

CHAPTER V

FIGHT TO THE FINISH

John Now became a full-fledged member of Local 38-3 on May 26, 1916. He was twenty-one years old. Along with 100 other hand truckers he had earned the right to wear a white hat and carry a cargo hook, the distinctive symbols of a union longshoreman. For four years as a casual, Johnny had pushed a two-wheel hand truck six days a week, nine hours a day, for 30 cents an hour. "Hard work," he acknowledged, "I'd say the average trucker walked twenty miles a day. Sometimes when you got through at night, your back ached and your legs and feet hurt, too." Still, Johnny boxed on Saturday nights at smokers for "spare change." Sundays he rode his horse in the Roy area. In 1912 he had joined the Industrial Workers of the World. "You had to be quiet about joining or your boss would fire you right away. Wobblies had a reputation for direct action and believed in the class struggle, things bosses really objected to." While most Tacomans considered the IWW a haven for hobos and radicals, Johnny saw the IWW as the only solution to the "wage slavery" he endured on the job. To his dying day Johnny remained a class-conscious worker.¹

Now became a member of the general cargo local five days before longshoremen from Bellingham to San Diego struck shipowners and stevedore companies. On May 1, 1916, the Ninth ILA Pacific Coast District Convention had assembled in Seattle, eager to address the issues of wages and the union shop. During April, the Sailors' Union had gained a 10 percent increase and Marine Engineers had received from 15 to 20 percent. Delegates pointed out that the shipowners and stevedore companies had made huge profits off the war. They could afford to raise wages. Besides, the rising cost of living was eating into their real wages. Led by San Francisco Local 38-33, a majority of ILA delegates demanded a 10 percent pay raise in straight time and 40 percent in overtime. Clause 14 of the ILA's proposed Wage Scale and Working Rules required that "All work within the jurisdiction of the Pacific Coast District of the I. L. A. shall be done under closed shop conditions."²

Delegates debated whether to give employers sixty days' notice as stipulated in the negotiated contracts. Tacoma Lumber Handler Paddy Morris recalled the argument: "When we found that they were bound to call the strike for the first of June, violating the agreement, I said to them: 'If you are determined to do that, don't give the employers any notice; if you are going to break it, break it right and strike from the floor of this convention.'"³ In the end the convention decided to walk out June 1 if employers did not accede to their demands.

On May 19 District Secretary Madsen formally notified the Puget Sound Waterfront Employers' Union (WEU) "that our agreement with you will terminate at 6 AM. June 1st, 1916."⁴ Three days later employers' union Secretary W. C. Dawson wrote to Madsen, "If it is your intention to discontinue or alter the present agreement, your Association will give us the [sixty days] notice as required by the Agreement."⁵ On May 26 Dawson asked Madsen for an appointment the next day at 10:00 a.m. to "come to some amicable settlement."⁶ Madsen responded that the convention had instructed all ILA officers to enforce the new wage scale and working rules on June 1. "Consequently the said officers will not be able to confer with any employers prior to June 1st on this matter."⁷

After receiving Madsen's letter, employers wired Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson asking for a mediator. Wilson named Seattle Immigration Commissioner Henry M. White as conciliation commissioner.⁸ During the evening of May 31, employers named a strike committee composed of A. F. Haines, George E. McAlpin, and Ethelbert C. Richmond to secure the docks and warehouses in case of a work stoppage. "It was the sentiment of the meeting that the employers resist all demands and wait (for) developments, stopping work if necessary."⁹ When asked what the strategy of Tacoma waterfront businesses would be if the longshoremen struck, Agent O. C. Nelson of the Waterfront Employers' Union, Tacoma Branch, said that steamship lines and stevedore companies would hold out as long as it took to make union longshoremen give up their demands.¹⁰

For the first time in West Coast longshore history, 12,500 union longshoremen planned to "hang the hook" together. There were 925 in Seattle, 1,100 in Tacoma, 2,000 in Portland, 4,600 in San Francisco, and 1,200 in San Pedro. Joining with the large unions were thirty-three smaller locals in California, Oregon, and Washington. Each ILA local elected a strike committee to supervise picketing, the flying squad, and the payment of strike benefits.¹¹ Since Canada was already at war, British Columbia unions planned to stay out of the dispute unless employers diverted hot cargo to Canada. Efforts were made in each port to persuade Sailors and Teamsters to stage a sympathetic walkout on the waterfront, but both unions refused.¹²

