

EPILOGUE

Most of the men who fought in the 1934 strike are gone now. Only twenty-six of the 1,182 Seattle men who participated in the Big Strike are still alive. Their legacy is intact. The coastwide contract is still in effect. The rank and file continue to elect the dispatcher. The Seattle longshore union has a different name, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 19, but the traditions of the past prevail today. The 105-year-old principle of rotary dispatch continues. Union meetings are as democratic as ever. Since 1934 there have been four major strikes. Nowhere near as many as the first forty-eight years witnessed. Today's Seattle longshoremen are pitted against the machine in a race for survival. If they demonstrate the same determination and resourcefulness of their predecessors, Seattle waterfront workers will continue to control their destiny.

NOTES

CHAPTER I FROM TRIUMPH TO TRAGEDY

- ¹Edmond S. Meany, *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*, p. 128. Original Pages in *Vancouver's Journal* 117-119 and 147.
- ²Robert Ballard Whitebrook, *Coastal Exploration of Washington*, pp. 76-77.
- ³Arthur A. Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound An Autobiography*, (1908 edition) p. 31. Hereafter cited as Denny.
- ⁴Murray Morgan, *Skid Road An Informal Portrait of Seattle*, pp. 22-24. Hereafter cited as Morgan.
- ⁵Clarence B. Bagley, *History of King County Washington*, pp. 48-49. Hereafter cited as Bagley.
- ⁶John R. Finger, *Henry L. Yesler's Seattle Years, 1852-1892*, pp. 17, 58, and 89-90. Hereafter cited as Finger.
- ⁷Bagley, p. 246.
- ⁸Finger, pp. 43 and 57.
- ⁹Ibid., pp. 26 and 61.
- ¹⁰Thomas R. Cox, *Mills and Markets A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900*, p. 75. Hereafter cited as Cox.
- ¹¹Bagley, p. 232.
- ¹²Cox, p. 54.
- ¹³Finger, pp. 299-300.
- ¹⁴Cox, p. 104.
- ¹⁵John Reid Watt, *Introduction to the Economic and Labor History of Western Washington*, pp. 117-118.
- ¹⁶Finger notes on p. 301 that Yesler hired George Foster as wharfinger in 1870.
- ¹⁷In Box 13 of the Port Blakely Mill Company records are *Cargo Loading Books, 1880-1902*, that list labor costs, equipment, and length of time needed to stow each ship. Hereafter cited as PBMC.
- ¹⁸PBMC, Box 57. Letter from J. A. Campbell to Renton, Holmes & Company, March 1, 1886.
- ¹⁹*Puget Sound Argus*, November 30, 1877, article on *Business Men of Port Townsend. Kentucky Store. How R. & Co. Eke Out an Existence*. Hereafter cited as Argus.
- ²⁰Ibid.
- ²¹PBMC, Box 13. File 1882, Rothschild & Company's *Ships' Calling Register*, April 1882.
- ²²A short biography of DeLion appears in E. W. Wright, *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 403. Hereafter cited as Lewis & Dryden. Extracts from the *DeLion Family Bible* courtesy of Peter Simpson.

- ²³Tacoma Daily Ledger, December 23, 1881. Hereafter cited as TDL.
- ²⁴Denny, p. 54.
- ²⁵Seattle Times, November 11, 1951. Hereafter cited as ST.
- ²⁶Frederick J. Grant, Editor, *History of Seattle, Washington*, pp. 242 and 253.
- ²⁷Lewis & Dryden, p. 89.
- ²⁸Alexander N. MacDonald, *Seattle's Economic Development*, pp. 122-123. Hereafter cited as MacDonald. *Seattle in the 1880s*, p. 35. Skid road became Mill Street and is today's Yesler Way.
- ²⁹Bagley, p. 238.
- ³⁰Finger, pp. 240-242.
- ³¹ST, November 11, 1951.
- ³²Bagley, p. 289.
- ³³Post-Intelligencer, March 25, 1872. Hereafter cited as PI.
- ³⁴Bagley, pp. 289-290 and 294.
- ³⁵TDL, April 29, 1893.
- ³⁶PI, January 1, 1886.
- ³⁷Bagley, pp. 289-290 and 294.
- ³⁸J. W. Sayre, *The Early Waterfront of Seattle*, p. 8. Hereafter cited as Sayre.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 9.
- ⁴⁰Henry Villard, *Early History of Transportation in Oregon*, p. 85.
- ⁴¹George Noonan, *History of the Seattle Waterfront*, p. 1. Hereafter cited as Noonan Seattle. Born on San Juan Island in 1869, Noonan joined the Steamship Protective Union in 1889 in British Columbia. From 1889 until his death in 1943, Noonan alternated between sailing and longshoring in Port Townsend, Astoria, and Tacoma. Beginning in 1923, Noonan filed historical documents and his histories of Seattle and Tacoma longshore locals at the Tacoma Public Library. See his obituary in the *Tacoma Labor Advocate*, June 6, 1943. Hereafter cited as TLA.
- ⁴²*Man Along the Shore The Story of the Vancouver Waterfront As Told by Longshoremen Themselves 1860s-1975*, pp. 10-15. Hereafter cited as VW. The title "stevedore" comes from the Spanish "estivador." Webster included stevedore in his 1828 dictionary. The term "longshoremen" also originated in the 1820s. It is derived from the captain's call for a-long-the-shore-men to work cargo. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume XVI, p. 6611 and Volume VIII, pp. 1137-1138. For a discussion of the terms stevedore and longshoreman see Charles B. Barnes, *The Longshoremen*, p. vi.
- ⁴³Noonan Seattle, p. 1.
- ⁴⁴King County Assessor Censuses 1883, 1885, and 1887. *1884 Seattle City Directory*.
- ⁴⁵PI, October 23, 1884.
- ⁴⁶Noonan Seattle, pp. 1-2.
- ⁴⁷PI, March 9, 1886.

- ⁴⁸Seattle Typographers Local 202 was the first union in Seattle. Railroad engineers and firemen established locals in 1884.
- ⁴⁹*Investigation by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Condition of the Men Working on the Waterfront and on Board of Pacific Coast Vessels. June 29-July 5, 1887*, p. 3.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 63.
- ⁵¹PBMC, Box 57. Letter from J. A. Campbell to Renton, Holmes & Company, October 14, 1886.
- ⁵²*Guide to the Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor*, pp. 528-529.
- ⁵³Herbert H. Hunt, *Tacoma Its History and Its Builders A Half Century of Activity*, Volume I, pp. 240, 277, and 319. Hereafter cited as Hunt.
- ⁵⁴PI, September 17, 1885, as cited by Robert C. Nesbit, *He Built Seattle: A Biography of Judge Thomas Burke*, p. 172. Hereafter cited as Nesbit.
- ⁵⁵PI, November 6, 1885.
- ⁵⁶Seattle Daily Call, December 1, 1885. Hereafter cited as SDC.
- ⁵⁷For the business-professional point of view of the events of February 7 see Nesbit, pp. 199-204. For the anti-Chinese perspective of February 7 see SDC, February 8, 1886. None of the men accused of rioting on February 7, 1886, were longshoremen. See King County District Court Cases 4831 and 4864.
- ⁵⁸*Sixteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor 1901*, pp. 114-115.
- ⁵⁹Tacoma News, March 22, 1886. Hereafter cited as TN. TDL, March 25 and 27, 1886. *Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, and By-Laws of the Stevedores, Longshoremen, and Riggers' Union of Puget Sound*. The first longshore union on the West Coast was the Riggers and Stevedores' Union of San Francisco, organized on July 25, 1853, "for the regulation of wages and protection of each other." The second was the Portland [Oregon] Longshoremen's Protective Union on May 19, 1868, which passed out of existence in a short time. The Portland Stevedores, Longshoremen and Riggers' Union was chartered during early 1879.
- ⁶⁰*Articles of Incorporation of the Tacoma Stevedoring and Rigging Company*, May 15, 1886. Tacoma Stevedoring and Rigging Company Advertisement in the *1887 Polk Directory for Washington and Oregon*.
- ⁶¹PBMC, Box 57. Letter from J. A. Campbell to R. W. DeLion, June 9, 1886.
- ⁶²Ibid., Box 57. Letter from J. A. Campbell to Renton, Holmes and Company, San Francisco, July 1, and 8, 1886.
- ⁶³TDL, September 16, 1888.
- ⁶⁴Seattle Press, June 9, 1886. Hereafter cited as SP.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., June 9, 1886.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., June 11, 1886.
- ⁶⁷*Constitution of the Stevedores, Longshoremen & Riggers' Union of Seattle*, p. 1.

- ⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 8-9.
⁶⁹*Articles of Incorporation of The Stevedores, Longshoremen and Riggers Union of Seattle.*
⁷⁰King County Auditor's Censuses, 1883, 1885, and 1887. *United States Census, State of Washington, King County, City of Seattle, 1900.*
⁷¹Charter members were buried in a section of Mt. Pleasant Cemetery. Individual plot records have been lost.
⁷²*Seattle Daily Times*, June 15, 1886. Hereafter cited as SDT.
⁷³Ibid., June 22, 1886. PI, June 30, 1886.
⁷⁴PI, June 30, 1886.
⁷⁵Ibid., June 29, 1886.
⁷⁶Ibid., July 23, 1886.
⁷⁷Ibid., August 2, 1889.
⁷⁸PI, July 31, 1886.
⁷⁹*Victoria Daily Colonist*, July 30, August 1, 2, 8, 13, 20, and September 10, 1886.
⁸⁰Ibid., August 20, 1886.
⁸¹TDL, May 4, 1887.

CHAPTER II HARD TIMES

- ¹PI, September 28, 1891.
²Finger, pp. 27-28. In 1853, Isaac I. Stevens directed a federal government expedition that surveyed a transcontinental railroad route to Puget Sound. The following year land speculators appeared in Seattle to boom the new village as the future terminus.
³Nesbit, pp. 309-310.
⁴Ibid., p. 215.
⁵PI, January 1, 1886.
⁶Ibid., June 6, 1891.
⁷Archie Binns, *Northwest Gateway*, pp. 258-264.
⁸Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea. Letters of Travel*, pp. 119-120.
⁹*Railway and Marine News*, April 1919, p. 29. Hereafter cited as RMN.
¹⁰PI, August 2, 1889.
¹¹*1891 Seattle City Directory.*
¹²*City of Seattle Common Council Records*, November 22, 1889.
¹³PI, May 11, 1891.
¹⁴John R. Ross and Margaret Byrd Adams, *The Builder's Spirit The History of Stimson Lumber Company*, pp. 16-21 and 33.
¹⁵PI, July 20, 1888.
¹⁶Ibid., July 22, 1888.
¹⁷Ibid., August 2, 1889.
¹⁸Ibid. By 1899 Garrison had returned to Seattle where he worked as a nonunion longshoreman.
¹⁹Ibid., October 8, 1890.

- ²⁰Ibid., October 23, 1890.
²¹TDL, January 9, 1898.
²²*Western Central Labor Union Minutes*, August 26, 1891. Hereafter cited as WCLU.
²³PI, September 3, 1888.
²⁴Ibid., September 1, 1890.
²⁵Bagley, p. 433.
²⁶Ibid.
²⁷PI, February 16, 1891.
²⁸Ibid., March 7, 1891.
²⁹Ibid., April 1, and June 23, 1891.
³⁰Ibid., December 6, 1891.
³¹Ibid., February 2, 1891.
³²Cox, pp. 262-263.
³³PI, May 28, 1891.
³⁴Ibid., June 8, 1891.
³⁵Ibid., May 11, 1891.
³⁶Ibid., July 16, 1891.
³⁷Ibid., March 24, 1892.
³⁸Ibid., May 15, 1892.
³⁹Ibid., July 20, 1892.
⁴⁰Ibid., October 13, 1892.
⁴¹Ibid., October 19, 1892.
⁴²Ibid., July 18, August 8, September 12, 1892; and October 10, 1892.
⁴³Ibid., October 8, 1892.
⁴⁴WCLU, August 30, 1893.
⁴⁵PI, September 5, 1893.
⁴⁶Bagley, p. 433.
⁴⁷*History of the National Bank of Commerce*, pp. 39, 47, and 51.
⁴⁸Bagley, p. 433.
⁴⁹Robert D. Saltvig, *The Progressive Movement in Washington*, p. 36.
⁵⁰Richard B. Morris, Editor, *The U. S. Department of Labor Bicentennial History of The American Worker*, pp. 124-128. Hereafter cited as Morris.
⁵¹Ibid., p. 128.
⁵²Donald L. McMurry, *Coxey's Army A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894*, p. 216. McMurry cites E. Benjamin Andrews, *Last Quarter Century of United States*, p. 329.
⁵³TDL, April 28, 1894. According to TDL on May 10, 1894, 75 percent of the marchers were workingmen and 25 percent were "professional tramps." 50 percent were on their way back home to the Midwest or East. None of the newspapers, court records, or secondary sources identified any of the Commonwealers as longshoremen.
⁵⁴Morris, p. 128.
⁵⁵PI, January 13, 1894.
⁵⁶Ibid., January 14, 1894.

- ⁵⁷Ibid., January 16, 1894.
⁵⁸Ibid., January 21, 1894.
⁵⁹Ibid., January 25, 1894.
⁶⁰Ibid., February 5, 1894.
⁶¹WCLU, February 6, 1894.
⁶²Ibid., March 6, April 3, and 17, 1895.
⁶³*Polk's Seattle City Directories*, 1895-1896, 1898, and 1899.
⁶⁴Noonan/Seattle, p. 2.
⁶⁵WCLU *Ledger*, p. 21.
⁶⁶*Seattle Union Record*, Hereafter cited as SUR. February 2, 1901.
⁶⁷Sayre, p. 10.
⁶⁸Ibid., p. 25.
⁶⁹Forty years to the day, George Prescott was still operating winches on Japanese ships. See the *Crow's Nest* in ST, September 1, 1938.
⁷⁰Sayre, p. 13.

CHAPTER III DOWN BUT NOT OUT

- ¹SUR, March 30, 1901. "Yard Arm" was the pen name of a Seattle longshoreman who contributed a column, *Knights of the Truck*, to SUR from March 16 to May 25, 1901.
²PI, December 30, 1900.
³*Seattle Port Warden's Report for 1907*.
⁴Sayre, pp. 24-25, and 27.
⁵PI, April 28, August 18, and October 1, 1901; and March 30, 1902. The companies that remodeled were Northern Pacific Railroad, Pacific Coast Company, Pacific Packing and Navigation, Globe Navigation, John B. Agen, and J. M. Colman.
⁶Bagley, pp. 385-386.
⁷PI, March 30, 1902.
⁸Joseph Gaston, *Portland, Oregon. Its History and Builder*, Volume III, pp. 361-362.
⁹*Pacific Marine Review*, March 1905, p. 17; September 1906, p. 22; and December 1907, p. 8. Hereafter cited as PMR.
¹⁰George Noonan, *History of Early Waterfront Organizations on Puget Sound Tacoma*, p. 2. Hereafter cited as Noonan Tacoma.
¹¹H. K. Hines, *Illustrated History of Washington*, pp. 897-898. For an account of Local 306 participation in Hamilton's funeral see TDL, November 14, 1903.
¹²James Griffiths, *Shipping Reminiscences of 62 Years 1874 to 1936*, pp. 11-17. Hereafter cited as Griffiths.
¹³Ibid., p. 23.
¹⁴*Seattle and the Orient*, pp. 90-91.

- ¹⁵An obituary of Morris Neagle appears in ST, December 18, 1930. Neagle served as Seattle SL&RU president in 1891, passed the state bar examination, practiced law for a year or two, and returned to the waterfront.
¹⁶*Marine Digest*, May 8, 1954. Hereafter cited as MD.
¹⁷PMR, March 1905. For a short biography of Gibson see RMN July 1, 1909. ¹⁸PI, April 4 and May 20, 1900.
¹⁹Ibid., March 28, 1900. WCLU tried to get the longshoremen to reorganize in 1898 and 1899. See WCLU, May 25, August 17, August 24, September 5, September 28, October 5, 1898; and August 23, 1899.
²⁰*Fourth Biennial Report of the State of Washington Labor Commissioner, 1901-1902*, p. 146. Hereafter cited as BL.
²¹WCLU, March 28, 1900.
²²*Preamble of the International Longshoremen's Association, In Proceedings of the 1902 ILM&TA Convention*, unpagged. Hereafter cited as ILM&TA.
²³John R. Commons, *Types of American Labor Unions: The 'Longshoremen of the Great Lakes*, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Volume XX, November 1905, p. 85.
²⁴Ibid., p. 59.
²⁵ILM&TA 1902, p. 9.
²⁶PI, February 21, 1900.
²⁷*Tacoma Trades Council Minutes*, February 26, 1900. Hereafter cited as TTC. WCLU, February 28, 1900.
²⁸PI, July 14, 1900.
²⁹Ibid.
³⁰*Jack Weaver File* in the ILWU Library. Weaver left dues books from the Sailors' Union, Seattle locals 163 and 38-12, Tacoma Local 38-30, and Everett Local 38-8, spanning the years 1900 to 1938. Apparently Weaver alternated between sailing and longshoring with ease. The practice of seamen hitting the beach and longshoring continued into the 1950s. See Lee Anderson and Shaun Maloney Interview Transcripts.
³¹PI, August 30, 1900.
³²WCLU, September 5, 12, December 5, 12, 1900; and January 25, 1901.
³³Ibid., January 25, 1901.
³⁴SUR, February 2, and March 16, 1901.
³⁵WCLU, March 27, 1901. W. S. Lair had helped organize the San Francisco City Front Federation in 1900.
³⁶SUR, March 30, 1901.
³⁷Ibid., March 23 and 30, April 20, and May 11, 1901.
³⁸Ibid., May 28, 1901. See Steven Schwartz, *Brotherhood of the Sea*, pp. 30-31 for details on the Bay City federation which included teamsters, ship and steamboat joiners, seamen, warehousemen, pile drivers and bridge builders, hoisting engineers, and longshoremen. Hereafter cited as Schwartz.

