

CHAPTER III

DOWN BUT NOT OUT

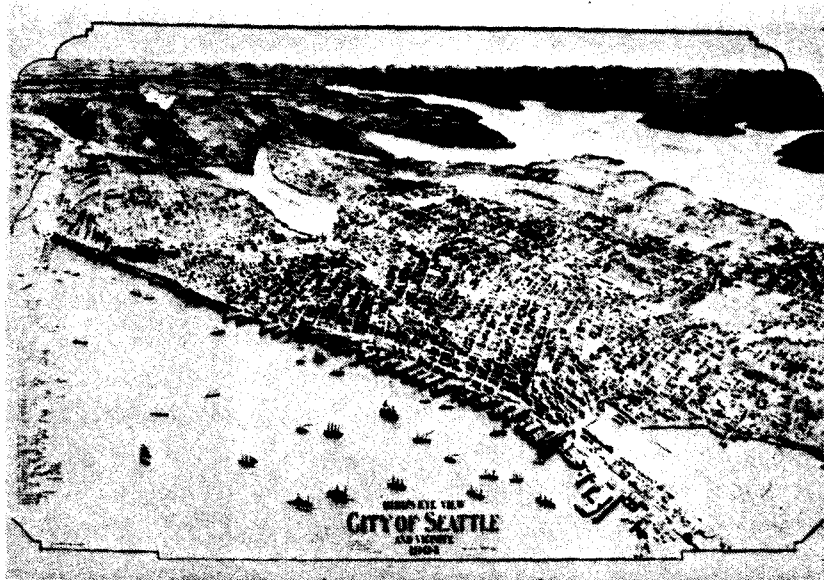
We are not Beau Brummels, neither are we Chesterfields in etiquette, nor have we any claims to social distinction or notoriety; but we do take pride in the firmness of our union principles and our sincerity and loyalty to the cause.

– *Anonymous Seattle Longshoreman, 1901*¹

The Klondike Gold Rush of 1897 ushered in a decade of steady growth for Seattle's maritime industry. In 1899 Queen City longshoremen handled 900,000 tons of general freight.² In 1907, 2,831,355 tons of cargo crossed Seattle's forty-three docks. Throughout these years, California remained Seattle's best trading partner followed by Alaska, Canada, the Philippines, China, and Japan. A host of new shipping lines began calling on Seattle.³ The arrival of China Mutual Line's *Ping Suey* on February 19, 1901, connected Seattle with London, Calcutta, Singapore, Manila, and Hong Kong. The Kosmos steamer *Hermonthis* inaugurated scheduled service with Europe in 1901, and the American-Hawaiian liner *Oregonian* started regular intercoastal trade with New York City in 1902. The high point of this shipping era occurred when the Great Northern's giant steamship *Minnesota* departed Seattle for Yokohama on January 21, 1905.⁴

Even with the Great Northern's new facilities at Smith Cove, Seattle docks and warehouses could not accommodate the fifty-five steamship lines calling during the prime shipping season from March through October. During the year 1900, four major shipping lines and two wharf operators renovated the central section of the waterfront. By 1902, longer wharves and larger warehouses had replaced old docks and small

Seattle Stevedore Bosses



Seattle Waterfront, 1904, Port of Seattle

storage sheds. Altogether, commercial enterprises occupied six miles of Seattle's waterfront.⁵ Dredges worked on the last four miles of unimproved land in the southern tidelands section. Steam shovels with enormous steel scoops mucked out the Duwamish River to a depth of forty to fifty feet for two and one-half miles upstream. At the same time, the channel was widened to 1,000 feet. Barges carried tons of the river silt to the tide flats. During the early 1900s, dredging companies filled 1,400 of Seattle's 3,000 acres of tide flats. Dozens of warehouses appeared on the reclaimed land. By 1902, the Duwamish River had evolved into an industrial waterway.⁶

While waterfront reconstruction progressed, the Seattle City Council voted to expand Railroad Avenue an additional sixty-seven feet from Jackson to Pike Street. Contractors dumped tons of dirt and gravel through railroad tracks to fill space around track pilings. For the first time since Railroad Avenue opened in 1888, teamsters from wholesale warehouses and uptown businesses had unobstructed access to and from waterfront slips and docks.⁷

