A HISTORY OF SEATTLE WATERFRONT WORKERS

Washington and Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen to support their demand for a 10-cent raise.\textsuperscript{100} Two days later grain handler locals in Washington State declared they too merited a 10-cent increase.\textsuperscript{101} When the Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen met on October 7 delegates voted to demand 50 cents an hour straight time and 75 cents overtime for lumber handlers. If employers did not raise pay by October 15, the council threatened to strike.\textsuperscript{102} A month later Washington employers acceded to the wage demands of the lumber handlers.\textsuperscript{103} Rothschild and Washington Stevedoring not only agreed to the new wage scale, but also to hiring only union lumber handlers. The Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen promptly declared that no union longshoremen would work for Rothschild's rival, McCabe & Hamilton, until that company acceded to recognition and union preference in hiring.\textsuperscript{104}

After five years existence in the middle of the civil war between the Sailors' Union and ILM&TA, as well as suffering manipulation by employers, Local 552 called a truce. On March 15, 1907, ILM&TA Local 552 and PCFL Local 1 decided to merge into the Riggers and Stevedores' Union of Seattle. The following day Local 552 returned its charter to ILM&TA headquarters, thereby cutting loose from national affiliation. In turn, Local 1 severed its relationship with PCFL. Officers elected to head the amalgamated union had not been involved on the Sailors' side or ILM&TA's. It was time for a new beginning.\textsuperscript{105}

Three months after the Seattle factions had reconciled, Samuel Gompers adjudicated the longstanding dispute between ILM&TA and the Sailors' Union. In July 1907, Gompers ruled that ILM&TA must cease using "Marine and Transport Workers" in the title of the union. He awarded jurisdiction over stowing and unloading vessels to longshoremen, except that in the coastwise trade ships' crews could work cargo from tackle to tackle. Gompers's decision substantiated what seamen had sought since 1902. After another year of protesting, ILM&TA accepted Gompers decision and resumed its original name, International Longshoremen's Association.\textsuperscript{106}

CHAPTER IV

VICTORY AND DEFEAT

\textit{We have nothing to lose and a world to gain.}

Jerry Nevins, Seattle Riggers and Stevedores' Union, 1907\textsuperscript{1}

There was a general upswing in Seattle's labor movement during 1907. Four thousand workers joined one of 110 locals that year. Altogether, 19,000 men and women were union members, the largest total in the city's history. Part of the general improvement of labor occurred on the waterfront. One month after the two rival longshore unions merged 400 Riggers and Stevedores controlled one-fourth of Seattle's waterfront work. The Washington and Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen approved in April a Seattle longshore letter to all Sound shipping lines, stevedore companies, and dock operators demanding 50 cents an hour straight time and 75 cents an hour for overtime. The men insisted penalty cargo work on wheat, coal, cement, powder, niter, and ballast should pay the San Francisco scale, 55 cents an hour straight time and $1.00 overtime. Employers were given until May 1 to accede, or face a strike by the eighteen members of the council.\textsuperscript{3}

The Puget Sound Shipping Association

Steamship agents, stevedore bosses, and dock managers quickly joined forces to form the Puget Sound Shipping Association to deal with the longshore council's demands.\textsuperscript{4} Since 1905, an informal coalition of the leading shipowners and stevedore companies, calling themselves the "Bilgawaters," had held weekly luncheon meetings at the Butler Hotel. The idea of formalizing the gatherings into an employer association to deal with rambunctious waterfront workers and seamen was conceived by James Gibson, owner
of Washington Stevedoring. His closest friend, William Dawson, was also a Bilgewater. Dawson had been a log scaler, Klondike sourdough, and in 1907 managed Alaska Pacific Steamship. Other Bilgewaters included Frank Burns, manager of Alaska Steamship; William L McCabe, senior partner in McCabe & Hamilton; David McKensie and Captain J. P. Patterson of Pacific Coast Steamship; and Frank Waterhouse, owner of a maritime charter company.5