- ³⁹ILM&TA 1902, p. 25.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 152.
- ⁴¹*Gompers Papers Jurisdictional Disputes, Sailors versus Longshoremen*, pp. 41, 42, 264, and 265.
- ⁴²BL 1901-1902, pp. 151 and 157.
- ⁴³Ibid., p. 171.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 187-188.
- ⁴⁵WCLU, September 17, 1902.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., September 24, 1902.
- ⁴⁷BL 1901-1902, p. 188.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 196.
- ⁴⁹PI, September 9, 1902.
- ⁵⁰BL 1901-1902, pp. 196-197.
- ⁵¹PI, September 30 and October 1, 1902.
- ⁵²BL 1901-1902, p. 199.
- ⁵³PI, October 19, 1902.
- ⁵⁴BL 1901-1902, p. 195.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., p. 171.
- ⁵⁶*Proceedings of the 1902 Pacific Coast ILM&TA Convention*, p. 9. Hereafter cited as PCILM&TA. All proceedings of the Pacific Coast ILM&TA conventions are courtesy of Outilie Markholt.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 9, 12, and 13.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 19-20.
- ⁶⁰ILM&TA 1903, p. 19.
- ⁶¹BL 1901-1902, pp. 164-165.
- ⁶²Ibid., p. 189.
- ⁶³SUR, February 21, 1903.
- ⁶⁴Noonan/Seattle, p. 2.
- ⁶⁵WCLU, May 6, 13, 20; June 24; July 1, 8, 15; October 7; December 16, 23, 1903; January 27; and May 25, 1904. WCLU, August 26, 1903, correspondence with AFL Executive Board. WCLU, October 28, 1903, correspondence with Samuel Gompers. For President Keefe's involvement in the Seattle longshore dispute see WCLU, June 8, 1904. On August 10, 1904, SUR reported that the president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the ILM&TA would be in Seattle soon to settle the dispute between locals 163 and 552. A report on the struggle between locals 163 and 552 at the AFL 1904 convention appeared in SUR, December 24, 1904.
- ⁶⁶SUR, July 2, 1904.
- ⁶⁷WCLU, August 24, 1904.
- ⁶⁸Ibid., October 5, 1904.
- ⁶⁹ILM&TA 1904, p. 6.
- ⁷⁰PMR, August 1904, pp. 12-13.

- ⁷¹*Coast Seamen's Journal*, January 25, 1905. Hereafter cited as CSJ. The CSJ materials are courtesy of Outilie Markholt.
- ⁷²ILM&TA 1905, pp. 134, 135 and 138. Locals in the Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen in 1905 were Anacortes, Ballard, Everett, Hadlock, Port Blakely, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Seattle, Mukilteo, and Tacoma.
- ⁷³WCLU, January 18, 1905.
- ⁷⁴PI, March 31, 1905.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., April 5, 1905.
- ⁷⁶ILM&TA 1905, p. 142.
- ⁷⁷TDL, April 7, 1905.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., April 8, 1905.
- ⁷⁹WCLU, April 5, 1905.
- ⁸⁰PI, April 8, 1905.
- ⁸¹TDL, April 23, 1905.
- ⁸²PI, April 23, 1905.
- ⁸³Ibid., April 24, 1905.
- ⁸⁴TDL, April 26, 1905.
- ⁸⁵ILM&TA 1905, p. 143.
- ⁸⁶PI, April 29, 1905.
- ⁸⁷Ibid., May 11, 1905.
- ⁸⁸TDL, May 14, 1905.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., May 17, 1905.
- ⁹⁰PI, May 20, 1905. Several months later, the financial secretary of Local 1 decamped with the treasury. During January 1907, Secretary James absconded with PCFL funds. "A very miserable ending for the man [James] who had so denounced Brother Madsen," declared Puget Sound longshore historian George Noonan. See Noonan Seattle, p. 3.
- ⁹¹*Bellingham Herald*, May 24, 1905. Hereafter cited as BH.
- ⁹²Ibid., May 25, 1905.
- ⁹³ILM&TA 1907, p. 66. Letter from J. C. Webber, Local 309, to H. C. Barter.
- ⁹⁴TDL, June 18, 1905.
- ⁹⁵*Everett Daily Herald*, June 6, 1905. Hereafter cited as EDH.
- ⁹⁶Noonan, p. 3.
- ⁹⁷SUR, March 4, 1911.
- ⁹⁸*Seattle Port Warden's Annual Report for 1906*.
- ⁹⁹PI, November 13, 1906.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., September 27, 1906.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid., September 29, 1906.
- ¹⁰²BL 1905-1906, p. 198.
- ¹⁰³Ibid, p. 199.
- ¹⁰⁴PI, November 5, 1906.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid., March 16, 1907.

¹⁰⁶The full text of the Gompers decision on longshoremen versus Sailors' jurisdiction will be found in *Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Longshoremen's Union of the Pacific*, pp. 44-45 and CSJ, July 10, 1907.

CHAPTER IV VICTORY AND DEFEAT

¹PI, January 8, 1908.

²Ibid., April 19, 1907. The Washington and Puget Sound Council of Longshoremen had invited Oregon and California locals to become members of a new Longshoremen's Association of the Pacific Coast (LAPC), but they refused. The Seattle Riggers and Stevedores' Union became Local 18 LAPC. See Noonan Seattle, p. 3

³Ibid., April 25, 1907.

⁴Grace Elizabeth Dawson Interview.

⁵PI, April 25, 1907.

⁶TDL, May 5, 1907.

⁷PI, April 27, 1907.

⁸Ibid., April 30, 1907.

⁹TDL, May 8, 1907.

¹⁰PI, May 12, 1907.

¹¹TDL, May 13, 1907.

¹²PI, May 16, 1907.

¹³Ibid., May 10, 1907.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., May 15, 1907.

¹⁶TDL, May 16, 1907.

¹⁷PI, May 18, 1907.

¹⁸Ibid., May 16, 1907.

¹⁹Ibid., May 10, 1907.

²⁰PI, January 1 and 25, 1908.

²¹*Official Guide to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition*, pp. 53, 57-58, and 71. Japan received special recognition at AYP. The Island Kingdom had its own building. August 11, 1907, was recognized as Japan Day.

²²*Seattle Port Warden Annual Reports, 1908-1912*. For the year 1907 see PI, January 1 and 25, 1908. For the period 1905 through 1934 the most comprehensive source for tonnage is Ole Kay Moe, *An Analytical Study of the Foreign Trade Through the Port of Seattle*. Hereafter cited as Moe.

²³PI, January 16, 1908.

²⁴Ibid., January 21, 1908.

²⁵*The Socialist*, December 16, 1907, and February 1, 1908.

²⁶Melvin G. DeShazo, *Radical Tendencies in the Seattle Labor Movement*, pp. 20 and 23.

²⁷PI, January, 21, 1908.

²⁸*Steamship Owners' Association Minutes*, January 20, 1908. The settlement provided:

1. We agree to abolish the list.

2. We accept the scale of 40 cents for day and 50 cents for overtime.

Nine hours to constitute a days work.

3. Shingles and lath take lumber rates. 50,000 feet.

4. Over 50,000 feet of lumber to be paid lumber rates.

5. Work performed during noon hour to be paid overtime.

6. We agree to work till 6 P.M. if necessary, provided overtime be paid from 5 P.M. to 6 P.M.

7. The Shipowners Association agrees to hire none but members of Riggers & Stevedores' Union, exclusively, when procurable. Be it further agreed that Shipowners Association to notify Local Seattle at least one hour before arrival of boats, and state number of men necessary to work said boats.

8. All wheat going off shore shall be paid at the rate of 50 cents for daytime, and 75 cents overtime. Part cargoes of wheat in coasting vessels shall be paid for at the rate of merchandise. Full cargoes of wheat in coasting vessels shall be paid for at the rate of 50 cents daytime, and 75 cents overtime.