Shortly after Pacific Coast Steamship Company "busted" Puget Sound longshore unions in 1894, Tacoma's McCabe & Hamilton Stevedoring Company established a branch office at Marion and Railroad avenues.⁸ In the 1890s, McCabe & Hamilton specialized in grain handling. McCabe invented a portable conveyor apparatus that moved 5,000 sacks an hour, four times faster than hand loading. Longshoremen feared McCabe's "stevedore exterminator" would replace chute men. However, demand for bagged goods increased to such an extent that redundant workers became sack handlers in the hold.⁹ When he was bossing in Tacoma in 1888 and 1889, McCabe had played foremen against union waterfront workers.¹⁰ In Seattle during the early 1900s this stevedore boss relied on union employees supplemented by casuals picked at wharf gates. On the other hand, Edward Hamilton hired strictly union men. His sudden death in November 1903 at the age of thirty-eight ended an era of good feeling between Tacoma bosses and union men.¹¹

Two years after McCabe & Hamilton started cargo handling in Seattle, Griffiths & Sprague Stevedoring Company opened an office at 112 Cherry Street.¹² During the 1890s, Griffiths & Sprague bid on lumber loading jobs at Puget Sound sawmills from Olympia to Port Discovery. The company paid foreman \$5.00 a day and longshoremen 30 cents an hour. Griffiths expected foremen to supervise the loading of two ships at the same time. This stevedore boss purchased a \$3,000 steamer to carry donkey engines, rollers, peavies, crow bars, and chain slings. Griffiths claimed he had a hard time making money in the stevedoring business. He spent considerable time trying to "make a Stevedoring combination, but one or the other thought he was entitled to something extra; then [we] worked on each firm to take one port exclusively—one Tacoma, another Blakely, and another Port Ludlow and Port Gamble—but nothing resulted."¹³

In 1896 Griffiths & Sprague contracted to be the exclusive cargo handler for all Great Northern and Nippon Yusen Kaisha cargo shipments. From 1896 to 1900, GN shipped \$15 million worth of merchandise to the Orient on NYK ships. Griffiths also held the Centennial Mill contracts for loading grain ships sailing out of Seattle. In 1898 Griffiths & Sprague gangs set a West Coast record for loading 3,800 tons of flour in sixty-one hours aboard the *Nanyo Maru*.¹⁴

Not all shipping lines calling at Seattle contracted with McCabe & Hamilton or Griffiths & Sprague for cargo handlers. Pacific Coast Steamship Superintendent John Trowbridge turned over all longshore hiring to Morris J. Neagle, his stevedore foreman. Neagle supervised steady gangs and, when necessary picked extras at dock gates.¹⁵ Recognizing that Seattle's general cargo business held greater promise than Port Townsend's lumber trade, during 1901 Henry Rothschild opened an office at 309 First Avenue. In 1904 Rothschild sent his son-in-law, William J. Jones, to manage the Seattle operation.¹⁶

In the late 1890s, Alabama-born Captain James S. Gibson operated the Vancouver and Victoria Stevedoring Company out of Chemainus, British Columbia. In 1904, Gibson moved to Seattle where he established the Washington Stevedoring Company. This new company relied on Canadian railroad business at the Grand Trunk Dock for most of its work. Uptown businessmen nicknamed Gibson "The Chesterfield of Puget Sound" for his sartorial elegance and oratorical talents.¹⁷

The Seattle Longshoremen's Mutual Benefit Association

At the turn of the century, construction of four-, five-, and six-story buildings accelerated in uptown Seattle. For the first time since 1889 a pronounced labor shortage hampered completion of new structures. Building tradesmen, blacksmiths,

boilermakers, seamen, and teamsters found ample work opportunity.¹⁸ Workers rebuilt unions that had nearly disappeared during the panic years. With strong support from the Sailors' Union, remnants of the Stevedores, Longshoremen and Riggers' Union organized the Seattle Longshoremen's Mutual Benefit Association (LMBA). On March 27, 1900, 227 longshoremen met in Sailors' Hall to sign the membership roll. Fred Garrett, the first president of LMBA, announced the establishment of a beneficiary branch of the union to assist sick and injured members.¹⁹ Incapacitated members could receive \$6.00 a week for three months.²⁰

