> The trouble continued and during the night following a speech, "armed men, masked, assembled at the house where he had been stopping but found that he had gotten away..."<sup>91</sup> Tom Choate, a black operative who had joined the BTW as a double agent, was murdered in Kirbyville in 1911. The report of the murder was ambiguous, but historian Ryan Gullett claimed that he was most likely murdered by the men in the black quarters

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<sup>84</sup> M.L. Fleishel to C.D. Johnson, November 16, 1911, LCLC folder 708.

<sup>85</sup> M.L. Alexander to C.D. Johnson, June 4, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92 folder 6.

<sup>86</sup> Tarver, 367.

<sup>87</sup> C.P. Myer to M.L. Alexander, June 29, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92 folder 7.

<sup>88</sup> M.L. Alexander to C.D. Johnson, October 20, 1913, LCLC folder 971.

<sup>89</sup> Tarver, 359.

<sup>90</sup> "There Was a Hot Time in the Old Town," *Era-Leader* (Franklinton, La.), November 30, 1911, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1911-11-30/ed-1/seq-2/#> (accessed September 3, 2013).

<sup>91</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, November 24, 1911, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 4.



because they believed that he was BTW.<sup>92</sup> In addition, Emerson was also assaulted on multiple occasions prior to the affiliation.<sup>93</sup>

The BTW was also accused of utilizing violence. However, a lack of convictions and the BTW's denials raise questions as to the veracity of the accusations. An Oakdale, La. woman stated that the BTW had "begun to burn the negroes out..." In addition, an operative's report stated that BTW member Lehman promised to kill company men if a union member was killed.<sup>94</sup> BTW members were arrested for attacking black strike breakers at Tioga, La.<sup>95</sup> A pump was dynamited and houses burned in Warren, Tx.<sup>96</sup> Attorney J.W. Terry noted that operating costs had increased in part due to alleged sabotage.<sup>97</sup> Bud Collins, an employee of the Sweet Home Lumber Company, was reportedly shot in the head during the strike at Ball. The press attributed responsibility to the strikers, who did not accept or outright deny the claim.<sup>98</sup>

At its 1912 convention the BTW wrote a letter to Governor-elect Hall asking him to put a halt to the practice of sheriffs working for lumber companies and deputizing hundreds of men. They described these deputies as "gunmen...recruited from the very lowest dregs of society." It also decried conditions which left workers held "in barbed wire enclosures." The letter stated that the lumber companies were perpetrating violence on black workers and sabotaging outdated machinery as a means of justifying the militaristic response to the union.<sup>99</sup> This letter shows that there was an increasingly repressive stance being taken toward the union prior to affiliation.

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<sup>92</sup> Ryan Gullett, "East Texas Theatre of the Timber War: Kirby Lumber Company's War with the Brotherhood of Timber Workers." *East Texas Historical Journal* 48, no. 2 (Fall 2010) 68. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 5, 2013).

<sup>93</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, January 23, 1912, LCLC, folder 726; M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, October 28, 1911, LCLC, folder 704.

<sup>94</sup> J.A. Herndon to John Kirby, May 31, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 7.

<sup>95</sup> Ferrell, 99.

<sup>96</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, January, 17, 1912, LCLC, folder 725.

<sup>97</sup> J.W. Terry to Kirby, October 23, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 5.

<sup>98</sup> Old Reb, "Sweet Home Scab Shot?" *Voice of the People* (New Orleans, La.), February 12, 1914, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064458/1914-02-12/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 3, 2013).

<sup>99</sup> Minutes, 25.

Other letters that were drafted at the convention include declarations of solidarity with Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, IWW members incarcerated on capital charges in Lawrence, MA. A letter of support was also sent to men who were imprisoned in Kansas for distributing the socialist newspaper, *Appeal to Reason*. Another was sent to the IWW's Free Speech Fighters who were attempting to flood the jails and overwhelm the judicial system to protect their rights in a tactic later made famous by the Civil Rights Movement. And finally, they sent one to the IWW "lumber strikers of the Northwest."<sup>100</sup> These letters of solidarity further indicate BTW membership support for radical ideology.

The violence came to a head shortly after the 1912 convention and affiliation with the IWW. Union members were engaged in perhaps the South's original "flying squadrons," going from mill to mill making speeches in an attempt to coax strikebreakers into joining the union.<sup>101</sup> They made an unplanned detour, hoping to avoid an increased number of armed company men, to a small mill owned by the Galloway family in Grabow, La.<sup>102</sup> The announced speaker, H.C. Creel of the socialist paper *Ripsaw*, was unable to attend due to an assassination attempt.<sup>103</sup> Creel's absence forced Emerson to take his place. Unbeknownst to the BTW, John Galloway had planned an ambush, armed several employees and ensured that they had copious amounts of alcohol.<sup>104</sup> The ambush ultimately left three BTW men and a company gunman dead. At least 37

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<sup>100</sup> Minutes, 13-14.