²⁹PI, July 21, 1908.

³⁰Ibid., July 22, 1908.

³¹Ibid., July 23, 1908.

³²Ibid.

³³*National Longshoremen's Board Hearings*, September 10, 1934, pp. 1-

2. Testimony of William T. Morris. Hereafter cited as NLB. Madison and Morris were deep-water seamen who swallowed the anchor in 1906. Both were blacklisted by Seattle employers in 1908 and found work in the Lumber Handlers' Union in Tacoma.

³⁴TDL, July 24, 1908.

³⁵Ibid., July 26, 1908.

³⁶PI, July 26, 1908.

³⁷Ibid., August 3, 1908.

³⁸SUR, August 8, 1908.

³⁹PI, August 15, 1908.

⁴⁰TDL, August 4, 1908.

⁴¹ILA 1910, p. 165.

⁴²PI, August 31, 1908.

⁴³*Proceedings of the 1908 Session of the Longshoremen's Union of the Pacific*, pp. 9-10. Hereafter cited as LUP. Seattle Riggers and Stevedores Local 18 LAPC became Local 12 LUP during September 1908.

⁴⁴LUP 1909, p. 9.

⁴⁵TDL, October 21, 1908, and January 16, 1909.

⁴⁶LUP 1909, p. 10.

- ⁴⁷Letter from LUP Secretary Courtney T. Fouch in SUR, November 14, 1908.
- ⁴⁸LUP 1909, pp. 10-11.
- ⁴⁹SUR, September 4, 1909.
- ⁵⁰PI, September 28, 1909.
- ⁵¹Ibid., July 5, 1909. ILA 1910, p. 165.
- ⁵²TDL, September 22, 1920.
- ⁵³Ibid., December 27, 1910.
- ⁵⁴LUP 1909, pp.33-34. Other provisions of the September 16 agreement included ILA coverage of all LUP debts, and the right of the district to select one ILA executive board member. The international agreed to pay the president and district secretary's salaries. Of the 15-cents-per-month per capita, 5 cents would be placed in the defense fund. The district office reserved the right to approve all West Coast employee-employer working agreements and charters for new locals. The official name adopted was Local 38, Pacific Coast District of the International Longshoremen's Association. Outilie Markholt believes "38" was chosen to honor Everett Local 38, the first West Coast longshore union to join the ILA.
- ⁵⁵SUR, September 25, 1909.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., October 16, 1909.
- ⁵⁷PI, August 27 and September 3, 1911. Pierce County also tried to form a port district on November 5, 1912, but the port proposition failed, 10,186 to 10,581.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., January 21, 1912.
- ⁵⁹Padraic Burke, *A History of the Port of Seattle*, pp. 39-43. Hereafter cited as Burke.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., p. 48.
- ⁶¹*Fourth Annual Report of the Port of Seattle 1915*, pp. 29-39.
- ⁶²SUR, April 18, 1914.
- ⁶³PI, August 15, 1914.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., September 7, 1914.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., August 26, and September 2, 1914.
- ⁶⁶*Port of Seattle Files 1915*, pp. 36-37.
- ⁶⁷Letter from C. T. Jackson, president 38-12 Auxiliary, to Robert Bridges, April 30, 1917, in Port of Seattle Files.
- ⁶⁸*Annual Report of the Port of Seattle 1916*, pp. 30-33.
- ⁶⁹PI, April 20, 1915.
- ⁷⁰Ibid., April 11, 1915.
- ⁷¹Ibid., January 1, 1916.
- ⁷²Robert Bridges, *Address to the King County Democratic Club*, March 25, 1916.
- ⁷³PI, February 27, 1916.

CHAPTER V THE QUEST FOR COASTWIDE UNITY

- ¹Waterfront Workers' Federation San Francisco, *The Longshoremen's Strike*, p. 2. Hereafter cited as WWF.
- ²PCILM&TA 1902, p. 2. The quote is taken from ILA Fourth Vice-President J. A. Madsen's call for the convention.
- ³LUP 1909, pp. 32-34.
- ⁴*Proceedings of the 1912 Pacific Coast District 38 ILA Convention*, p. 24. Hereafter cited as PCDILA. All District 38 convention proceedings are courtesy of Outilie Markholt.
- ⁵ILA 1912, pp. 80-81.
- ⁶Ibid., p. 81.
- ⁷*Aberdeen Daily World*, September 4 and 5, 1912.
- ⁸PCDILA 1912, p. 26.
- ⁹PI, April 18, 1912.
- ¹⁰ST, April 23, 1912.
- ¹¹Ibid., May 24, 1912.
- ¹²SUR, June 14 and 28, 1913.
- ¹³PCDILA 1913, pp. 102-106.
- ¹⁴*Portland Labor Press*, February 8, 1915. Cited in Markholt, *Unionism*, Volume I, p. 611.
- ¹⁵BL 1915-1916, p. 245. The Puget Sound Shipping Association changed its name to the Waterfront Employers' Union during February 1915. Prior to 1915, the Puget Sound Shipping Association negotiated at the same time with unlicensed steamshipmen and longshoremen. The WEU confined itself entirely to dealing with longshoremen and hand truckers. See W. C. Dawson, *Brief History of the Waterfront Employers of Seattle 1908-1936*, p. 1. Hereafter cited as WCD1.
- ¹⁶ST, March 18, 1915. SUR, March 20, 1915.
- ¹⁷PI, March 17, 1915.
- ¹⁸Ibid., March 18, 1915.
- ¹⁹Ibid., March 25, 1915.
- ²⁰BL 1915-1916, p. 246.
- ²¹PI, April 4, 1915.
- ²²H. C. Cantelow, *Chronological History of the Seattle Waterfront Employers' Union*, p. 2. Hereafter cited as Cantelow 1.
- ²³PI, July 7, 1915.
- ²⁴Cantelow 1, p. 7.
- ²⁵SUR, August 14, 1915.
- ²⁶Cantelow 1, p. 9.
- ²⁷Ibid., pp. 9-10.
- ²⁸PI, September 12, 1915.
- ²⁹Ibid., August 30, 1915.
- ³⁰Cantelow 1, p. 10.
- ³¹PI, September 12, 1915.

- ³²BL 1915-1916, p. 167.
- ³³Florence Peterson, *Strikes in the United States, 1880-1936*, p. 37. Hereafter cited as Peterson.
- ³⁴BL 1915-1916, p. 235.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶TDL, June 11, 1916.
- ³⁷ST, May 28, 1916.
- ³⁸*The Industrial Worker*, May 20, 1916. Hereafter cited as IW. Doran is sometimes listed as John T. Doran or Joe Doran.
- ³⁹PCDILA 1916, p. 9.
- ⁴⁰BL 1915-1916, pp. 247-248.
- ⁴¹PCDILA 1916, p. 8-9.
- ⁴²BL 1915-1916, p. 247.
- ⁴³Cantelow 1, pp. 12-14.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 14.
- ⁴⁵Ibid.
- ⁴⁶BL 1915-1916, p. 223. At the time of the strike Henry White served as United States Immigration Commissioner in Seattle.
- ⁴⁷PI, June 1, 1916.
- ⁴⁸ST, June 1, 1916.
- ⁴⁹*Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity Minutes*, May 31, 1916. Hereafter cited as SCLC.
- ⁵⁰SUR, June 17, 1916.
- ⁵¹ST, June 1, 1916.
- ⁵²WWF, p. 16.
- ⁵³The William C. Dawson files contain the original employers' cash pledge list. Access was granted by Grace Elizabeth Dawson on August 12, 1987.
- ⁵⁴The role of Pinkerton agents in Local 38-12 during the 1916 strike is detailed in the *Everett Change of Venue Case #8338*, King County Superior Court.
- ⁵⁵ST, June 23, 24, 26, and 27, 1916.
- ⁵⁶PI, June 1, 1916.
- ⁵⁷TDL, June 10, 1916.
- ⁵⁸ST, June 3, 1916.
- ⁵⁹PI, June 6, 1916.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., June 4, 1916.
- ⁶¹Ibid., June 6, 1916.
- ⁶²TDL, June 9, 1916.
- ⁶³Cantelow 1, pp. 16-17.
- ⁶⁴WWF, p. 19.
- ⁶⁵ILA 1917, pp. 22-23.
- ⁶⁶ST, June 9, 1916.
- ⁶⁷TDL, June 11, 1916.
- ⁶⁸PI, June 22, 1916.