Puget Sound waterfront employers were already contending with walkouts by three other maritime unions. Out on strike for higher wages were 200 members of the newly organized halibut fishermen, 500 Steamboatmen, and 1,200 Seattle United Dock Truckers.¹³ On May 31, Tacoma longshore delegates somberly told the Central Labor Council that beginning the next morning they "would need the moral support of every trade unionist in Tacoma."¹⁴

The Walkout

The strike started at 6:00 a.m. on June 1, 1916, at all West Coast ports. Quiet reigned everywhere the first day of the strike. On Puget Sound docks, only

a few dozen nonunion freight and lumber handlers showed up to work. Employers refrained from hiring strikebreakers and asking for police protection. In Tacoma, WEU Branch Agent Nelson hired carpenters to construct high fences topped with barbed wire around pier gates.¹⁵ In Seattle WEU Secretary-Treasurer W. C. Dawson made the rounds of Seattle and Tacoma banks, shipping lines, stevedore companies, and flour mills soliciting pledges for a war chest. Altogether the companies promised \$36,850 "for the purpose of establishing 'OPEN SHOP' in the handling of our business, cargoes, etc. on Puget Sound under the supervision of the Waterfront Employers' Union."¹⁶ Meanwhile the San Francisco employers' association prevailed on the Waterfront Workers' Federation to ask federal mediator Henry White to start negotiations in the Bay City. The bosses called on Seattle colleagues to persuade White to get the men back to work pending negotiations. The conciliator refused to ask the ILA to go back to work.¹⁷

Local 38-3 established strike headquarters in a large hall at 726 Pacific. The membership elected Harry P. Johnson chairman of the strike committee. Jack Bjorklund, James Costello, and Robert T. Hardin assisted Johnson in day-to-day supervision of picketing. On the day the strike started, Johnson assembled pickets at the strike hall. He admonished strikers to avoid violent situations with scabs. Then he handed out strike books and special green buttons. The strike committee divided the men into thirty picket patrols, each squad composed of twenty-five men. Twenty-eight squads were assigned to mills, docks, and warehouses. Two squads covered the waterfront in launches to make certain scabs were not brought in from the sea.¹⁸

Trouble began on the second day of the strike. A nonunion gang at Tacoma's Eureka dock tried to unload the *Nome City*. Seventy-five union longshoremen "on their own hook" battered down the barricade and seized the scabs. Strikers loaded the strikebreakers into a Foss tug and let them off at Browns Point. Marshall Wright told the press that the union condemned the actions of the men who stormed the Eureka dock, but the "rowdy element" was hard to control.¹⁹ The day after scabs were ousted from the Eureka dock, Tacoma waterfront employers asked Associated Industries of Washington to recruit "independents" to replace striking longshoremen.²⁰

On June 6 the Commercial and Rotary clubs condemned acts of "lawlessness" on the docks. The service club men called upon Safety Commissioner Francis Pettit to protect both life and property on the waterfront. When twenty members of the Commercial Club and Rotarians volunteered to work as watchmen,²¹ Freight Handlers' Local 38-3 printed 10,000 cards to introduce themselves to the club men and anyone else who came to the waterfront:

READ THE DAILY PAPERS
Are You a Member of the Commercial
Club or the Rotary Club?
I AM A LONGSHOREMAN²²

Not all employers opposed waterfront unions. Toyo Kisen Kaisha Steamship Company and the Frank Waterhouse Company, the two largest Far East shippers, acceded on June 3 to longshore and trucker wage and closed-shop demands.²³ On June 8, Rothschild's and the West Seattle Elevator Company signed and returned agreements to the Pacific Coast District ILA office in Seattle.²⁴

Special Federal Mediator Henry M. White convened a negotiating session of the ILA district executive board and waterfront employers on June 7 in San Francisco. Also attending the session were representatives of the Waterfront Workers' Federation and Local 38-33. After intensive negotiations, a truce was signed at 2:00 a.m. on June 9. Longshoremen agreed to return to work at the wage scale submitted to employers on May 19. Negotiations would continue on wages and working conditions to be included in a permanent agreement. A referendum of the 12,500 "men who carry the hooks" would be necessary to ratify the final agreement.²⁵