<sup>101</sup> Flying squadrons were a much publicized aspect of mill strikes in 1929 and 1934. Although those strikers used automobiles, the concept was the same. They gathered a mass of union supporters and went to mills utilizing non-union labor and attempted to shut the mill down. For further information see Jacquelyn Dowd Hall et al., *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987) 329-342.

<sup>102</sup> McCord, 57.

<sup>103</sup> Creel Says He Was Fired Upon, *Lake Charles Daily American Press* (Lake Charles, La.), July 8, 1912, [http://digital.olivesoftware.com/Repository/LAP/1912/07/08/058-LAP-1912-07-08-001-SINGLE-ORIGNAME\\_00182\\_9SPLIT.PDF#OLV0\\_Page\\_0001](http://digital.olivesoftware.com/Repository/LAP/1912/07/08/058-LAP-1912-07-08-001-SINGLE-ORIGNAME_00182_9SPLIT.PDF#OLV0_Page_0001) (accessed August 11, 2013); In 'Free' America, *Scott County Kicker* (Benton, Mo.), July 13, 1912, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89066234/1912-07-13/ed-1/seq-4/> (accessed November 23, 2013); Four Killed in Saw Mill Riot, *Era Leader* (Franklinton, La.), July 11, 1912, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1912-07-11/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed April 29, 2013).

<sup>104</sup> McCord, 85.

of the estimated 40 wounded were union men. Despite evidence that John Galloway fired the first shot and shot a man in the back while he was fleeing, he was held briefly but not charged.<sup>105</sup> Fifty-eight union men, including Emerson and other key organizers, were ultimately arrested and faced with capital punishment.<sup>106</sup> Another man, “Leather Britches” Smith, was later killed, allegedly while resisting arrest.<sup>107</sup>

The trial was a Pyrrhic victory for the union. They succeeded in saving the lives of the 58 men on trial, but the process left them over six thousand dollars in debt, almost twice as much money as they had raised the previous year.<sup>108</sup> In addition, members of the BTW had been put on notice that not only could they be shot and killed with impunity, survivors were subject to incarceration and possible execution at the hands of the state. Five men lay dead and no one was held accountable. It was this shell-shocked and financially destitute BTW that officially became a part of the IWW. Clearly, the union was crippled by the external pressures placed upon it by the lumber companies and not an IWW inspired ideological division.

Shortly after the trial, with the union reeling financially and suffering the absence of their best field organizers, a strike was called at Merryville in response to the firing of workers who testified at the Grabow trial. During the trial the SLOA had gained control of the Merryville mill.<sup>109</sup> They had long been aware that Merryville knowingly employed BTW men, providing the union with its only consistent major source of funding. Smith traveled to Merryville in an attempt to dissuade the workers from striking, but the workers voted unanimously to strike.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Coroner’s Inquest of Rier Martin, Number 105, State of Louisiana, Parish of Calcasieu, Testimony of Charles Gibson and C.C. Holley, July 8, 1912. Clerk of Court, Calcasieu Parish.

<sup>106</sup> For in depth analysis of Grabow shooting and trial see McCord 57-91; Tarver, 578-611.

<sup>107</sup> Grabow Rioters Are Acquitted, *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa Ok.), November 3, 1912, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042344/1912-11-03/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 18, 2013).

<sup>108</sup> Tarver, 617.

<sup>109</sup> Morgan, 203.

<sup>110</sup> Hall, 160.

Emerson realized that the union could not afford to turn this source of funding into an expense and argued against the strike.

Ferrell noted that during the strike workers “converted a church into a meeting hall, established a soup kitchen, and formed picket lines of female BTW members who assaulted ‘scabs’ with hatpins.”<sup>111</sup> The union alleged that black workers who were brought in to break the strike were lied to about their destination, lied to about the existence of a strike, and forced into peonage.<sup>112</sup> A photo in *The Lumberjack* shows a solid fence at least 10’ high with an electrified wire at the top enclosing the plant and the workers. This photo, coupled with affidavits that the union collected lends weight to the union’s allegations of peonage.<sup>113</sup>

The strike may have been fairly successful for several months, with the union claiming that they had effectively kept the mill from operating with a full crew. However, that changed in mid-February when the “Good Citizen’s League,” (drunk, according to Covington Hall) unleashed a wave of violence on the strikers over the course of several days. A black union man was beaten and escorted to the edge of town where he was shot at several times and hit once in the foot. The soup kitchen was destroyed, organizers beaten to the edge of town and threatened with death upon return. They also raided the union hall, and “deported” all of the union men. Hall stated that women continued the picket in the absence of the men. *The Lumberjack* reported that 200-300 armed men patrolled the streets beating union men and enforcing a de facto curfew.<sup>114</sup> A local newspaper reported a much different, albeit unlikely scene. It claimed that the

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<sup>111</sup> Ferrell, 93.