- ⁶⁹ST, June 9, 1916.
- ⁷⁰WWF, p. 21.
- ⁷¹PI, June 26, 1916. For University of Washington student involvement see SUR, August 12, 1916.
- ⁷²Ibid., June 23, 1916.
- ⁷³Ibid.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., June 24, 1916.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., June 25, 1916.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., July 6, 1916.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., July 13, 1916.
- ⁷⁸PI, June 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27, 1916. *Seattle Star*, June 21, 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1916. Hereafter cited as SS. ST, June 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27, 1916.
- ⁷⁹*Socialist World*, July 14, 1916.
- ⁸⁰*Pacific Coast Longshoreman* article *Longshoremen and the Public*. Reprinted in the *Everett Labor Journal*, July 28, 1916.
- ⁸¹ST, July 3, 1916.
- ⁸²Ibid.
- ⁸³ST, July 1, 1916. *Socialist Worker*, July 14, 1916. PI, July 4, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, and 23, 1916. PI, August 6, 10, 17, 18, and 19, 1916. PI, September 2, 7, 8, 15, 16, and 26, 1916. PI, November 3 and 4, 1916. *King County Superior Court Case #16245/8338*.
- ⁸⁴PI, July 16, 1918.
- ⁸⁵Ibid., July 15, 1916.
- ⁸⁶*King County Superior Court Case #16245/8338*. Reese's testimony is repeated in William C. Smith, *The Everett Massacre A History of the Class Struggle in the Lumber Industry*, pp. 188 and 225-227. Hereafter cited as W. Smith.
- ⁸⁷PI, July 14, 1916.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., August 18, 1916.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., July 17, 1916.
- ⁹⁰Markholt, *Unionism*, pp. 744-745.
- ⁹¹PI, July 23, 1916.
- ⁹²ST, August 11, 1916. The labor conciliation committee included E. P. Marsh, president of the State Federation of Labor; J. G. Brown, president of the Shingle Weaver's Union; William Short, state district secretary of the United Mine Workers; and Charles Doyle, business representative of the Central Labor Council.
- ⁹³Ibid., August 11, 1916. Former Senator Samuel Piles, and businessmen Alexander Polson, J. E. Chilberg, C. M. Nettleton, and Josiah Collins agreed to serve on the conciliation committee.
- ⁹⁴SCLC, August 2 and 30, 1916.
- ⁹⁵*King County Superior Court Case #8084*. Murphy served twenty-one months.
- ⁹⁶PI, September 7, 1916.

⁹⁷Ibid., September 8, 1916.

⁹⁸Ibid., September 15, 1916.

⁹⁹Ibid., September 14, 1916.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., September 15, 1916.

¹⁰¹SCLC, September 20, 1916.

¹⁰²Ibid., September 27, 1916.

¹⁰³PI, September 22, 1916.

¹⁰⁴Cantelow 1, p. 21.

¹⁰⁵The original copy of the September 26, 1916, agreement is included in Cantelow. Signers included:

International Stevedoring

Griffiths & Sprague

W. R. Grace & Company

Pacific Alaska Navigation

Dodwell & Company

Border Line Transportation

Dodwell Dock & Warehouse

American-Hawaiian Steamship

Alaska Steamship

Alexander & Baldwin

Virginia Street Dock

Pacific Coast Steamship

J. S. Gibson

James Griffiths

T. M. Robinson, Agent

A. F. Haines, Manager

K. J. Middleton

K. J. Middleton

George Heyburn

C. K. Wajell

R. R. Pierson

E. R. Adams

W. C. Dawson

J. F. Blain

¹⁰⁶PI., October 2, 1916.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., October 3, 1916.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., October 4, 1916.

¹⁰⁹ST, October 5, 1916.

¹¹⁰ILA 1917, pp. 22-23.

¹¹¹ILA 1923, pp. 18-19.

¹¹²IW, January 13, 1917.

¹¹³Giles T. Brown, *The Admiral Line and Its Competitors: The Zenith and Decline of Shipping Along the Pacific Coast 1916-1936*, pp. 35-36. Hereafter cited as Brown.

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 32-33.

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 32-35.

CHAPTER VI THE FINK HALL

¹NLB p. 1596, Testimony of Thomas Wadum.

²E. A. Ames Papers Puget Sound Stevedoring Company File, Box 129. Letter from E. A. Ames to Alfred Harms, Secretary of Pope & Talbot on August 23, 1916. Hereafter cited as Ames.

³Ibid., Box 129. *Memo of Plan for the Incorporation and Organization of a Stevedoring Company Such As Is Contemplated by the Lumbermen's Association of the Pacific Coast.*

⁴Ibid., Box 129, Letter from E. A. Ames to Alfred Harms, Secretary of Pope & Talbot on August 23, 1916.

⁵Ibid., Box 129, Letter from James Griffiths to E. A. Ames, October 31, 1916.

⁶Cantelow 1, p. 22. Until August 29, 1917, union longshoremen called WEU's Seattle Labor Bureau the "Scab Hall." On that date Local 38-12 delegates to the Seattle Central Labor Council reported: "On the job and intend to stay in spite of the fink hall." Henceforth, the terms scab hall and fink hall were used interchangeably. Etymologist Archie Green believes that this is the earliest recorded use of the term fink hall. He credits Otilie Markholt's research for the discovery. Green also traced the origin of "rustling card" to 1912 Butte hard rock miners. See Green's article in *Comments on Etymology, Fink, The Labor Connection*, Volume XVII, May 1, 1988, pp. 1-28. Pages 13 through 16 concern Puget Sound Dockers and the Fink Hall.

⁷In a letter to Captain Miller Freeman on March 16, 1943, Frederick Becker took credit for the creation of the Seattle waterfront employers hiring hall, "the first of its kind in the country." The concept of an employers' waterfront labor bureau was brought to Seattle in 1907 by Captain James S. Gibson, president of International Stevedoring, after he had observed the Bremen, Germany, steamship owners' hall on a European tour. See Chapter 4, "Victory and Defeat."

⁸William Walker Interview.

⁹NLB, Testimony of William Veaux, pp. 1628-1631 and Arthur Whitehead, pp. 1574-1575.

¹⁰Ibid., Testimony of W. T. Morris, pp. 1732-1735.

¹¹PCDILA 1917, p. 52. A detailed study of the rustling card will be found in the National Adjustment Commission Hearings and Awards in ILA 1919, p. 228. Hereafter cited as NAC.

¹²The State of Washington v. F. O. Watson, John Black, Frank Steward, Charles Adams, Harston Peters, Thomas M. Tracy, alias George Martin, Harry Feinberg, John Downs, Harold Miller, Ed Roth, and Thomas Tracy. King County Superior Court Case #8338. Hereafter cited as Case #8338.

¹³W. Smith, pp. 89, 96-97, 105-108, 212, and 225-227.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 96-97 and 105.

¹⁵Case #8338. The steamer *Calista* followed the *Verona* with thirty-eight more Wobblies aboard, including Charles G. Burke, another member of Local 38-12.

¹⁶SCLC, November 22, 1916.

¹⁷IW, January 13, 1917.

¹⁸Ibid., January 27, 1917.

¹⁹The original charter of MTW 510 is in the University of Washington Manuscripts Department's IWW File.

²⁰Hulet M. Wells, *I Wanted Work*, pp. 181-191.

- ²¹SCLC, June 6, 1917.
²²SUR, June 4, 1919.
²³Moe, p. 25.
²⁴Burt Nelson Interview.
²⁵Cantelow, *Wages Longshoremen and Truckers, 1908-1934* p. 1. Hereafter cited as Cantelow 2.
²⁶ST, May 3, 1917.
²⁷PCDILA, p. 9.
²⁸Ibid., p. 20.
²⁹Ibid.
³⁰TDL, June 9, 1917.
³¹PI, June 13, 1917.
³²NAC, p. 107.
³³*The Survey*, August 16, 1920, p. 608.
³⁴NAC, pp. 90-92.
³⁵Ibid., pp. 91-92. Includes a list of the Seattle-Tacoma employers who signed the agreement. For the ILA see PCDILA 1918, p. 11.
³⁶SUR, November 10, 1917. Minutes of the Seattle Waterfront Employers' meetings are missing from May 3, 1917 until December 17, 1919.
³⁷SCLC, September 19, 1917. A graphic account of Wilson's speech before the council is in SUR, September 22, 1917.
³⁸SUR, October 27, 1917.
³⁹PI, October 25, 1917.
⁴⁰PCDILA 1918, p. 12.
⁴¹SUR, January 19, 1918.
⁴²The complete December 18, 1917, Award is in NAC, p. 228.
⁴³Ibid., p. 228.
⁴⁴SUR, April 13, 1918.
⁴⁵ST, April 19, 1918.
⁴⁶PCDILA, 1918, p. 14.
⁴⁷NAC, pp. 230-231.
⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 230-232.
⁴⁹*Local 38-12 Minute Book 1*, August 5, 1918. Hereafter cited as MB1. The international was not informed of the merger of locals 38-12 and 38-22 because the ILA constitution prohibited industrial amalgamations. Local 38-22 simply quit paying per capita dues.
⁵⁰MB1, August 30, 1918.
⁵¹NAC, p. 235.
⁵²Ibid., pp. 235-236.
⁵³SUR, September 16, 1918.
⁵⁴WCD1, p. 2.
⁵⁵PI, September 23, 1918.
⁵⁶MB1, September 20, 1918.