Pertinent Facts

**"Men Willing to
Work Must Be
Free to Do So"**

EMPLOYERS OF LABOR RECOGNIZE THAT THE TIME HAS COME IN THE HISTORY OF THIS AND OTHER COMMUNITIES ON THE PACIFIC COAST WHEN IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO ABANDON THEIR BUSINESS OR ACCEDE TO DEMANDS. WE HEREBY CALL UPON ALL OF THE BUSINESS MEN AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN THE ENTERPRISES OF THIS COMMUNITY TO JOIN US IN A SOLEMN PLEDGE THAT FROM THIS DAY ON THE OPEN SHOP SHALL PREVAIL IN THIS COMMUNITY, EVEN IF IT BE NECESSARY TO CLOSE ALL OF OUR MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, OUR LUMBER MILLS, FLOURING MILLS AND SHIPPING INTERESTS.

FOR MORE THAN A MONTH PAST WE HAVE OFFERED TO ACCEDE TO ALMOST EVERY DEMAND MADE BY THE LONGSHOREMEN WHO HAVE TIED UP AND ARE DESTROYING THE INDUSTRY OF THIS COMMUNITY. WE TRY IN OPEN VIOLATION OF THEIR AGREEMENT, BUT THEY NOT ONLY HAVE REFUSED TO

The Tacoma Branch of the Employers' Association called upon all industries to institute the open shop. (Tacoma Daily Ledger, June 27, 1916, Tacoma Public Library)

The Strike Resumes

On June 9 union longshoremen, dock workers, and checkers began loading and discharging cargo at all West Coast ports except Aberdeen, Crockett, Eureka, Hoquiam, and San Pedro, the port of the City of Los Angeles. Employ-

ers at the five ports refused to accede even temporarily to the unions' demands.²⁶ Another problem blocking a final settlement was the continued employment of nonunion workers by San Francisco waterfront employers. Then on June 16 an Oakland ILA longshoreman, Lewis A. Morey, was shot and killed by a scab lumber handler. Two days later in San Francisco, ILA stevedore Thomas Olsen was fatally shot in the back by a scab. On June 20 the Pacific Coast ILA Executive Board called upon San Francisco employers "to live up to the terms of the agreement by discharging and dispersing all strikebreakers in their employ by June 21, 1916, at 5 p.m."²⁷ Employers argued, and Henry White confirmed, that the June 9 truce did not specify the discharge of scabs. Somehow the clause calling for the immediate discharge of replacements had been omitted from the final draft without longshore negotiators noticing.²⁸

The San Francisco Riggers and Stevedores' Union struck again on June 21. The district executive board directed other West Coast longshore locals to walk out the next morning in support of San Francisco. Picket lines were reestablished by all ILA locals at the docks used by waterfront employers' union members. WEU stepped up the process of hiring "independents," WEU's new name for strikebreakers. The waterfront employers declared it would be a "fight to the finish" between the open- and closed- shop principles.²⁹ Tacoma waterfront businessmen called upon Safety Commissioner

<p>LONGSHOREMEN TO QUIT JOBS TODAY</p> <p>With Union Ultimatum Comes Announcement by Employ- ers of Open Shop.</p> <p>OPPOSING FACTIONS AGAIN AT GRIPS</p> <p>Violations of Temporary Agreement Charged Against Dock Workers—All Coast Ports Affected.</p>	<p>NON-UNION MEN AT LOCAL DOCKS</p> <p>FIRST IMPORTATION BY NORTHERN PACIFIC.</p> <p>Large Number of Longshore- men Pickets Watch Arrival— Work Resumed on Liner.</p> <p><small>The first importation of non-union men to work on Tacoma docks in place of the striking longshoremen, was made yesterday when a large number were landed from passenger coaches and housed in the warehouse at the Northern Pacific dock. Shortly after their arrival two or three gangs began loading the steamer Kotsu Maru, for Vladivostok.</small></p> <p><small>Preparation began early for the reception of the workmen at the docks, and fences were erected at the warehouse.</small></p>
--	--

After the second strike began, employers resolved to break the unions.
(Tacoma Daily Ledger, June 22 and 25, 1916, Tacoma Public Library)

Pettit to ask for extra officers to guard docks and "independents." The bosses offered to obtain and pay the wages of the special police, but the commissioner turned them down.³⁰ On June 24 a large number of strikebreakers arrived in Tacoma aboard railroad passenger cars. They were housed at the Northern Pacific's warehouse and paid the prestrike wage scale.³¹