<sup>112</sup> Peonage at Merryville, *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.), January 9, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-01-09/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed October 31, 2013).

<sup>113</sup> The Bullpen, *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.), March 20, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-03-20/ed-1/seq-3/> (accessed October 31, 2013).

<sup>114</sup> Covington Hall, “With the Southern Timber Workers”, *International Socialist Review* 13 (May 1913): 806-7, <https://archive.org/stream/InternationalSocialistReview1900Vol13/ISR-volume13#page/n827/mode/2up/search/covington+hall> (accessed November 3, 2013); S.S. 44, “Vivid Account of

headquarters was “very quietly visited” and the effects of it “carefully packed” and shipped without damage to DeRidder. The paper was careful to note that there was “no violence.”<sup>115</sup> Another account came closer to the scene described by Hall. The paper stated that there was no riot, though “fistfights were plentiful” and the “undesirables” were forced to leave.<sup>116</sup> This unceremonious end to the Merryville strike was another unmistakable message to the union’s membership that they would not be provided with constitutional protections. Regardless of whether they were the BTW or the IWW, the lumber companies, the courts, and the press would act in collusion to prevent their success.

The BTW held its annual convention in May of 1913.<sup>117</sup> This convention was only attended by 24 delegates, demonstrating the waning membership. However the inclusiveness of the IWW can be demonstrated through D.R. Gordon, a black BTW member, who held a position on the Local Executive Board. In addition, Fredonia Stevenson, a female BTW member, was a delegate. In a major blow to the union Emerson resigned due to poor health.<sup>118</sup> Emerson eventually returned in a last ditch effort to help the union. His return was met with limited success until he was savagely beaten at Singer.<sup>119</sup> Alexander described the resignation of Emerson as “the fatal blow.”<sup>120</sup> The mayor of DeRidder eventually banned public speeches.<sup>121</sup>

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the Merryville Highbinders of 'Law and Order,'" *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.), February 27, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-02-27/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 15, 2013).

<sup>115</sup> Timber Striker Ordered to Leave, *Era Leader* (Franklinton, La.), February 18, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1913-02-20/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 3, 2013).

<sup>116</sup> Report of Clash of Union and Non-Union Men at Merryville Denied, *Colfax Chronicle* (Colfax, La.), February 2, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064176/1913-02-22/ed-1/seq-8/> (accessed November 3, 2013).

<sup>117</sup> By this point in time the BTW had officially ceased to exist and was now a part of the IWW, however for consistency within this work the name BTW will continue to be used.

<sup>118</sup> “Emerson’s Resignation and Recommendations,” *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.), May 29, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-05-29/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed October 31, 2013).

<sup>119</sup> Hall, 181.

<sup>120</sup> M.L. Alexander to C.D. Johnson, September 12, 1913, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 6.

<sup>121</sup> “State News,” *Lower Coast Gazette* (Pointe-a-la-Hache, La.), March 15, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064433/1913-03-15/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed November 1, 2013).

The BTW enjoyed support and membership from a broad number of people not directly employed by the lumber companies. Green claimed that one of the reasons the BTW was initially successful was that it had the support of local farmers, businesspeople, and townspeople.<sup>122</sup> The SLOA realized that farmers provided a critical source of funding that was not necessarily affected by lockouts and developed a plan to disrupt this solidarity. Alexander stated that there was “no question” the plan would work and withdrawal of support from the Farmers Union would severely damage the BTW.<sup>123</sup> It is precisely the perceived loss of this support that Allen and others falsely attribute to the affiliation with the IWW.

There are several identifiable reasons why the BTW was crushed and ceased to exist as an effective entity just a few short years after it was brought into existence. Affiliation with the IWW in 1912 is not one of them. It cannot be overstated that the SLOA had a major financial advantage, they had amassed a \$175,000 war chest by November of 1911.<sup>124</sup> By comparison, the BTW collected \$3,200 and spent \$2,800 of it in all of 1911.<sup>125</sup> The SLOA spent more money in one month on operatives than the BTW spent in the entire year. The SLOA also spent heavily on the “preparation of the case at Lake Charles” in an effort that failed to outright kill the leadership of the BTW, but did leave the union treasury depleted.<sup>126</sup>

In addition to a major financial imbalance, the SLOA enjoyed the tactical advantage of access to detailed information on BTW membership and plans. Utilizing this information they were able to isolate organizers and disrupt recruiting efforts. Furthermore, the SLOA had experience breaking strikes and running a large financial operation through mutual cooperation. It has not been demonstrated that any of the principal BTW organizers had significant experience

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<sup>122</sup> Green, 190.