- ⁵⁷PCDILA 1918, p. 63. The May 1918 ILA district convention had urged the locals to open their membership books to all waterfront workers rather than organizing minorities in separate locals. The ILA had mixed African American-Caucasian locals in the North and, if it was the only way, segregated locals in the South. See Daniel Rosenberg, *New Orleans Dock Workers: Race, Labor and Unionism 1892-1923*, pp. 39-40.
⁵⁸MB1, September 20, 27, and October 1, 1918. Frank Jenkins, Jr. Interview by R. C. Berner, June 6 and 28, 1972. Andrew Jenkins Interview by Ronald Magden on July 5, 1987.
⁵⁹Margaret Thompson, *Development and Comparison of Industrial Relationships in Seattle*, p. 111. Hereafter cited as Thompson.
⁶⁰SUR, November 5, 7, and 8, 1918. MB1, November 15, 1918. At the November 15, union meeting a motion carried that any member caught working with a Blue Jay would be fined \$10.00 and suspended from the work list for thirty days.
⁶¹ST, November 11, 1918.
⁶²Ibid., November 12, 1918.
⁶³Ibid., November 17, 1918.
⁶⁴MB1, November 15, 1917.
⁶⁵Ibid., November 17, 1918.
⁶⁶ST, November 20, 1918.
⁶⁷SUR, November 19, 1918.
⁶⁸Ibid., November 20, 1918.
⁶⁹Ibid., November 21, 1918.
⁷⁰MB1, November 29, 1918.
⁷¹Ibid., December 13, 1918.
⁷²SUR, December 19, 1918.
⁷³Cantelow 1, p. 1.

CHAPTER VII THE RADICAL ERA

- ¹*Operator 106 Reports to Broussais Beck*, September 20, 1919. Hereafter cited as Operator 106.
²The *Shilka* incident was reported by IW, December 29, 1917; PI, December 23, 1917; and ST, December 24, 26, and 28, 1917.
³SCLC, December 26, 1917, and January 2, 1918.
⁴Harvey O'Connor, *Revolution in Seattle*, p. 244.
⁵ST, December 4, 1918.
⁶SCLC, December 11, 1918.
⁷MB1, December 24, 1918.
⁸Ibid., December 27, 1918.
⁹Thompson, p. 111.
¹⁰MB1, December 20, 1918.

- ¹¹War Department, *Intelligence Office, United States Army, Seattle, Washington, File 10110-362*, p. 50. Hereafter cited as File 10110. An intelligence officer noted that the Northwestern Stevedores & Truckers Association "have a large number of I.W.W.s as it is the policy of the 'wobblies' to get as many members into each new organization as they can for the purpose of strengthening their own ranks and thus keep things in a constant turmoil."
- ¹²PCDILA 1922, p. 37.
- ¹³MB1, January 10, 1919.
- ¹⁴Ibid., January 10, 1919.
- ¹⁵Ibid., January 26 and 28, 1919.
- ¹⁶Ibid., January 28, 1919.
- ¹⁷SUR, February 4, 1919.
- ¹⁸SCLC, November 6 and 27, 1918. Mooney had been convicted in 1916 of bombing a San Francisco preparedness parade.
- ¹⁹MB1, December 6, 1918.
- ²⁰SCLC, January 22, 1919.
- ²¹Robert L. Friedheim, *The Seattle General Strike*, p. 97. Hereafter cited as Friedheim.
- ²²MB1, January 28, 1919.
- ²³SCLC, January 29, 1919.
- ²⁴PI, February 3, 1919.
- ²⁵Ibid., February 5, 1919.
- ²⁶MB1, February 5, 1919. Seattle and Tacoma longshore unions did not ask the ILA district executive board for permission to participate in the strike. See PCDILA 1919, pp. 13-14.
- ²⁷MB1, February 5, 1919.
- ²⁸Richard Haverty Interview.
- ²⁹ST, February 9, 1919.
- ³⁰MB1, February 7 and 8, 1919.
- ³¹Friedheim, pp. 140 and 143-145.
- ³²MB1, February 9, 1919. A delegation from Local 38-12 tried to speak to the Streetcarmen on February 10, but were denied admittance.
- ³³Ibid., February 11, 1919.
- ³⁴William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, pp. 198-199. Preston's source for Saunders statement is Department of Justice File 198783-4.
- ³⁵Thompson, pp. 61-64. Within two years after the general strike, Associated Industries of Seattle assisted the Building Trades' Association, Master Tailors, and printing house owners in successful campaigns to destroy union shops in those crafts.
- ³⁶ST, February 11, 1919.
- ³⁷MB1, February 16 and 21, 1919.
- ³⁸Cantelow 1, p. 2.
- ³⁹PI, April 18, 1919.

- ⁴⁰MB1, January 28, 1919.
- ⁴¹Ibid., March 26, 1919.
- ⁴²Ibid., March 28, 1919.
- ⁴³Ibid., April 8, 1919.
- ⁴⁴*Seattle Waterfront Employers' Union Minutes*, May 19, 1920. Hereafter cited as WEU.
- ⁴⁵SCLC, March 5, 1919.
- ⁴⁶TLA, April 18, 1919.
- ⁴⁷PCDILA 1919, pp. 16-17.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 17.
- ⁴⁹SUR, April 8 and 9, 1919.
- ⁵⁰MB1, March 26, 1919. See the statement of Stokes to the PI, April 8, 1919.
- ⁵¹PI, April 10, 1919.
- ⁵²Ibid.
- ⁵³L. C. Gilman, *Instructions to Dock Agents* in PI, April 12, 1919.
- ⁵⁴Letter from ILA District 38 President Sydney R. Lines and District Secretary-Treasurer Marshall E. Wright to United States Railroad Administration District Director L. C. Gilman, April 11, 1919, in Seattle Port Commission Correspondence Files.
- ⁵⁵SCLC, April 9 and 16, 1919.
- ⁵⁶PI, April 18, 1919.
- ⁵⁷ST, April 16, 1919.
- ⁵⁸SCLC, April 16, 1919.
- ⁵⁹PI, April 18, 1919.
- ⁶⁰ST, April 21, 1919.
- ⁶¹SUR, April 22, 1919.
- ⁶²*Northwest Waterfront Employers' Union Minutes*, December 9, 1919. Hereafter cited as NWEU.
- ⁶³PCDILA 1919, pp. 20-22.
- ⁶⁴MB1, May 8, 1919.
- ⁶⁵ST, May 9, 1919.
- ⁶⁶PCDILA 1919, p. 39.
- ⁶⁷Ibid.
- ⁶⁸Ibid., p. 27.
- ⁶⁹MB1, May 8, 1919.
- ⁷⁰SUR, May 16, 1919.
- ⁷¹SCLC, May 21, 1919.
- ⁷²Operator 106, May 29, 1919.
- ⁷³MB1, May 17, 1919.
- ⁷⁴Operator 106, May 29, 1919.
- ⁷⁵MB1, April 16, 1919. During March 1919, at Calgary, Alberta, a convention of western Canadian labor unions resolved to hold membership referenda on the creation of the One Big Union along industrial lines.