The new longshore local joined Seattle's Western Central Labor Union and the Detroit-based International Longshoremen's Association. LMBA elected Ed Whalen, last SL&RU president, its delegate to the WCLU. Whalen promised the labor council, "The longshoremen's union will do their part in maintaining the cause of organized labor."²¹ LMBA received a charter as Local 163 from the Detroit-based International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). Led by Chicago lumber handlers, ten locals extending from Ashland, Wisconsin, to Buffalo, New York, had formed the National Longshoremen's Association on August 27, 1892, "to use every legitimate means in our power to suppress" all stevedore bosses who robbed longshoremen of a chunk of their wages.²² NLA achieved success in the Great Lakes by directly controlling stevedoring at both ends of a vessel's trip. A fine was levied on any ship not stowed or unloaded by a sister local.²³ In 1895 NLA and independent American and Canadian waterfront unions merged into the International Longshoremen's Association. By April 1901 tugboatmen, longshoremen, freight handlers, marine firemen, and pile drivers had organized 200 ILA locals.²⁴

In 1894, Everett Local 38 became the first NLA/ILA union on the West Coast. Aberdeen Local 100 followed in 1898, and the first of five San Francisco locals in 1899. In 1900, Seattle, Tacoma, and Vancouver, British Columbia

received charters. By July 1902 sixteen ILA locals existed on the Pacific Coast. To achieve success equal to the Great Lakes, West Coast ILA locals sought recognition and hiring preference from Pacific Coast Steamship Company, the largest employer of longshoremen on the coast.²⁵ During February 1900, the premier steamship line locked out the new Vancouver ILA union. PCSC Agent Trowbridge accompanied twenty-five scabs to Vancouver to replace the Canadian union men.²⁶ Longshoreman George Noonan visited Tacoma and Seattle labor councils, urging workmen to stay away from Vancouver.²⁷ Five months later Trowbridge agreed to hire ILA men in return for the union acceding to his choosing the foremen. Wages were set at 35 cents an hour for day work and 40 cents for nights.²⁸

On the day of the Vancouver settlement the first work stoppage in six years took place on Pacific Coast Steam's Seattle docks. Union longshoremen struck for two hours, demanding pay increases from 40 to 50 cents an hour. Dodwell & Company, Pollard & Dodge, and Robert Dollar already paid 50 cents an hour after ten hours of work or for turning to Sundays and holidays. The three companies also hired only union longshoremen. The men returned to work when Agent Trowbridge promised to refer the strikers' demand to company headquarters in San Francisco. Pacific Coast Steam officials acceded to the full raise.²⁹

With the advent of dock telephones at the turn of the century, captains and mates often called Howard F. Griffiths, Seattle longshore Local 163 dispatcher. A one-time seaman, Griffiths knew many of the officers. Other times when a ship docked, a union walking delegate climbed the gangplank to bid on the stevedoring job. Many ship captains hired a runner to announce at employment offices and waterfront saloons the time and place for longshoremen to line up for the pick to work the ships.³⁰

Organizing the Unorganized

During July 1900, Seattle Local 163's organizing drive peaked at 400 members. This left 368 nonunion longshoremen still working on Elliott Bay.³¹ Unable to persuade the unorganized to join, Local 163 was not strong enough to demand recognition or hiring preference. During September, fishermen, loggers, miners, and farm workers had begun their winter migration to Seattle. Seasonal workers found casual work at the dock gates, or by referral from the city's Municipal Labor Bureau. In either case the unemployed often worked below the union pay scale. Members of Local 163 found their hourly wages undermined and could do nothing about it.³²

Longshore wages dropped to 40 cents an hour. Membership in Local 163 declined, and the new union faced insolvency. During January 1901, the union even raffled off the dispatcher's desk. Fearing Seattle's longshore local might disband, the Western Central Labor Union's Organizing Committee gave its best effort to hold the men together.³³ Local 163's remaining membership, WCLU's Organizing Committee, and Sailors' Agent Peter B. Gill worked on a rebuilding plan.³⁴ The ILA sent organizer W. S. Lair to help regenerate Local 163. Lair scheduled Monday afternoon open meetings at the Sailors' Hall to discuss with nonunion longshoremen the benefits of belonging to Local 163.³⁵

"Deacon" Robert Allen, minister turned longshoreman, preached at Local 163 revival meetings on the benefits derived from organization. If all longshoremen belonged to the Seattle local, Allen exhorted, employers would have to accede to recognition and hiring preference for union longshoremen. That would certainly bring about higher wages and better working conditions. According to a *Seattle Union Record* columnist, "Barnum's calliope at full blast is only a faint, long distance echo, compared with Bob when he warms up to his subject; full steam up, he is without rival."³⁶