At the first meeting of the Puget Sound Shipping Association on April 19, 1907, members elected Frank Burns chairman and William Dawson secretary-treasurer. In the Citizens’ Alliance office a week later Burns announced that the association would discuss wage scales, but if longshoremen persisted in demanding the closed shop, employers would fight to a finish. Burns told the press it was absurd to pay manual laborers more money than skilled mechanics.6 A stevedore boss who was a member of the association told the press that if there was a strike he would accept a labor contractor’s offer to provide sixty black workers.7

At a negotiation session between the Washington and Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen’s bargaining committee and the shipping association on April 26, employers offered the men a wage scale lower than the current one. The longshore committee, which was not empowered to bargain, took the employers’ offer to their locals.8 In Seattle, longshoremen rejected the association proposal amid hoots and hisses. Near the conclusion of the Riggers and Stevedores’ meeting a motion passed to postpone the strike deadline. On April 29, council representatives reported to the shipping association that the membership had rejected their offer, but deferred the regional walkout until May 15.9

The 1907 Lockout

Without warning on May 4 the shipping association locked out Seattle union longshoremen. Declaring that they were fighting to establish for all time the open-shop principle, shipping line and dock managers pledged $10,000 to hire strikebreakers and publicize their cause in newspapers. Help Wanted advertisements appeared in national papers and eastern Washington farm weeklies. In the midst of the publicity campaign McCabe & Hamilton, and most of the other members of the shipping association, voluntarily raised the overtime pay of Tacoma longshoremen to 60 cents an hour based on a nine-hour day instead of the usual ten. The association did not extend this offer to Seattle Local 18.10

The recruitment of strikebreakers failed. During the first ten days of the lockout, only 136 of the 500 waterfront workers needed signed up.11 Thirty-one of the strikebreakers were Russians. They were persuaded by a Russian-speaking striker to quit their jobs.12 Employers chartered the Fidalgo and Edith to house the scabs. Police guarded docks and ships. Armed with wooden clubs, Seattle longshoremen openly patrolled streets leading to the front, demanding visitors state their business. If the answer proved unsatisfactory, pickets hustled the stranger from the waterfront. When police walked by, the men whittled on their clubs.13

Captain Gibson told the Post-Intelligencer that when the trouble with union longshoremen ended, the association would establish its own job dispatch system. An employers’ hiring hall would be created similar to one Gibson had observed in Hamburg, Germany. According to Gibson, steamship lines in the German port provided reading rooms and a restaurant, places where the men could lounge and talk until called to work.14

Seattle longshore President Gustav Simm delivered this ultimatum to employers through city newspapers: “Unless our demands are granted by midnight tomorrow [May 15] we will
VICTORY AND DEFEAT

The number of unemployed Seattleites during the winter of 1907-1908 reached an unprecedented 10,000. The hard times led to endless street corner speeches. Mounted on soapboxes, members of the International Workers of the World told crowds on skid road corners that the city ought to pay the unemployed a weekly allowance. Socialists led by Dr. Herman Titus criticized local government's inaction on work projects. Mayor William H. Moore initiated, and the City Council passed, an ordinance limiting Socialist speakers to two areas of the city. Titus and his fellow Socialists defied the ordinance, were arrested, and served prison sentences rather than pay fines. Among Socialist protestors hauled off to jail was Peter P. Peele, secretary of longshore Local 18 and the Seattle Socialist Party. Similar to 1894, freight and passenger rate wars broke out, coal and lumber inventories filled docks, and grain ships lay anchored in idle slips. Tonnage figures indicate

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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Tonnage Handled</th>
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<td>1912</td>
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The Panic of 1907