- ⁷⁶PCDILA 1919, pp. 3-4. Kavanagh was also President of the British Columbia Federation of Labor.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., p. 32.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., p. 34.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 20 and 28-29.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., p. 71.
- ⁸¹Letter from Thomas W. Mason, Local 38-12 president to T. V. O'Connor, ILA President, July 2, 1920.
- ⁸²*Proceedings of the 1919 Washington State Federation of Labor Convention*, p. 131.
- ⁸³Ibid., pp. 82-83.
- ⁸⁴Operator 106, August 10, 1919.
- ⁸⁵SUR, July 31, 1919 and TLA, August 1, 1919, printed the same article by Harry Wright entitled, *One Big Union*.
- ⁸⁶PCDILA 1921, p. 383. Two years later, O'Connor reported that Wright meant his membership in the Socialist Party, not the IWW. See ILA 1923, p. 156.
- ⁸⁷Ibid.
- ⁸⁸Ibid. *King County Superior Court Case #143346, Exhibit B*. Hereafter cited as Case 143346.
- ⁸⁹Ibid.
- ⁹⁰Ibid.
- ⁹¹SCLC, August 13, 1919.
- ⁹²TLA, August 22, 1919.
- ⁹³Ibid.
- ⁹⁴SCLC, August 20, 1919.
- ⁹⁵ST, August 7, 1919.
- ⁹⁶Cantelow 2, p. 3.
- ⁹⁷Cantelow 1, p. 3.
- ⁹⁸ILA 1921, p. 384.
- ⁹⁹Cantelow 1, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁰PI, August 20, 1919.
- ¹⁰¹ST, August 25, 1919.
- ¹⁰²William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure*, pp. 223 and 256-260.
- ¹⁰³SUR, September 19, 1919. *Local 38-12 Minute Book II*, June 4, 1919, through February 5, 1923, is missing.
- ¹⁰⁴SCLC, September 17, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁵SUR, September 18 and 19, 1919. The SUR reporter talked to a witness who observed the custom's agent open the rifle boxes. The *Voice of Action* on December 20, 1935, interviewed Charles D. McLennon who reported the discovery of the rifles in a more dramatic way, "One of the 'sewing machine' crates got jammed against the boxcar door as it was being unloaded alongside the *Delight*, and broke open. Shells came spewing out on the dock."

- ¹⁰⁶SCLC, September 24, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁷SUR, September 25, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹Letter from H. C. Cantelow to Local 38-12, October 9, 1919.
- ¹¹⁰Letter from L. Larue, Charles Cutright, and M. A. Gray to H. C. Cantelow, K. J. Middleton, W. C. Dawson, R. J. Johns, and J. Weber, October 9, 1919. Both letters are in WEU files.
- ¹¹¹*NWEU Correspondence to All Members*, October 10, 1919.
- ¹¹²Ibid., October 14, 1919.
- ¹¹³SUR, October 13, 1919.
- ¹¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., November 8, 1919.

CHAPTER VIII THE LIST

- ¹ST, May 6, 1920.
- ²PI, November 21, 1919.
- ³SUR, November 22, 1919.
- ⁴WEU, November 25, 1919.
- ⁵Cantelow 1, pp. 2-3.
- ⁶PCDILA 1920, pp. 6 and 12.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 13.
- ⁸Cantelow 1, p. 4. Case 143346, Exhibit A.
- ⁹PCDILA 1920, pp. 6, 13, 21, 22, and 23. ILA 1921, pp. 385-387.
- ¹⁰SCLC, January 28, 1920.
- ¹¹Operator 106, January 30, 1920.
- ¹²SUR, May 8, 1920. SUR printed the complete correspondence between Bridges and shipowners and agents from March 20 through May 4, 1920.
- ¹³Ibid.
- ¹⁴Ibid., April 13, 1920.
- ¹⁵Ibid., May 8, 1920.
- ¹⁶NWEU, December 9, 1919.
- ¹⁷Ibid., April 10, 1920.
- ¹⁸Operator 106, April 9, 1920.
- ¹⁹SUR, April 10, 1920.
- ²⁰Ibid., April 13, 1920.
- ²¹ST, April 30, 1920.
- ²²WEU, May 4, 1920.
- ²³Ibid., May 5, 1920.
- ²⁴Ibid., May 7, 1920. Ringenberg had been a Seattle streetcarman and real estate salesman before being hired as a bookkeeper by WEU.
- ²⁵PCDILA 1920, pp. 6, 21-23, 45, and 64.
- ²⁶Ibid., pp. 21-22.

- ²⁷Ibid., p. 54.
²⁸Ibid, pp. 50-51.
²⁹Ibid., p. 50.
³⁰PI, May 6, 1920.
³¹ILA 1921, p. 387. The report of J. A. Madsen to the 1921 ILA Convention details the split between the two factions within the Seattle union from the "loyalist" point of view. See ILA 1921, pp. 382-388. For the "conservative" perspective, see speech of David Madison in PCDILA 1922, pp. 37-39.
³²PCDILA 1920, p. 387.
³³ILA 1922, p. 37.
³⁴PI, May 6, 1920.
³⁵ST, May 6, 1920.
³⁶PI, May 9, 1920.
³⁷ILA 1921, p. 380.
³⁸Case 143346, Exhibit S. Deposition of Local 38-12 Secretary Harold Graves.
³⁸ST, May 7, 1920
³⁹ILA 1921. pp. 380-1, 387. 391-2.
⁴⁰Ibid., p. 388.
⁴¹ST, May 20, 1920. On July 9, 1920, SUR printed a letter to the editor from A Trucker describing discrimination practices used by the port and employers' hiring hall against ILA dock men.
⁴²Case 143346, Exhibit M.
⁴³ILA 1921, p. 151.
⁴⁴Ibid.
⁴⁵Ibid., p. 388.
⁴⁶Case 143346.
⁴⁷Ibid.
⁴⁸Ibid.
⁴⁹Ibid.
⁵⁰Ibid. Affidavit of Arthur W. Curtis.
⁵¹SUR, June 8, 1920.
⁵²Ibid., June 12, 1920.
⁵³The last mention of the Cooperative is an announcement of a meeting of the membership in SUR, December 6, 1920.

CHAPTER IX DECASUALIZING THE SEATTLE WATERFRONT

- ¹William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity 1914-1932*, pp. 202-203. Hereafter cited as Leuchtenburg.
²David A. Shannon, *Between the Wars: America, 1919-1941*, p. 87. Hereafter cited as Shannon.

- ³*Historical Statistics of the United States. Colonial Times to 1970*, p. 145.
⁴Leuchtenburg, p. 201.
⁵Ibid., p. 193.
⁶Shannon, p. 89.
⁷*New York Times*, October 7, and November 5, 1919.
⁸NWEU, September 23 and 30; October 7, 22, and 28, 1919.
⁹Morris Thorsen Interview.
¹⁰WEU-*Foremen Meeting Minutes*, May 19, 1920.
¹¹Ibid.
¹²WEU, May 28, 1920.
¹³Ibid., June 1, 1920.
¹⁴Ibid., June 4, 1920.
¹⁵*Waterfront Employers Association Minutes*, August 3, 1920. Hereafter cited as WEA.
¹⁶NLB. Testimony of Nick Peris, p. 1646. Testimony of E. L. Ridley, p. 1602. Testimony of William Veaux, p. 1628. Testimony of Thomas Wadum, p. 1596. Testimony of Arthur Whitehead, p. 1575.
¹⁷WEA, August 10, 1920.
¹⁸*Report to Employment Committee by F. P. Foisie*, November 11, 1920.
¹⁹WEA, August 10, 1920. *Resume of Services Performed by the Waterfront Employers of Washington*. n. d.
²⁰WEU, May 28, and June 22, 1920.
²¹Ibid., June 22, and August 10, 1920.
²²PI, November 28, 1920, describes Lamping-longshore relations. For Port of Seattle-WEA relations see Letter from H. D. Fadden, Assistant Traffic Manager, Port of Seattle, to Joseph Weber, November 26, 1920.
²³Frank P. Foisie, *The Gang System of Working Longshoremen*, May 2, 1921.
²⁴Moe, pp. 25 and 29.
²⁵Thompson, pp. 151-172. The quote is from WEU, December 21, 1920, and will be found on page 155 of Ms. Thompson's thesis.
²⁶PI, October 10, 1920.
²⁷*Joint Organization Through Employee Representation. Recommended by the President's Second Industrial Conference*, March 6, 1920. In the *Original Records of Frank P. Foisie*, October 7, 1920-September 18, 1921. See last unnumbered page.
²⁸Lizette Emery Fast, *The Efficiency of Cargo Handling in Relation to the Decasualization of Longshore Labor on the Seattle Waterfront*, pp. 37-38. Hereafter cited as Fast.
²⁹*First Report to Employment Bureau Committee from F. P. Foisie*, October 7, 1920. During World War I, Foisie directed the American Red Cross's Civilian Relief Office in Seattle.
³⁰Ames Box 57, May 15, 1922.
³¹Frank P. Foisie, *Skeleton Outline Method of Hiring*. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "decasualization" first appeared in

1891 in London, England. T. H. Nunn wrote in "Toynbee's Record," "There is being effected a permanent decasualization of labor at the docks. . . . The casual docker [must] lose his work." In 1915 research writer, Charles R. Barnes recommended American decasualization in his book, *The Longshoremen*. See pages 176-178. Locally, the term "decasualization" first appeared in BL 1915-1916, page 210. Noting the long lapse between jobs alternating with extremely long hours at work, Washington Labor Commissioner C. H. Younger recommended that "every effort should be made to decasualize this class of labor." Decasualization was instituted first in London during 1891; Hamburg, Germany in 1906; Liverpool in 1911; Rotterdam in 1916; and Antwerp in 1929. After Seattle decasualized in 1921; Los Angeles followed in 1922; Portland, Oregon in 1922; and Everett in 1923. See *Monthly Labor Review*, Volume XXXI #4, October 1930, pp. 811-830, and November 1930, pp. 1055-1069.