At the end of the first session on March 12, 1901, twenty men joined the union. During the second meeting seven more notified the secretary of their intention to become members, and at the third meeting thirteen signed the roll. The last three organizing meetings in May added forty-five new members. Local 163 had survived its first major crisis.³⁷

During May and June 1901 Seattle union longshoremen joined with sailors and the WCLU in a campaign to create a waterfront federation modeled on San Francisco's powerful City Front Federation. Seattle longshoremen and seamen contacted friends in the Marine Firemen, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Caulkers, Steamboatmen, and Shipwrights' locals. The goal of the maritime men was a mutual assistance pact that pledged aid to any member union under attack by employers. After six months' effort, organizers of the federation gave up. The men were not interested in creating another organization.³⁸

ILA President Keefe arrived for a visit to the Pacific Northwest on February 7, 1902. By then, Local 163 membership had risen to 300 members and the union was financially stable. Union officers had persuaded the City Council to prohibit the Municipal Labor Bureau from sending unemployed to the waterfront. "While they have not control of all the work yet," Keefe reported to the 1902 ILA convention, "they were getting along in a satisfactory manner, with the possibility of bringing about a complete recognition of their organization in the very near future."³⁹

At this ILA convention, delegates passed a resolution of far-reaching consequence. The name of the organization was changed from International Longshoremen's Association to International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association of North and South America and the Island Possessions (ILM&TA). The long title symbolized the intent of delegates to control all labor engaging in the marine transport industry.⁴⁰ This grandiose objective incensed Andrew Furuseth, secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and president of the International Seamen's Union (ISU). At

every AFL convention from 1902 through 1907, ISU delegates introduced resolutions requiring ILM&TA to delete marine and transport workers from its name.⁴¹

The 1902 Strike

On August 30, 1902, McCabe & Hamilton Stevedoring Company surprised Seattle Local 163 and Tacoma Local 306 with a printed wage scale posted on its office window. Forty cents an hour would continue to be paid between 7:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. Between 6:00 p.m. and 7:00 a.m. pay increased from 40 to 60 cents. Working sacked wheat, barley, or flour, 100 pounds or over, paid 55 cents from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and 82 1/2 cents from 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. Working Sundays, Christmas, Independence Day, or Labor Day, McCabe paid the same as nights, 60 cents an hour.⁴² Local 163 instructed walking delegate Allen Morrison to tell shipping agents, stevedore bosses, and dock operators that union men expected everyone to pay McCabe & Hamilton's scale on September 8. Most owners and superintendents acceded to the longshore demand.⁴³ On September 7, walking delegate Morrison told straw boss Neagle that the men expected a raise from Pacific Coast Steam. Neagle asked if there would be a strike if his company refused. Morrison said "No."⁴⁴ When Local 163 men failed to appear the next day to work PCSC's *City of Seattle*, union seamen unloaded the cargo. Longshoremen complained to WCLU that the *Seattle* crew scabbed on Local 163. The council appointed a special committee to call upon the two unions.⁴⁵ Sailors' agent Pete Gill informed WCLU's committee that San Francisco ordered the men to continue working the *City of Seattle*.⁴⁶ Two days later, while fifty to 100 strikers picketed the dock gates, seamen worked Pacific Coast Steam's *City of Puebla*. The following day the union strike committee conferred with Trowbridge's replacement, Charles W. Miller. Miller transmitted to San Francisco headquarters the union demand for 60 cents an hour for overtime. The new boss

telegraphed his superior that the demand was "ridiculous." Most of the other steamship lines had very little overtime work, while PCSC averaged 40 percent.⁴⁷

To supplement the scabbing seamen, Pacific Coast Steam hired strikebreakers in Seattle employment offices.⁴⁸ During the evening of September 8, fifty pickets tried to run through the Ainsworth & Dunn's packing warehouse to get to a dock where scabs were working the *Dirigo*. Dock foreman Harry Smith shut the door after three strikers got inside. Smith severely beat union longshoreman William Stratton.⁴⁹ The company brought alongside a steamer to house and feed scabs. Later Pacific Coast Steam converted a section of its dock warehouse into a seventy-five-bed bunkhouse and mess hall.⁵⁰ The most serious incident occurred September 20, when a scab shot Local 163 member Jacob Kemp in the thigh. Kemp managed to walk to the police station. Two officers found the revolver and arrested two scabs. A judge released both men the next day.⁵¹ After four scabs were assaulted while walking toward uptown, Superintendent Miller obtained police protection.⁵² Two days later PCSC complained to Mayor T. J. Humes that police officers allowed strikers to stand on company property and threaten replacements. Mayor Humes signed twelve gun permit forms to be filled out by nonunion men who wanted to carry revolvers.⁵³