<sup>123</sup> M.L. Alexander to C.D. Johnson, June 4, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92 folder 6.

<sup>124</sup> C.D. Johnson to Keith, November 14, 1911, LCLC, folder 708.

<sup>125</sup> MTL (Operative Mabry) to unknown, May 7, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 7.

<sup>126</sup> C.D. Johnson to B.F. Bonner, October 12, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 5.

in labor disputes. The IWW did provide the BTW with that experience, but it was too late. The blacklist, which was well in place prior to affiliation was extremely effective, and deprived the union of funds. The lockout strategy was very effective as the SLOA immediately closed down any mill that the BTW made progress in organizing, placing an instantaneous hardship on the new members. The lockouts also allowed the SLOA to ship “loyal” non-union workers to other mills, replacing workers who refused to sign yellow cards.

The BTW had an uphill battle throughout its entire existence. The union was not always in control of its membership and the unauthorized strikes deprived it of funding. It also would have preferred that workers sign the yellow-card in order to keep money coming in. In the fall prior to affiliation, the SLOA was receiving reports that several thousand BTW men had failed to pay their dues and the union had very little money.<sup>127</sup> Due to waning membership and poor finances Emerson issued a communique to lodges and members urging them not to strike.<sup>128</sup> These documents demonstrate that the union’s financial woes were well in place before consolidation with the IWW.

Organizing an interracial union in the Jim Crow South required a lot of tightrope walking, and the race policies of the BTW have been alternately praised and maligned. Although the SLOA was concerned about the BTW organizing black workers, they ultimately saw the BTW’s race policies as exploitable. Alexander described the BTW’s racial policies as one where races “affiliate together on an equal social basis” and he believed that publication of this issue could break up the union. He stated that no order in “this section of the country” could succeed with such policies.<sup>129</sup> Prior to the BTW’s affiliation with IWW, the SLOA did circulate the claim

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<sup>127</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel October 7, 1911, LCLC, folder 699.

<sup>128</sup> Emerson to All Locals and the Membership of the B. of T.W., date unknown, LCLC, folder 704.

<sup>129</sup> M.L. Alexander to M.L. Fleishel, November 4, 1911, LCLC, folder 706.

that the BTW was advocating racial equality.<sup>130</sup> These allegations would have been troubling primarily to the unknown percentage of white workers who did not buy into the class analysis of the BTW. The vote to affiliate with the non-segregationist IWW, lends credence to the idea that most BTW members were not troubled by this allegation. Furthermore, despite Alexander's claims, there is no evidence that the BTW did advocate racial equality.

The BTW's racial politics can be described in a number of ways, but perhaps most appropriately as dynamic. The 1911 BTW Constitution made no mention of white delegates representing black lodges. Indeed, black delegates voted at the 1912 convention.<sup>131</sup> However, it did require black lodges to turn over dues money to the closest white lodge with the caveat that if there were no white lodge in the same locality, the black local could retain the funds.<sup>132</sup> This indicates potential financial autonomy for certain black locals. It is unclear if any black locals qualified for this provision. The only known historical record of black BTW members speaking for themselves appears to be the "Minutes of the Colored Convention." They described "trying to suppress a feeling of taxation without representation" and asked for black officers to work with white officers. They also asked for representation by black delegates to the IWW convention to discuss the merger of the unions.<sup>133</sup> In addition, the constitution was amended to put white and black lodges on equal footing.<sup>134</sup> Were these changes made to address the injustice of the union's segregationist policies or were they made with an eye toward affiliation with the IWW? There is no evidence to suggest that affiliation with the IWW harmed its standing with black workers. On the contrary, if black workers were aware of the IWW's outspoken opposition to segregation and lynching they would have been likely energized by the affiliation. The IWW's history in the

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<sup>130</sup> M.L. Alexander to All Members, November 25, 1911, LCLC, folder 712.

<sup>131</sup> Minutes, 12-13.

<sup>132</sup> The Constitution and By-Laws of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers.

<sup>133</sup> Minutes, 16.

<sup>134</sup> Minutes, 32.



region, discussions of the IWW at two BTW conventions, and D.R. Gordon's attendance at the 1912 IWW convention provide evidence that some portion of the black workers would have been aware of the IWW's anti-segregationist policies.