Two days after the strikebreakers arrived, about 250 Tacoma strikers stormed the Grace liner *Santa Cruz* at the Sperry dock. Strikers, scabs, and armed guards exchanged about fifty shots. John Now was among the boarders seeking action and adventure. Along with other union men Johnny chased some of the scabs off the ship and drove others down into the hold. He later recalled the incident, "I was fighting with two strikebreakers when I saw this fellow with a gun aimed at me. He looked at me for several moments and then pulled the trigger." The bullet tore through Johnny's left hip and abdomen. Worried that he might be arrested for his part in the donnybrook, Johnny, aided by several union brothers, hurried off the ship. But he ended up in the hospital after all, close to death. After an operation that made the medical journals, Johnny got well enough for the police to show up and arrest him for trespassing.³²

The gun battle on the *Santa Cruz* ended before regular police arrived. Once there, officers disarmed strikers and scabs. Three armed guards were arrested for carrying concealed weapons. Within twenty minutes after the shooting, employers called on Pierce County Sheriff Robert Longmire demanding 100 men be deputized. Longmire called Governor Ernest Lister to order out the militia.

Lister came to Tacoma the next day and conferred privately with the ILA strike committee for about an hour. At the conclusion of the meeting the governor announced there would be no militia dispatched to Tacoma. Longmire and Pettit then agreed to place 100 special county and city officers on Tacoma's docks.³³ Although the union formally disclaimed responsibility for the *Santa Cruz* incident, Sperry Mills and the Grace Line obtained injunctions prohibiting picketing around their piers.³⁴

As the injunctions were being served, the Commercial Club sponsored a law and order meeting that attracted 300 citizens. Banker W. H. Pringle, grain warehouse manager John T. Bibb, and Grace dock agent W. R. Robinson complained of poor police protection. Sheriff Longmire stated that he had enough deputies to protect two ships around the clock. Fifty-eight Commercial Club members immediately volunteered to serve as special deputies. When attorney H. H. Johnston asked why striking longshoremen were not invited to the meeting, club President Ernest C. Wheeler told Johnston to sit down.³⁵

Despite the injunctions, confrontations between Tacoma longshoremen and strikebreakers continued. On July 12, James Costello, a member of Local 38-3's strike committee, was knifed during an argument with two scabs near the Northern Pacific trestle.³⁶ The Northern Pacific and Milwaukee railway companies immediately obtained court injunctions restraining the union from picketing or interfering with their employees. Then the Milwaukee imported 100 black workers from the East and South to work cargo on and off ships.³⁷



John Now, seriously wounded in the Santa Cruz raid June 27, at the 50th anniversary commemoration of the 1934 strike.

(Robert Kroeger photo)

Strike activity shifted from the docks to downtown. During the evening of July 14, strikers confronted special officers James F. Dowling and C. E. Joslin as they got off the streetcar at Eleventh and Pacific. As the longshoremen approached, Dowling panicked and started shooting. Striker Alexander Laidlaw was shot in the stomach and died in the hospital. Two other longshoremen were slightly wounded. Dowling was arrested, but later found innocent by a coroner's jury on grounds that he fired in self-defense.³⁸ The next night scabs and strikers fought with fists, saps, and knives at Eleventh and Pacific.³⁹ On the third night scabs tried to drive through a cordon of strikers stretching across the entrance to the Eleventh Street Bridge. As strikers jumped on the running boards of the scabs' car, both sides opened fire. Longshoreman Sam James was severely wounded and strikebreaker Rangval Lienann was killed.⁴⁰ After the third night of trouble in downtown Tacoma, Commissioner Pettit notified Locals 38-3 and 38-30 that no further picketing or congregating would be allowed on downtown street corners or the waterfront.⁴¹

On the day Commissioner Pettit banned picketing, San Francisco union longshoremen gave up the fight. Local 38-33 agreed to return to work under open-shop rules and the prestrike pay scale. The ILA District Negotiating Committee submitted the employer offer to a coastwide membership vote. After a day of discussion, 1,604 Seattleites and 759 Tacomans unanimously rejected the employers' terms.⁴² An overwhelmingly negative vote was also cast by San Pedro union men. All three Portland locals, Astoria, Eureka, and San Diego voted for the proposal, but all six stayed out after the coastwide vote. In spite of the majority vote not to accept the employers' offer, on July 19 San Francisco longshoremen returned to work.⁴³