On September 30, a prominent Seattle lawyer contacted longshore strike committee member Frank W. Clark. This anonymous attorney, a longtime friend of labor, implied that Pacific Coast Steam would compromise at 50 cents an hour for overtime for both Seattle and Tacoma longshoremen.⁵⁴ At special union meetings locals 163 and 306 voted to accept the compromise. When Tacoma and Seattle strike committees met with Pacific Coast Steam's Vice President J. D. Farrell and Superintendent Miller, the men were told that overtime applied only to night work. Sundays and holidays would continue at the straight time rate. With the assent of Seattle, Tacoma union longshoremen accepted the company's offer of

50 cents an hour for night work, pending action the following week at the first ILM&TA Pacific Coast Branch convention in Portland. Seattle longshoremen rejected Pacific Coast Steam's offer, lest other companies already paying 60 cents for nights, Sundays, and holidays renege on their agreements.⁵⁵

At the ILM&TA Pacific Coast Branch convention, Allen Morrison of Seattle Local 163 introduced Resolution Number 2. "That all Locals affiliated with the I.L.M.&T.A. on the Pacific Coast, refuse to work a boat that has been wholly or in part loaded by non-union labor, where union labor is available."⁵⁶ Delegates from twenty California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia locals sharply debated the resolution. Finally, a motion carried to return the statement to the Resolution Committee.⁵⁷ Seattle, Eureka, Tacoma, and Vancouver locals offered another resolution calling for coastwide assistance in the settlement of their grievances against Pacific Coast Steamship Company. The convention referred this resolution to the incoming executive board. The board tried to develop a coastwide policy toward Pacific Coast Steam, but failed.⁵⁸

Delegate Frank Clark of Local 163 introduced another resolution calling for longshoremen and sailors to develop a cooperative plan to prevent conflict with each others' interests. San Francisco delegates Hugh McKevitt and J. C. Williams declared Clark was maligning the Sailors without just cause. Clark declared the Sailors' Union may have been all right at times, but in the Seattle strike union seamen did "willfully, maliciously and knowingly, without due cause, act against the members [of Local 163]." Pacific Coast Steam's lockout of Seattle longshoremen on September 8 would have failed if seamen had refused to unload the *City of Seattle*. The convention asked President Keefe to use his good offices to settle the jurisdictional dispute between seamen and Seattle Local 163.⁵⁹

After the convention adjourned, ILM&TA President Keefe traveled to Puget Sound. On October 14, 1902, Keefe and the

Local 163 strike committee called on Vice President Farrell to bring about an understanding with the company. Farrell told the group he was still incensed about the unbusinesslike way Seattle longshoremen started the strike.⁶⁰

During the third month of the strike, the Washington State Bureau of Labor held a hearing on the cause of the strike. Frank W. Clark represented longshoremen and Charles W. Miller, Pacific Coast Steam. Both men agreed overtime pay was the nub of their dispute. To longshoremen, overtime meant a sizeable increase in income. Forty percent of Pacific Coast Steam's cargo handling in Seattle was night work. Shifts were long; nine, twelve, sometimes seventeen hours straight. If a longshoreman made himself available at all times to work for this company, he could earn \$40.00 working 100 hours a month without overtime."⁶¹

Miller replied, "As everybody knows, during the months of November, December, January, February and March, we lose from \$25,000 to \$50,000 a month for running our steamers; we had one good month before us, which was October. I explained to them [the Local 163 strike committee] in view of that fact, we could allow a slight increase, and then take up in the spring." Miller added that the wage increase depended upon the union agreeing to replacements having first preference to jobs.⁶²

The 162-day strike did not end until February 20, 1903. Local 163 lost that "long and hard fight." Seattle union longshoremen returned to work on Pacific Coast Steam's terms, that is, with neither overtime pay nor hiring preference. Union members had to apply for work as individuals. That spring McCabe & Hamilton cut wages back to the old scale, deleting overtime pay. Seattle union longshoremen had to start all over again.⁶³