Press accounts, company documents, and the BTW's own statements make it clear that the IWW was associated with the BTW from the very early stages.<sup>135</sup> Based upon available evidence it cannot be argued that BTW members would not have been aware of the negotiations between the organizations. Furthermore, they voted in favor of affiliation. There is no compelling evidence to suggest that union members were not familiar with the ideology of the IWW, thus eliminating the idea of a gross misunderstanding. On the contrary, the previous success of the ALU, the Socialist Party, the presence of *The Toiler*, and the anti-capitalist speeches of Emerson and Hall, all point to a membership that embraced or was at least aware of ideology similar to the IWW. There is no evidence to suggest that the SLOA ever sought any other outcome than the death of the BTW. The murder of Tom Choate, multiple assaults of organizers, and possible assassination attempt of Fussell, acceptance of the Ku Klux Klan as an ally, and the routine deployment of armed guards all took place prior to affiliation indicating that violent extremism was not brought into play as a result of the affiliation.<sup>136</sup> Alexander noted that affiliation with the IWW would "give the organization new life."<sup>137</sup>

The SLOA was close to completely destroying the BTW prior to affiliation with the IWW. By the time the merger was official the union was massively in debt, its members put on notice that they could be killed or jailed with impunity, and the BTW kept out of mills through the blacklist and armed guards. In addition, the lack of prosecution of John Galloway and the man who shot at Creel, despite eyewitness testimony, gave company gunmen notice that they

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<sup>135</sup> W.B. Vanlandingham to Exchange salesmen, July 26, 1911, LCLC, folder 683.

<sup>136</sup> E.I. Kellie to Kirby, August 18, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 8.

<sup>137</sup> Alexander to Kirby, May 11, 1912, Kirby Papers, box 92, folder 7.

would not be prosecuted. The importation of strikebreakers and their seclusion within protected enclosures meant that the mills could operate without BTW labor. The affiliation with the IWW had no bearing on these policies. Although there is still much work to be done on this topic, the evidence is overwhelming that the BTW was intertwined with the IWW since at least early 1911. Furthermore, affiliation with the IWW may have temporarily given the union new life, but it did not lead to its demise.

The much depleted union staggered on after its defeat in Merryville. The last notable BTW strike occurred in Sweet Home, La. Following defeat in Sweet Home the BTW existed in name only, with the union officially folding in 1916. Understanding the dreams and aspirations of these workers, and their struggle for recognition enables a broader understanding of contemporary labor conditions in the Right to Work states of the Deep South.

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*The Lumberjack* was the official paper of the BTW. This article contained information regarding the conditions in Merryville during a strike.

Coroner’s Inquest of Rier Martin. Number 105, State of Louisiana, Parish of Calcasieu. Testimony of Charles Gibson and C.C. Holley. July 8, 1912. Clerk of Court, Calcasieu Parish.

This is the official coroner’s report documenting the death of one of the men killed in the Grabow shooting. It contains clear eyewitness testimony of the shooting. However, some of the testimony is from participants and should be approached with caution.

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July 8, 1912. [http://digital.olivesoftware.com/Repository/LAP/1912/07/08/058-LAP-1912-07-08-001-SINGLE-ORIGNAME\\_00182\\_9SPLIT.PDF#OLV0\\_Page\\_0001](http://digital.olivesoftware.com/Repository/LAP/1912/07/08/058-LAP-1912-07-08-001-SINGLE-ORIGNAME_00182_9SPLIT.PDF#OLV0_Page_0001). (Accessed August 11, 2013).

This article documents the attempted assassination of H.C. Creel. *The Lake Charles Daily American Press* was one of the larger newspapers in the region.

“Emerson's Resignation and Recommendations.” *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.). May 29, 1913. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-05-29/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed October 31, 2013).

*The Lumberjack* was the official paper of the BTW. This article noted Emerson's resignation.

“Four Killed in Saw-Mill Riot.” *The Era-leader* (Franklinton, La.). July 12, 1912. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1912-07-11/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed April 29, 2013).

Provides primary source material on the shooting in Grabow. This article also noted the assassination attempt of H.C. Creel and connected the events.

“The Grabow Riot.” *The Caucasian* (Shreveport, La.). August 6, 1912. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064469/1912-08-06/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed May 2, 2013).

This article provides some insight into the conditions in the area surrounding Grabow shortly after the incident. The paper appears biased against socialism.

“Grabow Rioters Are Acquitted.” *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa, Ok.). November 3, 1912. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042344/1912-11-03/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed November 18, 2013).

This article provides information regarding the Grabow trial. In addition, it acknowledges the shooting the death Smith.

Hall, Covington. “With the Southern Timber Workers.” *International Socialist Review*. May 1913 vol. 13. pp. 806-807. <https://archive.org/stream/InternationalSocialistReview1900Vol13/ISR-volume13#page/n827/mode/2up>. (Accessed May 3, 2013).

Hall was a regular contributor to the journal. Hall was an organizer for the BTW and while it is certainly biased toward the BTW it presents the issue from their point of view at the time. This piece covers the strike at Merryville.

Hall, Covington. *Labor Struggles in the Deep South & Other Writings*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1999.

Hall was an organizer for the BTW and while he is certainly biased toward the BTW he presents the issues from their point of view at the time. This is part memoir and part reissue of original writing. Hall appears to have remembered some names incorrectly and records some conversations in quotations. The use of these quotations can be problematic because it is difficult to ascertain if Hall recorded these conversations when they happened or if he is recalling a conversation that took place years ago. However, many of the incidents Hall refers to can be verified through other primary sources, his work credible.