The Tacoma Central Labor Council sponsored on July 18 a mass meeting in the Masonic Temple to demonstrate labor's solidarity with the longshoremen. One thousand people listened to attorney Govnor Teats charge the Commercial Club with being the "tool of the moneyed interests, to be opposed to every proposal to improve labor conditions, and to be the apostle of greed in the fight against humanity. When it attacks the unions, it is stabbing Tacoma in the heart." Paddy Morris told the crowd that the longshoremen were "fighting for a fair share of the tremendous increase in profits which have come to shipowners because of the war."⁴⁴

Five Longshoremen Held in Jail After Sunday Shooting

**Rangval Lienann, Strikebreaker, Dead
and Sam James, Striker, May Die
as Result of Ambush of Auto
Taking Men to Dock.**

**COMPANIONS OF VICTIM TAKEN TO
UNION HALL; IDENTIFY ASSAILANTS**

**NO MORE PICKETING, ORDERS
FROM PETTIT AND LONGMIRE**

No further picketing of the streets by striking longshoremen will be permitted and no crowds will be allowed to congregate.
This was the joint statement given out last evening by Commissioner

As the strike dragged on, desperate strikers tried to keep scabs away from the docks. (Tacoma Daily Ledger, July 17, 1916, Tacoma Public Library)

On July 20, Tacoma general cargo and lumber handlers sent a joint resolution to the San Francisco Riggers and Stevedores' Union. The Tacomans called on Local 38-33 to "Reconsider your action, and by so doing demonstrate to the employers that you are still part and parcel of this District and cannot be bribed by any offer of local settlement, to scab on the rest of the P. C. District."⁴⁵ That same day the Local 38-33 strike committee advised the membership to return to work, which they did.⁴⁶ Many Tacoma longshoremen like Andy Larsen never got over the "sell out" by San Francisco.⁴⁷

At this point in the strike, wages and working conditions were not the crucial issue. It was the closed shop which Puget Sound employers were determined to smash. Longshoremen were equally adamant about controlling waterfront hiring. The issue may have been academic. With 600 strikebreakers working on the Tacoma docks, WEU manager O. C. Nelson announced on July 22 that "The employers are entirely satisfied with the results they are now obtaining and in no event will ever concede the closed shop. If the longshoremen who went out wish to return to work they will do so under the old scale. There will be no

mediation, no settlement and no recognition of the union."⁴⁸ In effect, the fight to the finish meant unconditional surrender.

After San Francisco's withdrawal from the strike, negotiations shifted to Seattle. Federal conciliator Henry M. White and Seattle Mayor Hiram Gill invited leading labor and business leaders not directly involved in the strike to come to a conference. But Marshall Wright declared such a meeting "impossible."⁴⁹ WEU President Gibson labelled a labor-business conciliation committee "premature."⁵⁰ On August 1, Henry White was joined by United States Department of Labor Mediator William Blackman, who had been Washington State Labor Commissioner during the 1902 longshore strike. Blackman and White succeeded on August 10, in getting longshoremen to allow five labor leaders to negotiate on their behalf.⁵¹ The federal mediators then turned to Judge Thomas Burke to get the Seattle Chamber of Commerce to appoint five businessmen to the conciliation committee.⁵² The conciliators hoped to have the strike settled within a week, but gave up on September 21 when employers stopped coming to the sessions.⁵³

In Tacoma, the longshoremen received sustained financial support throughout the strike from members of the Central Labor Council. But it was not enough. On July 26 union longshoremen told Central Labor Council delegates that they were in "bad shape" morally and financially.⁵⁴ Six hundred scabs could not be dissuaded from working cargo. Three injunctions stopped the men from picketing. The ILA had run out of strike benefit funds. Grocers no longer granted credit. Real estate dealers demanded rent money. A series of mass meetings sponsored by the Central Labor Council were held in South Tacoma, Old Town, Bismarck, Jefferson Square, and downtown in support of the longshoremen.