When another financial panic hit the nation and uptown Seattle during the summer of 1907, the waterfront remained prosperous. That year, a record 916 ships departed with cargo. For the first time over 1 billion feet of lumber left Puget Sound for foreign and coastwise markets. Ironically, the depression hit the front the summer of 1910, the year after Seattle sponsored the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. The fair had emphasized "the vast importance of Seattle's trade with the countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines, and New Zealand," but shipments to the Orient declined. Similar to 1894, freight and passenger rate wars broke out, coal and lumber inventories filled docks, and grain ships lay anchored in idle slips. Tonnage figures indicate
ers represented were the last two open-shop companies, Pacific Coast Steamship and McCabe & Hamilton. During the discussion of the contract, Captain Patterson of Pacific Coast Steam asked the key question, "If the owners can't hire non-union men, can they hire any particular men from your organization?" Union negotiator Charles Mangus replied, "You have your pick from 600 men of the Local, but no men are to be employed outside of the Local, unless we are unable to supply you." After the union men held a final caucus, they presented a one-year written contract. The men agreed to abolish the dispatch list in exchange for a closed shop. The wage scale was set at 40 cents for day work and 50 cents for overtime. Speaking for employers, William Dawson accepted Local 18's contract and thanked the men for the "very gentlemanly and quick manner" in which they reached their decision. On January 21, 1908, at 4:00 p.m. employers, Seattle Local 18, and Puget Sound Council representatives signed the first written waterfront wage and working conditions agreement. 29

The 23 Strike

Tacoma general cargo longshoremen organized LAPC Local 23 on January 28, 1908. The shipping association denied recognition to Local 23, claiming the contract covered only unions formed before January 21. Negotiations between union longshoremen and the shipping association continued seven months, but neither side would budge. On July 21, all Puget Sound locals, except Tacoma Lumber Handlers' Local 1, struck Washington Stevedoring, demanding that company recognize Local 23. The truce had lasted 180 days. 30

On the first day of the strike, Gibson called a special meeting of the shipping and dock associations. The employers cancelled their contracts with longshore locals and pledged a $3,500 war chest. A four-man special strike committee was elected to devise and implement strategy. Another committee called on Mayor John F. Miller to make certain of adequate police protection on the docks. Without checking Humboldt Steamship and Schubach & Hamilton, William Dawson issued a statement to the press: "All the employers of longshoremen on the Seattle waterfront are united on this matter. In previous strikes all the employers have not been involved. We will have plenty of men to work the ships; in fact, more than we want." 31

At dawn of the second day 200 strikebreakers were at work on Seattle docks. Most were black miners brought by train from central Washington coal fields. Police Chief Irving asked for, and received, permission to address a longshore meeting in the dispatch hall on Western Avenue. Chief Ward told the men, "The police department in this case will be neutral. No one on either side will be molested so long as there is no breach of the law. Both sides will be protected. I want you men to help me preserve order on the waterfront during this trouble." The men responded to the chief's speech with loud cheers and sustained hand clapping. 32

The Seattle longshore union tried to get the marine firemen to shut down the steam that operated the ship winches, but the firemen refused the strikers. Seattle Local 18 had better success persuading strikebreakers to quit. 33 Captains of the picket squads were two of the finest talkers to ever hit the Seattle waterfront, William "Paddy" Morris and David "The Danish Consul" Madison. 34 Persuasion did not convince all of the scabs to leave the front. On July 23, the union's flying squadron rushed scabs discharging Alaska-Pacific's Buckman at Pier 2. A wild free-for-all took place. Two strikebreakers were hospitalized. 35 When the Buckman moved to Tacoma on July 25 another confrontation occurred. Strikebreaker John Clince stabbed Local 23 member Melburn Lewis. Clince was arrested and jailed. 36

Lawyers for Alaska Steam and Alaska-Pacific requested Federal Judge Cornelius H. Hanford for a restraining order prohibiting picketing by the Puget Sound Council and Seattle Local 18. The complainants also swore that Seattle police and
Mayor Miller were not protecting their businesses. On July 25, Judge Hanford issued a temporary injunction restraining union men from picketing docks where strikebreakers worked Alaska and Alaska-Pacific Steam ships. United States marshals posted copies of Hanford’s injunction on all Seattle docks. When a deputy marshal attempted to serve the injunction at Longshoremen’s Hall, the men threw him out. Strikers F. Corvero, David L. Forbes, and John Savo tore restraining orders off dock poles and fences. Police arrested the three longshoremen and held them in jail without bail.