Haywood, William D. "Timber Workers and Timber Wolves." *International Socialist Review*, August, 1912. <http://archive.org/stream/InternationalSocialistReview1900Vol13/ISR-volume13#page/n117/mode/2up/search/%22timber+workers+and+timber+wolves%22>. (Accessed May 3, 2013).

Haywood was an organizer for the IWW and an occasional contributor the journal. This is provides an overview of the situation in lumber camps from the union point of view.

"In 'Free' America." *Scott County Kicker* (Benton, Mo.). July 13, 1912, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89066234/1912-07-13/ed-1/seq-4/>. (Accessed November 23, 2013).

The *Scott County Kicker* was a socialist newspaper. This article provides further documentation of the attempted assassination of H.C. Creel.

John Henry Kirby Papers, 1884-1944. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries. (Accessed August , 2013).

This is one of the three critical archives containing information on the union. The Kirby Papers contain business and personal correspondence of John Kirby, owner of the Kirby Lumber Company. Kirby was a vociferous opponent of the BTW. The archive contains Operative reports, personal correspondence between mill owners, and press clippings. Unfortunately, the folders are somewhat disorganized and it is potentially easy to miss

Important documents.

The Kirby Lumber Collection (KLC). East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University. (Accessed October, 2013).

This is one of the three critical archives containing information on the union. Although the collection is of the Kirby Lumber Company there are documents in this collection which do not appear in The Kirby Papers.

Louisiana Central Lumber Company Records. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, The University of Missouri at Columbia. Collection no. 3660. (Accessed October, 2013).

Collection number 3660 is one of the three principle archives pertaining to the BTW. It contains hundreds of folders organized by date. These folders contain operative reports, Confidential memos, the minutes of SLOA meetings, and some documents produced by the BTW.

“Lumber Mills Close Down.” *Jefferson jimplecute* (Jefferson, Texas). August 25, 1911. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86089978/1911-08-25/ed-1/seq-2/>. (Accessed November 18, 2013).

This article provides an important demonstration of how the BTW was represented in the press prior to affiliation with the IWW. It publicly links the union with both socialism and the IWW.

“Lumbermen Plan to Fight Against Union.” *Colfax Chronicle* (Colfax, Louisiana). June 10, 1911. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064176/1911-06-10/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed November 1, 2013).

This article provides an important demonstration of how the BTW was represented in the press prior to affiliation with the IWW. It publicly links the union with both socialism and the IWW.

“Mayor calls off meeting.” *The Rice Belt Journal* (Welsh, Calcasieu Parish, La.). August 9, 1912, p. 3. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064402/1912-08-09/ed-1/seq-3/>. (Accessed May 3, 2013).

I have not seen this information previously cited. It provides insight into institutional discrimination.

“Mill Owners Will Fight Brotherhood.” *Colfax Chronicle* (Colfax, Louisiana). July 22, 1911.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064176/1911-07-22/ed-1/seq-4/>. (Accessed November 17, 2013).

This article demonstrates SLOA opposition to the BTW prior to affiliation with the IWW. In addition it describes the union as a socialist organization, demonstrating that the union was viewed as radical prior to affiliation.

Old Reb. "Sweet Home Scab Shot?" *Voice of the People* (New Orleans, La.). February 12, 1914. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064458/1914-02-12/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed November 3, 2013).

This *Voice of the People* was the official paper of the BTW, it was formerly called *The Lumberjack*. This article noted a shooting in one of the final BTW strikes.

"Peonage at Merryville." *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.). January 9, 1913. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-01-09/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed October 31, 2013).

*The Lumberjack* was the official paper of the BTW. This article provided extensive information regarding the allegations of peonage.

"Report of Clash of Union and Non-Union Men at Merryville Denied." *Colfax Chronicle* (Colfax, Louisiana). February 2, 1913, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064176/1913-02-22/ed-1/seq-8/>. (Accessed November 3, 2013).

This article presents a somewhat biased account of the Merryville strike. It denies violence but acknowledges that multiple fistfights occurred.

S.S. 44. "Vivid Account of the Merryville Highbinders of 'Law and Order.'" *Lumberjack* (Alexandria, La.). February 27, 1913. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064459/1913-02-27/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed November 15, 2013).

*The Lumberjack* was the official paper of the BTW. This article provided a detailed account of the vigilante violence which effectively ended the strike.

"State News." *Lower Coast Gazette* (Pointe-a-la-Hache, La.). March 15, 1913. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064433/1913-03-15/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed November 1, 2013).

This article reported on the aftermath of the Merryville strike. It demonstrates government repression of free speech.