Speakers emphasized that the waterfront unions were bearing the brunt of the employers' fight to create a citywide open shop.⁵⁵ A majority of Tacoma locals voted to assess themselves to support locals 38-3 and 38-30.⁵⁶ Unasked for, but gratefully received, was \$5,000 from Seattle longshore Local 38-12. With the sponsorship of the Tacoma Central Labor Council, the general cargo workers conducted a nationwide raffle among labor organizations offering tickets on a new Chevrolet. The local realized about \$5,000 from the drawing.⁵⁷ On Labor Day 1916, for the first time in history Tacoma longshoremen led the parade. The men marched six abreast with their wives beside them. Behind the longshore contingent, 9,000 workers paraded silently.⁵⁸

Near the end of the coastwide longshore strike, West Coast lumber companies announced in Portland their intent to organize regional stevedore companies to break the hold of ILA lumber handlers on waterfront jobs.⁵⁹ On August 19, thirteen sawmills joined with Griffiths & Sprague and Gibson's International Stevedoring to incorporate Puget Sound Stevedoring Company. The two stevedore bosses promised "competent independents" to replace ILA men who would not accept the open shop. Puget Sound Stevedoring opened an employment office in Seattle that referred lumber handlers

to the mill dock superintendents. The new stevedoring company received a 10 percent commission based on the total wages paid to the handlers.⁶⁰

<p>HELP WANTED—MALE</p> <p>Wanted Men</p> <p>TO STAY AWAY FROM DOCKS</p> <p>Protection Guaranteed</p> <p>BY EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION</p> <p>Means</p> <p>YOU ARE TO BE EMPLOYED AS</p> <p>Strikebreakers</p> <p>LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION</p>	<p>HELP WANTED—MALE</p> <p>Laborers Wanted</p> <p>Employment for several hundred men for dock and longshore work.</p> <p>Good Wages Steady Work</p> <p>Protection Guaranteed</p> <p>Make application at the docks or to</p> <p>EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION 507 Tacoma Building, Tacoma.</p>
--	--

Union printers must have had a hand in the appearance of the Longshoremen's Union ad beside that of the Employers' Association for scabs. (Tacoma Daily Ledger, July 5, 1916, Tacoma Public Library)

Noticeably absent from the Portland meeting, and as a member of Puget Sound Stevedoring, was Henry Rothschild, owner of the largest lumber-handling stevedore firm in the Pacific Northwest. Since June 8, Rothschild had recognized the longshore union shop and paid the new wage scale. Rothschild survived the entrance of Puget Sound Stevedoring into the lumber cargo-loading business. There were too many independent mills producing on Puget Sound, especially in Tacoma, that the lumber combine could not control. But most of the small ILA locals in the outports perished as the big mills swung behind the open-shop stevedoring movement.⁶¹

Gibson and Griffiths entered a second combine with twelve major shipping lines on September 26. The employers agreed to pay general cargo and lumber handlers 50 cents an hour straight time and 75 cents an hour for overtime. Work on the docks would be paid 40 cents straight time and 60 cents overtime. No provision was made to pay extra for penalty cargos. Stevedore and warehouse foremen selected by the employer would have complete authority to regulate the size of gangs, sling and truck loads. The first clause in the statement of working conditions provided "The privilege of the employer to select and discharge his employees shall be maintained."⁶²

Facing defeat, Local 38-3 members made one last foray against scabs. On the night of September 10, fourteen strikebreakers working for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad were beaten by thirty-nine longshoremen.

The next day the entire membership of Tacoma Local 38-3 was cited to appear in federal court to demonstrate why they should not be held in contempt for violating restraining orders. Two hundred union men appeared in court, all that were left in town. Over 800 had left to work in sawmills, shipyards, or at sea. Longshore leaders told Judge Edward E. Cushman that specific charges against individuals should be made, not blanket accusations.⁶³ Two months later the prosecutor asked that the charges be dismissed.⁶⁴

On October 1, William Blackman called a conference at the Seattle longshore union hall. The federal conciliator invited representatives of the employers, Puget Sound waterfront unions, and several members of the defunct conciliation committee. A tentative agreement was reached at 4:00 p.m. The terms were kept secret. Up and down Puget Sound, ILA unions met in special sessions to vote on calling off the strike. After hours of discussion, all but one of the locals voted to end the strike. Tacoma Lumber Handlers decided unanimously to continue the walkout against Puget Sound Stevedoring.⁶⁵ Local 38-30 did not accede to the strike settlement until December 17, 1916. Only thirty-five men came to the hall that day.⁶⁶