Citing the tearing down of his court order and other threats of violence, Judge Hanford granted on August 6, 1908, a permanent restraining order to Alaska Steam and Alaska-Pacific. In his written opinion, Judge Hanford found despotic unionism incompatible with the Declaration of Independence. “It is,” wrote the judge, “in violation of the constitutional rights of a man to peacefully follow his vocation and earn an honest living.” Seattle Local 18 President John O’Neil and Secretary Dan Connell responded, “Judge Hanford, we think, has said some pretty harsh things against unionism. President Roosevelt as well as William Howard Taft, the Republican candidate for president, and William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate, are all union men. Are we to believe that all of these men are undesirable citizens because they are union men?”

After Hanford issued his permanent injunction on August 6, armed federal marshals patrolled Seattle docks. Union longshoremen no longer picketed with clubs or large placards. Picket captains cancelled assignments. Union members simply walked back and forth along the waterfront singly or in pairs. Strikebreakers worked ships, ate in warehouses, and slept on the Montana.

During early August 1908, the Longshoremen’s Association of the Pacific Coast revoked the charter of Tacoma Lumber Handlers Local 1 for not participating in the strike. Grays Harbor and Portland lumber locals notified Rothschild that unless the company fired members of Local 1, union employees would walk out. Accordingly, Rothschild locked out 160 Tacoma lumber handlers on August 4. Tacoma lumber longshoremen sent a committee to other lumber ports to explain their actions and to protest the injustice of their charter revocation. Despite their appeal, Tacoma Local 1’s expulsion remained in force. Rothschild, as well as other Puget Sound shipping and stevedore companies, took advantage of the situation by hiring scabs in place of union men. Even union lumber handlers from other Puget Sound ports scabbed on Local 1 with police protection. At the same time members of Tacoma Local 1 scabbed on Local 23 at Washington Stevedoring Company.

Disregarding shipping association directives, Humboldt Steamship and Schubach & Hamilton continued to hire union men. On August 16, a joint committee representing the shipping and wharf associations delivered a strong ultimatum to Humboldt Steamship in Seattle and Schubach & Hamilton in Tacoma. If the two companies persisted in hiring union men, their ships would not be allowed to berth. Schubach & Hamilton acceded to the ultimatum, but Humboldt ignored the associations’ threat.

By the sixth week of the strike, the soup kitchen in Longshoremen’s Hall fed 200 of the 600 members. Food, money, and declarations of moral support came from other Seattle unions. Local 18 Secretary Chester expressed hope that a September 1908 unity convention of California, Oregon, and Washington longshoremen in Portland would come to their aid. Puget Sound delegates were instructed to ask for financial assistance and pledges from other unions not to work unfair cargo. Representatives of twenty-five locals created a new coastwide organization, the Longshoremen’s Union of the Pacific (LUP), which called off the Puget Sound strike except at Seattle and Tacoma. The LUP executive committee tried to meet with employers, but the shipping association refused their offer. Other LUP locals sent Seattle $495, but it
was not enough. Seattle Riggers and Stevedores called off the strike on October 19, 1908, and Tacoma General Cargo Handlers followed on January 15, 1909. Both unions reported that the men were sorely in need of work, having families to support.

In order to work at docks controlled by shipping association members a longshoreman had to be a steady company employee or dispatched through the scab hall. All longshoremen signed green cards pledging that they would not join a union. On the card appeared the bearer's name, date of registration, and the signature of an officer of the shipping association. Workers carried their green cards on the job. Captain Gibson explained the association's basic hiring procedure, "A rigid check is made as each man is employed and no labor organizer or agitator is to have employment."

During 1909 employers cut longshore wages to 30 cents an hour, and sped up the pace of work. The Seattle Dock Association refused to sign freight billings until captains or mates discharged union longshoremen and hired nonunion laborers. LUP Secretary C. T. Fouch demanded the Interstate Commerce Commission and Department of Justice investigate blacklisting in Seattle, but to no avail. It remained for Seattle union longshoreman John Wagner to sue Dock Superintendent John Hayden for blacklisting. After a year of court delays, a judge fined Hayden $100.00.