*State of Louisiana v. L.F. Johnson et als.* Fifteenth Judicial District Court of Louisiana. Case no. 6021, 1912. Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, May 6-9, 1912.

This critical piece of primary documentation was introduced as evidence during the Grabow trial. It contains a wealth of information, including voting records and delegate names.

*State of Louisiana v. L.F. Johnson et als.* Fifteenth Judicial District Court of Louisiana. Case no. 6021, 1912. Constitution and By-Laws of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers.

The Constitution was entered as evidence during the Grabow trial. It details an important aspects of the BTW's segregationist policies and provides critical insight into the union prior to affiliation with the IWW.

"There was a Hot Time in the Old Town." *The Era-Leader* (Franklinton, La.) p. 2. November 30, 1911. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1911-11-30/ed-1/seq-2/#>. (Accessed on September 3, 2013).

This is a brief article detailing an armed conflict between BTW Vice President Fussell and company men. It provides background information on a possible later attempt to assassinate Fussell.

"Timber Striker Ordered to Leave." *Era Leader* (Franklinton, La.). February 18, 1913. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1913-02-20/ed-1/seq-1/>. (Accessed November 3, 2013).

This article provides a biased account of the vigilante violence which ended the Merryville strike. However, it is useful in demonstrating the collusion of the press.

### Secondary Source Bibliography

Allen, Ruth A. *East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture, 1870-1950*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1961.

Allen's work is considered a seminal piece on the topic and is used by many of the scholars who have researched this material. This will be useful in presenting the overall picture of the economic situation and social structure and how the Brotherhood of Timber Workers (BTW) did or did not fit into it.

Anderson, David G., Mary Beth Reed, Steven D. Smith, and Joseph W. Joseph. *Archaeology, History, and Predictive Modeling: Research at Fort Polk, 1972-2002*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2003. (Accessed October 26, 2013). [http://books.google.com/books?id=IVmw67Ey7UoC&pg=PA474&lpg=PA474&dq=the+toiler+leesville&source=bl&ots=LBw8KcvMwW&sig=Hij-\\_NwUwLpyMtrE3dkwWCqe1G4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=XcVqUvLnLbKu4APboYFw&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=the%20toiler%20leesville&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=IVmw67Ey7UoC&pg=PA474&lpg=PA474&dq=the+toiler+leesville&source=bl&ots=LBw8KcvMwW&sig=Hij-_NwUwLpyMtrE3dkwWCqe1G4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=XcVqUvLnLbKu4APboYFw&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=the%20toiler%20leesville&f=false).

This text primarily deals with the geographic area utilizing Fort Polk as a focal point. It does contain information about the union in a section on cultural history.

Burns, Anna C. "The Gulf Lumber Company, Fullerton: A View of Lumbering during Louisiana's Golden Era." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* vol. 20, no. 2 (Spring 1979). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4231890>. (Accessed April 7, 2013).

This article contains information regarding the early lumber industry of Louisiana. Although there is not much new information pertaining to the BTW it does offer a concise account of the industry.

Cook, Bernard A. "Covington Hall and Radical Rural Unionization in Louisiana." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1977). <http://www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/pdfplus/4231678.pdf?acceptTC=true>. (Accessed on September 5, 2013).

Much of Cook's work pertains to Covington Hall. However, it does offer a broad overview of the conflict.

Dubofsky, Melvyn *We Shall Be All: a History of the Industrial Workers of the World*. Abridged ed. Edited by Joseph A. McCartin. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.

Dubofsky's seminal work on the IWW is still considered an important source of material on the IWW. There is a short section on the BTW, which new documents demonstrate is no longer accurate. This source is utilized to show that new scholarship is necessary.

Fannin, Mark. *Labor's Promised Land: Radical Visions of Gender, Race, and Religion in the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003.



This is a comprehensive example of current scholarship on the topic, and contains several chapters on the BTW. It should be noted that there are a couple of incidents where the author's citation did not match the primary or secondary source. It appears to be carelessness as some of the citations were found, but the article name or page number was incorrect. This book is useful in demonstrating the opposition that the BTW presented to the society and culture it was entrenched in.

Ferrell, Jeff. "The Brotherhood of Timber Workers and the Culture of Conflict." Thesis (Ph.D.) Austin, University of Texas. 1982.

This is a fairly recent academic article on the subject. Ferrell compiled a massive amount of information on the BTW. This dissertation is used to establish some of the repression that the BTW faced and previous Socialist Party influence in the region.

Fickle, James E. "The Louisiana-Texas Lumber War of 1911-1912." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* vol. 16, no. 1 (Winter 1975): 59-85.

Historian James Fickle's work utilizes archival material from the Forest History Collections at Stephen P. Austin University. Much of this material from this archive has not been cited by other scholars.