The afternoon following the October 1 strike settlement, a free-for-all battle took place at the foot of Seattle's Seneca Street in front of Gibson's office. Insults were hurled at WEU's president. The next morning an enraged Gibson reneged on the strike settlement.⁶⁷ During the evening of October 3 the Puget Sound longshore strike committees assembled with T. V. O'Connor and J. A. Madsen in Seattle's Longshoremen's Hall. At the end of the meeting Madsen released a statement: "We have called the strike off for the purpose of permitting the employers to carry out the terms of the settlement mutually agreed upon and the nature of which we are pledged not to divulge."⁶⁸ After 112 days "the long, dreary fight" was over.⁶⁹

Local 38-3 returned to work on October 5 at the prestrike wage scale. Two hundred general cargo workers appeared at the hall to resume work, but Dispatcher Seitz found jobs for only half that number. The Waterfront Employers' Union refused to call the union hall for men, preferring to dispatch gangs from Seattle to work Tacoma ships. Many of the union men left the waterfront for jobs in the shipyards or shipped out on freighters. John Now spent several years at the McKenna sawmill as a mill hand. The men who stayed in the hall read the ships' arrival and departure schedule in the daily papers. Whenever a ship that did not belong to the shipping lines-boss stevedores' combination was due to call, Local 38-3 men lined up at the docks to catch a job. The first break in the solidarity of the combine occurred when the *Admiral Schley* hired fifty-five Local 38-3 men on October 14. The captain had refused to work with scab freight handlers.⁷⁰

West Coast lumber handlers fared better than the general cargo workers. Only Humboldt Bay, Grays Harbor, and Willapa Bay union men were stuck in the employers' "peonage system." Few individual lumber handlers had turned "rat" and registered at one of the regional scab stevedoring halls.

Union lumber handlers who resisted employer domination received strong support from the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. After the 1916 strike, steam schooner sailors often refused to work with scabs. On October 30 the Oregon and Washington ILA lumber-loading locals sent a letter of thanks to the SUP. The men expressed the hope that the Sailors would continue to support them in their struggle against waterfront employer associations.⁷¹

Only four out of the twenty-six sawmills on Commencement Bay contracted with Puget Sound Stevedoring to use its lumber handlers. The Tacoma mills belonging to the combine expressed dissatisfaction with the productivity of the scabs hired to work lumber. The open-shop stevedoring company blamed first-year financial losses on the ineptness of the "green men."⁷² On November 19 the *Grace Dollar* captain fired twenty-six Puget Sound Stevedoring men for "slowness." He replaced the scabs with Local 38-30 lumber handlers.⁷³ A week later the ILA locals in Grays Harbor and Willapa Bay established a joint stevedoring company to compete with Puget Sound Stevedoring.⁷⁴ At the same time, Local 38-30 dispatched notices to shipping lines contrasting its efficiency and cheapness with the incompetency and excessive cost of WEU men. Local 38-30 lumber handler Arne Jones estimated shippers could save 40 to 50 percent on loading charges if they hired union men. "Even if we never get a contract to load a ship at all," wrote Jones, "we can keep the stevedores' price to such a figure that he will realize that in these days we must all be efficient."⁷⁵

The fight to the finish did not end the way employers had expected. The unions had not disbanded. By the beginning of 1917, Captain Gibson recognized it was much more difficult to keep waterfront employers interested in maintaining control of hiring on the docks than it was to get them involved in a fight with unions.⁷⁶ For their part, Union longshoremen spent the next eighteen years reliving the 1916 strike. The men sought to correct the mistakes that had caused their defeat. The longshoremen recognized that to win they had to make certain all locals fought to the finish. It would take longer for the longshoremen to figure out a way to get the combined support of sailors and teamsters in shutting down all West Coast ports.