That same year Hayden tried again to fire union longshoremen already hired by Max Kalish, owner of the Humboldt. "They made a lot of trouble for me," Hayden told a reporter, "and they will not be allowed to work on the dock as long as I am here. There is no blacklist, but we claim to be entitled to have some supervision over the dock, and one part of the supervision is to keep undesirables off it." After a fruitless conversation with Hayden, Kalish ordered his ship to another pier. As the ship moved away from the dock Kalish told a reporter, "We pay the men and we reserve the right to engage them irrespective as to whether they are union or non-union men."

The years 1909 and 1910 are among the most dismal years in Pacific Northwest longshore union history. On July 4, 1909, a strikebreaker shot and killed Seattle union longshoreman John Ryan, who had played a prominent part in the 1908 strike. Portland grain handlers struck briefly during September 1910 for 40 cents an hour, but returned to work when employers threatened to divert ships to Puget Sound. It was the same across the country. In 1910 New York City longshoremen told employers that they would not be provoked into a strike until better times arrived.

At the second Longshoremen's Union of the Pacific convention during September 1909, a gleam of hope appeared. International Longshoremen's Association President Thomas V. O'Connor proposed amalgamation of LUP with the international. The West Coast would be known as ILA District 38. O'Connor agreed the new district would have complete autonomy, a separate defense fund for strikes and lockouts, and paid organizers. On September 16, LUP officials and O'Connor signed a tentative agreement. After 2,000 LUP members ratified the pact, twenty-five locals received ILA charters by paying $1.00. Seattle Riggers and Stevedores joined as Local 38-12.

From its inception, the heart of Pacific Coast District 38 was its annual convention. Delegates introduced resolutions recommended by their locals for convention action. Issues were debated and referred to the membership for acceptance or rejection. There was a perennial issue. The universal travel card came up at every district convention, but never passed. The more affluent locals did not want the job market flooded. The 1909 convention elected Portlanders Joseph J. Foley as president and Courtney T. Fouch, secretary-treasurer. James Roach became the first organizer. Roach concentrated on recruiting the San Francisco Riggers and Stevedores' Union which numbered 2,000 members. Officers of the district believed higher wages and better working conditions would result in all West Coast ports if the Bay City union could be persuaded to join.
The Early Years of the Public Port of Seattle

A second ray of hope for union longshoremen occurred on September 5, 1911. On that day King County citizens created a public port district by a vote of 13,771 to 4,538. The voters elected three prolabor port commissioners over three candidates supported by railroad, shipping, and docks interests. Farmer Robert Bridges, engineer Hiram Chittenden, and banker C. M. Remsberg campaigned on a platform of modernizing Seattle’s waterfront before the Panama Canal opened in 1914. If the port was updated, an additional 1 million tons of cargo would pass over the Queen City’s docks annually. Otherwise, Seattle would have “to take a back seat” to Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.58

After a year of study, Bridges, Chittenden, and Remsberg proposed a master plan for the Seattle waterfront. The development would include deep-water piers at Smith Cove, East Waterway, and Salmon Bay. A fourth dock would be constructed in the wholesale district to serve smaller boats and the Alaska cargo trade. At Bell Street, commissioners planned a terminal and cold storage warehouse for the mosquito fleet and fishermen.59 During the next three years, port commissioners asked, and the public approved, annual bond issues to purchase land and build facilities. Private waterfront owners energetically opposed every bond proposition, except for one measure to create a huge private terminal on Harbor Island. Railroad and dock operators argued there was not enough business for the existing piers to make a profit. The port commission responded, “The lesson of the existing situation is not that no more docks are needed, but that greater care should be exercised to adapt such as may hereafter be built to the practical requirements of the business for which they are designed.”60

Unsuccessful at defeating the port bond issues, maritime businessmen lobbied the state legislature to amend the Public Port Act to provide for the appointment of additional members of the commission. Twice King County voters turned down the special interests’ attempts to pack the port commission.61 The commissioners’ fear that steamship and railroad lines would boycott the facilities of the Port of Seattle in favor of privately-owned piers never materialized. When Commissioners Bridges, Chittenden, and Remsberg insisted that all companies using port docks and warehouses must employ Seattle Stevedores and Riggers’ Union longshoremen, the shippers and stevedore bosses complied without a murmur. The Great Northern had never used union men, but Local 38-12 men transferred 650,000 cases of salmon from ship to GN railcars in 1914 without an incident.62 When the uptown Employers’ Association complained of the prounion stance of the port during April 1914, the commission formally adopted a hiring preference policy that favored Local 38-12.63