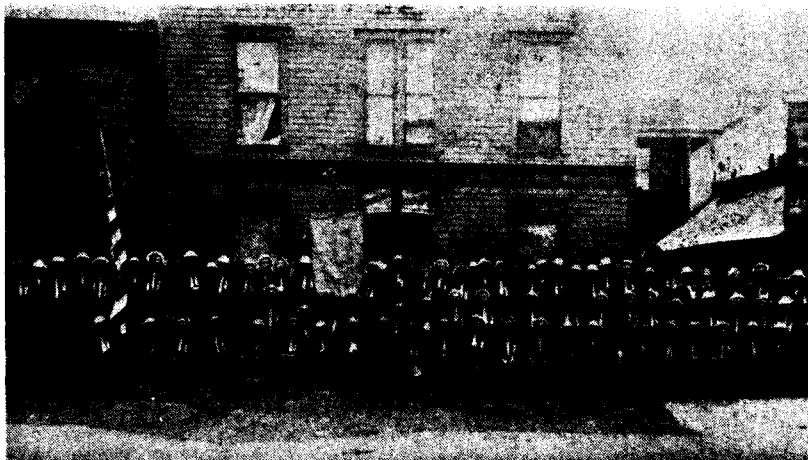
Battle Royal

The jurisdictional struggle between the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association and the Sailors' Union tore apart Seattle Local 163. In 1902 the faction holding dual membership cards in the Sailors' Union agitated for coastwide secession from the ILM&TA. Loyalists insisted on remaining with the international. The leader of the Sailor-backed group, Local 163 Secretary Charles H. James, and ILM&TA Fourth Vice President James Madsen became embroiled in a personal feud that further divided the union. Madsen preferred charges against Local 163 to the ILM&TA Executive Council. In November 1902, the council revoked the charter of the Seattle local.

During April 1903, Madsen organized Seattle ILM&TA Local 486. Seven months after the installation of the charter, only twenty-five had joined. Dan Connell, Jerry Nevins, and other old-timers complicated the situation even further. The veterans established a third organization, the Seattle Riggers and Longshoremen's Association, ILM&TA Local 552. On December 2, 1903, Local 486 merged into ILM&TA Local 552.⁶⁴

Despite repeated attempts during 1903 and 1904 by the Western Central Labor Union, the Pacific Coast Branch of the ILM&TA, the AFL Executive Board, and AFL President Samuel Gompers, Seattle locals 163 and 552 refused to amalgamate.⁶⁵ No one demonstrated more persistence in trying to bring together the contending longshore factions than the Western Central Labor Union. In July 1904, a WCLU investigating committee reported, "The trouble is they won't get together, and so far have prevented anyone else getting them together."⁶⁶ The following month WCLU approved a plan providing that five Seattle union presidents each select one member of a committee with full power to stipulate conditions for the amalgamation of locals 163 and 552. Either union refusing to abide by the committee's decision would be

refused further representation in WCLU.⁶⁷ Local 163 promptly withdrew from WCLU and Local 552 delegates were seated at the October 5, 1904, meeting.⁶⁸



*Seattle Longshore Local 552, Labor Day Parade 1904,
Local 19 Archives*

Guerrilla Warfare

During February and April 1904, the Sailors' Union stopped ILM&TA longshoremen from loading cargo in San Pedro and Astoria. Two months after the Astoria incident, the third Pacific Coast Branch convention resolved that all locals working lumber on deep-water vessels must refuse to work alongside sailors.⁶⁹ During July 1904, ILM&TA Vice President J. E. Riordan informed shipping lines calling at Seattle to either hire ILM&TA Local 552 men or pay fines at the next port of call.⁷⁰ At the same time officials of the Sailors' Union submitted a referendum to their membership. A majority of seamen voted to reassert their "historic right" to perform all labor on boats and on shore. Sailors also approved of making alliances with longshore locals willing to renounce all claims to jurisdiction over any marine craft.⁷¹ Aberdeen Local 100 withdrew from the ILM&TA and signed a mutual assistance pact on February 5, 1905. Later that month Seattle Local 163

aligned itself with the seamen. The other West Coast locals voted to retain ILM&TA charters. To prevent further inroads by mariners, during March 1905 ten ILM&TA locals organized the Washington and Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen.⁷²