CHAPTER V FIGHT TO THE FINISH

1. Based on TNT feature article by Ronald Magden in *Compass, Fifty Years on the Docks*, December 2, 1984, pp. 6-7.
2. Waterfront Workers' Federation, *The Longshoremen's Strike*, pp. 4-5 and 7-8. Hereafter cited as WWF. A detailed description of the Wage Scale and Working Rules appears in TDL, April 27, 1916. General cargo workers would receive 55 cents an hour for straight time and \$1.00 an hour for overtime. Lumber handlers would receive 60 cents and \$1.00. Warehousemen would gain 40 cents and 60 cents. All scales were based on a nine-hour day.
3. PCDILA 1927, p. 150.
4. Cantelow I, p. 12. Letter from J. A. Madsen to Waterfront Employers' Union of Seattle.
5. Ibid. Letter from W. C. Dawson to J. A. Madsen.
6. Ibid., pp. 12-13. Letter from W. C. Dawson to J. A. Madsen.
7. Ibid., p. 13. Letter from J. A. Madsen to W. C. Dawson.
8. Ibid., p. 14.
9. Ibid.
10. TDL, June 1, 1916.
11. BL 1915-1916, p. 247.
12. TDL, June 2, 1916.
13. PI, May 31, 1916.
14. TCLC, May 31, 1916.
15. TDL, June 2, 1916.
16. W. C. Dawson Files. The original pledge list contains the names of thirty-six companies. By August 7, 1916, 40 percent of the pledged amount had been collected.
17. Cantelow I, p. 14.
18. TDL, July 6, 1916. Local 38-3 1916 Picket List.
19. *The Tacoma Tribune*, June 2 and 3, 1916. Hereafter cited as TT.
20. TDL, June 4, 1916.
21. Ibid., June 7, 1916.
22. Ibid., June 9, 1916.
23. Ibid., June 4, 1916.
24. Ibid. June 9, 1916.
25. WWF, p. 19. In attendance were representatives of the San Pedro, San Diego, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle waterfront employers' unions; individual shipowners; the Waterfront Workers' Federation; San Francisco Riggers and Stevedores; and the ILA District Executive Board. The Seattle WEU sent A. F. Haines of Pacific Steamship Company and C. K. Magill of American-Hawaiian. J. A. Madsen of the ILA district office represented all Puget Sound ILA locals except Seattle. Local 38-12 sent Charles Connors and S. C. Smith.
26. TDL, June 11, 1916.
27. San Francisco *Examiner*, June 22, 1916. Cited in Markholt, *Unionism*, Vol I, p. 709.
28. Cantelow I, p. 17. *Seattle Times*, June 21, 1916. Hereafter cited as ST.
29. TDL, June 24, 1916.
30. Ibid., June 25, 1916.
31. Ibid.
32. John Now Interview.
33. TDL, June 28, 1916.
34. Ibid., June 30, 1916.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., July 12, 1916.
37. Ibid., July 15, 1916.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., July 16, 1916.
40. Ibid., July 17, 1916.
41. Ibid., July 18, 1916.
42. TT, July 19, 1916.
43. TDI., July 19, 1916.
44. TT, July 19, 1916.
45. TLA, July 26, 1916.
46. WWF, pp. 28-29.
47. T. A. Thronson Interview.
48. TDI., July 22, 1916.
49. ST, July 22, 1916. PI, July 23, 1916.
50. PI, August 11, 1916.
51. Ibid. Labor's segment of the conciliation committee included E. P. Marsh, President of the State Federation of Labor; J. G. Brown, President of the Shingle Weavers' Union; William Short, District Secretary of the United Mine Workers; and Charles Doyle and James Duncan of the Central Labor Council.
52. Cantelow I, p. 21. Former Senator Samuel Piles, banker J. E. Chilberg, lawyer Josiah Collins, engineer C. M. Nettleton, and store owner Alexander Polson served on the conciliation committee.
53. PI, August 25 and September 21, 1916.
54. TCLC, July 26, 1916.
55. Ibid., August 2, 1916.
56. Ibid., August 2, 9, 16, 23, and November 11, 1916.
57. T.A. Thronson Interview.
58. TLA, September 8, 1916.
59. TDL, July 19, 1916. The session was held in conjunction with a meeting of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association. L. T. Dempsey represented Tacoma at the Portland session.
60. E. A. Ames Files on Puget Sound Stevedoring, Box 57, July 31; August 9 and 10, 1916. Hereafter cited as Ames Files. The lumber mills that hired Puget Sound Stevedoring were located in Tacoma, Ballard, Bellingham, Everett, Mukilteo, Port Angeles, Port Blakely, Port Gamble, and Port Ludlow.
61. Ibid., August 23, 1916.
62. Cantelow I, p. 20.
63. TDL, September 19, 1916.