On January 1, 1914, the intercoastal American-Hawaiian Steamship Company leased the entire East Waterway complex. For the first time cargo could be discharged simultaneously from both sides of a ship onto two docks. No longer would stevedores unload front hatches, standby while the
vessel turned in the stream, and then discharge the stern hatches. The Port Commission wharfage rate amounted to 20 cents a ton, far below what private companies charged. With the opening of the Panama Canal, commissioners announced further reductions to attract new customers.  

When the Panama Canal opened on August 14, 1914, the Seattle Transportation Club sponsored a luncheon celebration entitled, "The Occasion." The club sent a congratulatory telegram to Colonel George W. Goethals, engineer in charge of the canal, thanking him for giving the Puget Sound area new economic life. "Our principal products, lumber, grain, salmon, fruit, and hops, and the products of the East and South of the United States, in fact, of all the world, may now be distributed to and fro over untrammled waters." At 10:00 a.m. on September 6, the Admiral Dewey docked at East Waterway. In just twenty-eight days, the Dewey had sailed from New York City to Seattle by way of the new canal. Seattle's hope that the short cut would generate an immediate maritime boom failed to materialize. Slides kept the canal closed most of the first year. Even after the canal reopened, shipowners appeared to be in no hurry to take advantage of the time saving.  

Nor did the beginning of World War I in Europe during August 1914 increase Seattle's maritime commerce. Fearful of seizure, the German Kosmos and Hamburg-American lines laid up their vessels. Steamship lines discouraged shipping Pacific Northwest wheat and flour to Europe and Asia by doubling rates. By the end of August, freight charges on other commodities and manufactured goods had advanced 35 percent. Along the waterfront uncertainty led to watchful waiting.  

During January 1915, Robert Bridges replaced Hiram Chittenden as president of the Seattle Port Commission. Bridges immediately granted the business agents of Local 38-12 access to all Port facilities. The new commission president also directed Port staff to telephone the longshore union dispatcher instead of the Puget Sound Shipping Association's hiring hall. By unanimous vote, ILA Local 38-12 extended to Bridges the singular privilege of entering the longshore hall anytime he wanted.  

Under Bridges's direction the largest dock complex on the Pacific Coast started operations at Smith Cove on April 20, 1915. By the end of the year, union lumber handlers had moved 7,305,673 board feet into ships at the cove. Orders from the United Kingdom for vertical clear grain spruce made up most of the lumber cargo. A new Gantry crane dominated the interbay horizon. Mounted on railroad tracks, this piece of equipment could lift 4,000 board feet of lumber from a railcar to either a storage shed or onto a ship's deck. The Gantry replaced fifteen men and six horses. Wage expenses of fifteen men shifting 1,000 feet of lumber from dock to deck cost $6.00. In comparison, crane maintenance and operation cost amounted to 15 cents per 1,000 feet. To take advantage of the financial savings, Alaskan and Russian railroad construction companies diverted locomotives and other heavy export cargos from San Francisco, Tacoma, and Victoria to Seattle.  

Nineteen hundred and fifteen turned out to be a banner year for the Seattle waterfront. Port Warden Paysse announced that 3,142,912 tons valued at $163,261,313 had crossed Seattle docks. In comparison, 1914's tonnage had totaled 1,424,268, worth $89,339,742. Private docks and warehouses, as well as five new Port of Seattle piers, worked round the clock to keep up with the bustling cargo trade. Based on shipping contracts already signed, the Port of Seattle estimated that in 1916 fifty-eight additional freighters would be necessary to carry overseas cargos and seventy-four more vessels to meet coastwise demand. For those who had hoped the Port of Seattle would fail in the business world, a 1916 United States Department of Commerce Marine Report must have come as a surprise. This report revealed that during the last month of 1915 more vessels cleared from Seattle than any other port in the United States except New York. The growth had started in late 1914 and increased monthly in spite of