Stevedore bosses took advantage of the feuding Seattle longshoremen. James Griffiths announced on January 18, 1905, that he would no longer deal with ILM&TA Local 552. Henceforth he would hire only the seamen-backed Local 163 and nonunion men.⁷³ Two months later William L. McCabe joined the recently established Seattle branch of the Citizens' Alliance, a national organization that advocated the open-shop movement. On March 29 a McCabe & Hamilton foreman handed a certified wage scale to Local 552 men stowing cargo on the *Ocean Monarch*. The new scale cut the hourly rate for handling sacks weighing 100 pounds or more from 55 cents straight and 82-1/2 cents overtime to 40 cents and 50 cents. McCabe gave union members three hours to accept the new wage scale. A special meeting of Local 552's 140 members rejected the ultimatum.⁷⁴

For the next six days Local 552 men picketed ships where McCabe & Hamilton strikebreakers worked. After finishing a job on April 4, scabs started uptown, escorted by a single policeman. At First and Spring streets a free-for-all fight with brass knuckles, clubs, and cargo hooks ensued between scabs and union men. According to a reporter, "A pool of blood in the middle of the road told of the result of the battle."⁷⁵ Secretary of the Seattle Citizens' Alliance M. C. Shields secured a blanket restraining order against Local 552. Upon reading Judge A. W. Frater's injunction, ILM&TA Pacific Coast President Charles Kelly remarked, "If enforced, [it] would compel the members to not leave their homes."⁷⁶

After listening to a delegation from Seattle Local 552, Tacoma Local 306 voted to fine all ships handled by McCabe & Hamilton. The penalty money would revert to the struck local. When the *Ocean Monarch* arrived in Tacoma on April 5, Local 306 demanded 10 cents an hour penalty on top of

union scale. When McCabe & Hamilton refused on principle to pay the fine, Tacoma longshoremen struck. The stevedore company responded by hiring strikebreakers. After the scabs finished work on their first day, Tacoma's Old Town longshoremen beat them up.⁷⁷ Judge Thad Huston quickly enjoined Local 306, collectively and individually, from interfering with, or molesting, employees of the stevedoring firm.⁷⁸

Hours after the Old Town disturbance, Pacific Coast Branch President Kelly told WCLU delegates that William L. McCabe was simply a figurehead. The Citizens' Alliance aimed to smash Puget Sound longshore locals the same way open shoppers had tried to destroy San Francisco's City Front Federation. Kelly called for members of WCLU to support Local 552.⁷⁹ At the same time Shields appealed to Puget Sound shipping agents to give all their cargo business to McCabe & Hamilton for the duration of the strike.⁸⁰ McCabe announced that any suggestions from business, labor, or government on ways to settle the strike had to be presented first to Shields at the Citizens' Alliance office.⁸¹

Shields's efforts did not meet with total success. The newly incorporated Washington Stevedoring Company continued to hire ILM&TA Local 552 members at the union pay scale. On April 22, 1905, members of the Sailors' Union told Washington Stevedoring's Acting President Omar Humphrey that if he employed members of Local 552 in loading coastwise ships, the crews would walk off the vessels. Only Sailor-supported Local 163 men would be acceptable. Humphrey pointed out to a reporter that seagoing men placed him in a difficult situation. Since Local 552 was the recognized organization, unions in other ports would refuse to handle cargo that "outlaw" Local 163 stowed.⁸²

In a front-page *Post-Intelligencer* interview on the same day, Sailor Agent Pete Gill remarked that no mariner would operate craft loaded by Seattle ILM&TA Local 552. Gill stressed that sailors intended to do "all in their power to exterminate Local 552 for all time to come. In a nutshell," Gill

said, "the seamen are fighting for their very existence, for if the longshoremen gain their point and secure jurisdiction over us it means that the sailors will be in the same position as they were twenty years ago – at the mercy of crimps and shipping masters."⁸³

On April 26, news reached Puget Sound that a San Francisco ILM&TA local had unloaded the *Nevadan* without charging a penalty. The vessel had been stowed by nonunion longshoremen in Seattle and Tacoma.⁸⁴ The next day President Kelly of the Pacific Coast Branch ILM&TA left Seattle to appeal to locals in the Bay City not to work scab lumber stowed by outlaw Seattle Local 163. Kelly reported to the international later that San Francisco wanted to assist Puget Sound locals in any way possible, but could not settle on a single method.⁸⁵