Foner, Phillip S. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917*. Vol. 4. New York: International Publishers, 1965.

Historian Phillip Foner's work is important in examining the relationship between the IWW and the BTW. Foner also touches on the issues of race and how it related to the merger.

Green, James R. "The Brotherhood of Timber Workers 1910-1913: A Radical Response to Industrial Capitalism in the Southern U. S. A." *Past & Present*, No. 60 (Aug., 1973):161-200.

This is another seminal, if abbreviated, study. The fact that this work is still considered one of the most important pieces on this topic demonstrated that current scholarship is necessary. Published through an Oxford University journal, Green's discussion demonstrates the opposition the BTW presented to capitalism and the status quo of the area it operated in.

Gullet, Ryan. "East Texas Theatre of the Timber War: Kirby Lumber Company's War with the Brotherhood of Timber Workers." *East Texas Historical Journal* 48, no. 2 (2010) *Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost*. (Accessed September 5, 2013).

Gullet produced one of the most recent articles on the topic. He focused his work on some of the episodes of violence in the conflict.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd et al., *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

This classic analysis of life southern cotton mill towns offered a useful comparisons.

Haynes, John Earl. "Unrest in the Piney Woods: Southern Lumber and the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in the Early Twentieth Century." Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1966.  
[http://digitool.fcla.edu/R/KT3QC11EEV37CJYQ2VA75YK8S9SLM2295F6FM2NEGSN5XKAYBN-02049?func=dbin-jump-full&object\\_id=158597&local\\_base=GEN01&pds\\_handle=GUEST](http://digitool.fcla.edu/R/KT3QC11EEV37CJYQ2VA75YK8S9SLM2295F6FM2NEGSN5XKAYBN-02049?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=158597&local_base=GEN01&pds_handle=GUEST). (accessed on April 6, 2013).

Although Haynes' work is dated it contains some of the best scholarly analysis of the political climate that pre-dated the BTW. It provided specific information regarding the influence of the Socialist Party.

Jones, William P. *The Tribe of the Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Although the book does not offer much on the BTW it provides a perspective on black workers in the industry in the region in question just after the BTW.

McCord, Charles, "A Brief History of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers" Master's thesis, University of Texas, (1959). Courtesy of Special Collections at McNeese State University.

McCord's dissertation was supervised by an expert in the field, Ruth Allen (whose work is cited previously). McCord provides the most in depth account of the Grabow trial, and is cited in virtually every major work on the topic.

McWhiney, Grady. "Louisiana Socialists in the Early Twentieth Century: A Study of Rustic Radicalism." *The Journal of Southern History* vol. 20, no. 3 (Aug., 1954). < <http://0-www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/2955153>>. (Accessed on March 3, 2013).  
 McWhiney discusses the BTW in the context of larger political movements with which they were associated. This will be useful in demonstrating how members of the BTW saw themselves as participants in a larger social movement.

Morgan, George T. "No Compromise-No Recognition: John Henry Kirby, the Southern Lumber

Operators' Association, and Unionism in the Piney Woods, 1906-1916." *Labor History* 10 (Spring 1969): 193-204.

Morgan, George T. Jr. "The Gospel of Wealth Goes South: John Henry Kirby and Labor's Struggle for Self-Determination, 1901-1916." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 75, no. 2 (Oct., 1971). <<http://www.jstor.org/wncln.wncln.org/stable/30236713>>. (Accessed on March 18, 2013).

Morgan's work highlights the machinations of John Kirby and the Southern Lumber Operator's Association. This will be helpful in presenting information from the point of view of lumber industry. Though the material is dated, it is one of the few accounts which focuses specifically on Kirby.

Reich, Steven A. *The Making of a Southern Sawmill World Race, Class, and Rural Transformation in the Piney Woods of East Texas, 1830-1930*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--Northwestern University, 1998. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/42872294.html>>.

Reich presents a comprehensive investigation into race and class before and after the BTW. He also provides an excellent background to early industry land use conflicts. This well documented study provides an in-depth analysis of black union workers in East Texas.

Tarver, John R. *The Clan of Toil: Piney Woods Labor Relations in the Trans-Mississippi South, 1880-1920*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1991.

Tarver, the son of a BTW member, has compiled a massive work dealing with the geographical area of the BTW in the time periods directly before, during, and after the BTW's existence. Tarver provides good analysis and occasionally scathing critique of earlier scholarship. His citations show that his analysis of secondary material is questionable.

Thompson, Fred. *The I.W.W.: Its First Fifty Years (1905 - 1955)*. Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1955.

Thompson's work contains a scant amount of information about the BTW, but it is important to view the BTW from the perspective of the IWW. Thompson was a union activist and not a scholar, this material in this source should be verified when possible.

Webb, Bernice Larson. "Company Town: Louisiana Style." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9, no. 4 (Autumn 1968). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4231031>.