During the next three weeks, a series of confrontations occurred between Washington State ILM&TA locals and the Sailors' Union. On April 29 the crew of the steamer *Jeanie* walked off as Local 552 members boarded. The ILM&TA local promptly provided a replacement crew, thereby winning the first round.⁸⁶ Sailors won the second round on May 9 by taking members of Local 163 with them to Bellingham to load the *Rainier*. In response to Bellingham longshore pleas that Seattle seamen not take bread from the mouths of wives and children, Pete Gill declared, "Let the local 'International' union surrender its charter and adopt the name 'Independent' and we will leave for Seattle."⁸⁷

On May 13 the struggle shifted to Tacoma. The crew of the *Charles Nelson* refused to work with ILM&TA Lumber Handlers' Local 179. Under police protection, Seattle scabs worked the ship without incident.⁸⁸ On the evening of May 16 the steamer *Centennial* arrived in Tacoma with eighteen extra seamen to do the loading. Suddenly 200 ILM&TA longshoremen climbed aboard. Bullets whistled about the deck, but no one was hit. Ten men received lumps and cuts from clubs, saps, and belaying pins. Raiders dumped two sailors

overboard. With police protection, seamen finished stowing the *Centennial* the next day.⁸⁹

Two days after the *Centennial* battle, a conference of West Coast longshore unions opened in Seattle. Local 163 hosted representatives from Nome, Alaska; Aberdeen and Hoquiam, Washington; and Eureka, Redondo, and San Pedro, California. The seven locals organized the Pacific Coast Federation of Longshoremen. Federation Secretary Charles James announced to the press that the constitution of this federation recognized the right of regular crews of vessels to work cargo from tackle to tackle. Seattle Local 163 became Local 1, PCFL.⁹⁰

When the PCFL conference adjourned, 122 sailors and members of Local 163 boarded the *Shasta* bound for Bellingham. All forty-eight members of Bellingham's ILM&TA Local 309 met the ship, but retreated in the face of four armed guards. Shortly after midnight on May 24, Local 309 members attacked the ship. During the ensuing gun battle, four sailors were shot.⁹¹ The next day police arrested six Bellingham longshoremen for inciting a riot. Seamen pointed out Fred Kimme, harbormaster and business agent of Local 309, as the instigator.⁹² Sailor Agent Gill told the jailed longshoremen that if Local 309 severed its connection with ILM&TA, sailors would not testify against them. On June 18, 1905, a majority of Bellingham Local 309 voted to surrender their ILM&TA charter.⁹³

Inability to stop McCabe & Hamilton from loading ships in Seattle and Tacoma forced ILM&TA locals 306 and 552 to ask for a conference with William L. McCabe and M. C. Shields on June 17. The stevedore boss and the open-shop advocate told the joint union committee that the existing wage scale would prevail and strikebreakers would have hiring preference. Strikers would be hired again on an individual basis when needed.⁹⁴

The fourth ILM&TA Pacific Coast Branch convention met in Everett on June 5, 1905, with thirty delegates repre-

senting twelve ports, including Seattle Local 552. The convention adopted a resolution to establish an arbitration committee with power to settle the dispute with the Sailors' Union. However, delegates inserted a proviso: No compromise on continued affiliation with the ILM&TA. The clause doomed negotiations with the Sailors, who insisted West Coast locals get out of ILM&TA.⁹⁵ After enduring years of "merciless warfare" from the Sailors, San Francisco and Tacoma ILM&TA locals surrendered their charters in July 1905. In the following month, Everett, Olympia, and Mukilteo left the international. By the end of 1905, Local 552 was the only Washington State union in the ILM&TA.⁹⁶

Early in the morning of April 18, 1906, an earthquake and fire swept through the central business and residential sections of San Francisco. That afternoon, telegrams arrived from the Bay City area pleading for medical supplies, food, and clothing. Throughout Seattle, volunteers gathered vital supplies and brought them to the waterfront. Every member of longshore Local 552 turned to and worked around the clock for no pay to load the *Buckman*.⁹⁷ In the months that followed, Seattle mills shipped 21 million board feet of lumber to help rebuild 497 business and residential blocks in San Francisco.⁹⁸ The plight of San Francisco presaged a sharp upturn in Seattle's maritime commerce. On November 12, longshoremen were kept busy loading lumber, coal, and wheat on twenty-four vessels.⁹⁹

The Washington and Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen

Started as the ILM&TA's bulwark against the Sailors' Union, the Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen began coordinating wage demands. Emboldened by a Portland lumber handlers' strike in mid-September 1906 for recognition and a 10-cent-an-hour pay increase, Washington lumber handlers announced at the end of September that they planned to ask the