³²Thompson, p. 156.

³³Frank P. Foisie, *Skeleton Outline: Method of Hiring*.

³⁴Letter from Joseph Weber to Members of WEA, November 15, 1920.

³⁵Companies and officers agreeing unconditionally to the three employment committee recommendations:

Albers Brothers	A. J. Olmstead
Alexander & Baldwin	C. B. Warren
Arlington Dock	J. C. Hayden
Balfour, Guthrie	L. G. Pauttullo
Borderline Transportation	J. S. Elliott
Clapp Stevedoring	George F. Thorndyke
W. C. Dawson & Company	W. C. Dawson
Dawson Terminals	A. W. Shipman
Dodwell & Company	W. F. Varnell
East Waterway Dock & Warehouse	George Green
W. R. Grace & Company	R. E. Borchgrevink
International Stevedoring	J. S. Gibson
North Coast Stevedoring	H. H. Birkholm
Parr-McCormick Steamship	O. H. Eisenbeis
Puget Sound Stevedoring	A. R. Stewart
Terminal Stevedoring	Edwin Orrett
Frank Waterhouse	Milt Fisher

³⁶Letter from Assistant General Manager, The Admiral Line, H. C. Cantelow to Joseph Weber, November 30, 1920. Letter from Alaska Steamship Superintendent R. R. Pierson to Joseph Weber, November 19, 1920. Letter from Griffiths & Sprague Manager Joseph Weber to WEU, December 2, 1920. Letter from Port of Seattle Assistant Traffic Manager H. D. Fadden to WEU, November 26, 1920.

³⁷Letter from Alaska Steamship Superintendent R. R. Pierson to Joseph Weber, November 19, 1920. Letter from Assistant General Manager, The Admiral Line, H. C. Cantelow to Joseph Weber, November 30, 1920.

³⁸Letter from H. C. Cantelow to Joseph Weber, November 30, 1920.

³⁹*Bureau Staff-Employment Agents' Minutes*, December 10, 17, and 30, 1920.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, December 17, 1920.

⁴¹Thompson, pp. 155-156.

⁴²*Bureau Staff-Employment Agents' Minutes*, December 30, 1920.

⁴³SCLC, June 30, 1920.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, July 22, 1920.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, August 11 and 18, 1920.

⁴⁶PI, October 1, 1920.

⁴⁷SUR, December 2, 1920. SCLC, December 1 and 8, 1920.

⁴⁸SCLC, December 22, 1920.

⁴⁹PCDILA 1922, p. 39.

⁵⁰*Minutes of the Second Meeting of Employment Committee*, December 17, 1920.

⁵¹WCD1, pp. 3-4. *Final Report of The Temporary Joint Committee Representing Longshoremen and Truckers, and Employers on the Seattle Waterfront*, p. 1.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³SUR, January 22, 1921.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, January 25, 1921. It was to be the last mass meeting of Seattle waterfront workers until May 8, 1934.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, February 5, 1921.

⁵⁸*Constitution of the Joint Organization through Employee Representation of Longshoremen and Truckers, and Waterfront Employers of Seattle*.

⁵⁹*By-laws of the Joint Organization through Employee Representation of Longshoremen and Truckers, and Waterfront Employers of Seattle*.

⁶⁰*The Standard Practice Handbook of the Joint Organization through Employee Representation of Longshoremen and Truckers, and Waterfront Employers of Seattle*.

⁶¹Statement by Arthur Curtis taken from the Minutes of the PCDILA 1921 in ILA 1923, p. 176. Between March and May 1921 most of the Local 38-12 stevedores and truckers working at the Employment Bureau were either cut from the work force or dropped out. Their names do not appear on the first employers' hall registration lists dated May 10, 1921. Local 38-12 Minute Book II and WEA minutes for this time span are missing.

⁶²*Joint Executive Committee Minutes*, March 15, and April 6, 1921. Hereafter cited as JEC.

- ⁶³*Joint Standing Employment Committee Minutes*, March 17, 1921.
- ⁶⁴*Memo from Frank P. Foisie to the Joint Standing Employment Committee*, March 22, 1921.
- ⁶⁵*Joint Employment Committee Minutes*, March 29, 1921. Hereafter cited as JECM.
- ⁶⁶*Ibid.* The membership lists for the twenty gangs assigned to International Stevedoring, Bartlett, Griffith & Sprague, and Seattle & Terminals, as well as Local 38-11, are not available. The seventy-three permanent gangs employed by Admiral Line, Alaska Steamship, Rothschild, Chicago, Milwaukee & St Paul, Alaska Steamship, and the Port of Seattle were not included by the Employment Bureau as part of the decasualization plan.
- ⁶⁷JECM, March 24, 1921.
- ⁶⁸JEC, April 6, 1921.
- ⁶⁹Letter from Frank Foisie to Henry Rothschild, April 18, 1922.
- ⁷⁰JEC, April 6, 1921.
- ⁷¹*Ibid.*, April 6, 1921. Foisie asked E. A. Quigle of International Stevedoring to rehire L. P. Butler. See Letter from F. P. Foisie to E. A. Quigle, April 22, 1921.
- ⁷²JEC, April 6, 1921.
- ⁷³*Ibid.*, May 2, 1921.
- ⁷⁴*Truckers' Meeting Minutes*, April 10, 1921.
- ⁷⁵JECM, April 12, 1921.
- ⁷⁶*Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷*Dock Operators Meeting Minutes*, April 19, 1921.
- ⁷⁸*Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹For casual hiring incidents reported see JEC, November 9, 1923, February 8, 1924, October 30, 1925, June 25, 1926, March 27, 1931, April 24, 1931, May 27, 1932, and December 22, 1932; and JECM, April 12, June 8, July 11, and July 18, 1921.
- ⁸⁰NLB, Testimony of E. L. Ridley, pp. 1604-1605.
- ⁸¹*Board of Directors and Regular General Meeting Minutes of the Northwest Waterfront Employers' Union*, April 20, 1921.
- ⁸²PI, April 17, 1921.
- ⁸³JEC, May 24, 1921.
- ⁸⁴*Ibid.*, June 13, 1921.
- ⁸⁵*Ibid.*, July 7, 1921.
- ⁸⁶*Memorandum: A Change from Surplus to Shortage of Men* from F. P. Foisie to the JEC, September 18, 1921.
- ⁸⁷*Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸*Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Joint Employment Committee*, September 18, 1921.
- ⁸⁹*Minutes of the Waterfront Council*, December 13, 1921.

- ¹PCDILA 1922, p. 39.
- ²JEC, August 4, 1921. The fact that ILA men made up a majority of Employment Bureau workers was acknowledged by K. J. Middleton in a speech advising committeemen that they would soon have to defend joint organization from attacks within the ILA.
- ³ILA 1923, pp. 168-169. Copies of correspondence between the Seattle Central Labor Council with locals 38-12, 38-16, and the ILA District Office, March 14-22, 1921.
- ⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 169-171.
- ⁵*Ibid.*, p. 171.
- ⁶ILA 1923, pp. 171-172. Copy of Letter from Central Labor Council of Seattle to the Officers and Delegates of the Pacific Coast District Convention, April 28, 1921.
- ⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 178-179. Copy of Resolution by S. R. Lines to Pacific Coast District Convention, May 6, 1921.
- ⁸*Ibid.*, p. 177. Copy of Telegram from T. V. O'Connor to M. E. Wright, May 6, 1921.
- ⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 174-177. Extract from the *Minutes of the 1921 Pacific Coast District Convention*.
- ¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.
- ¹¹SCLC, May 25, 1921.
- ¹²SUR, July 28, 1921. SUR printed the Executive Council's transcript of the revocations of the three Seattle locals.
- ¹³ILA 1923, pp. 157.
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 161-163.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 164-167.
- ¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 172-173. O'Grady's estimate of 20 men in Local 38-12 is suspect. On April 22, 1922, Local 38-12 paid per capita to the Central Labor Council and the ILA on 165 members. It is likely that O'Grady did not count 150 Local 38-12 men working for the Port of Seattle.
- ¹⁸PCDILA 1922, p. 37. Address by A. J. Chlopek.
- ¹⁹Walter Freer is the only person to serve as president of both the Seattle (1923-1924) and Tacoma locals (1934).
- ²⁰PCDILA 1923, p. 4.
- ²¹PCDILA 1922, p. 39.
- ²²SCLC, May 3, 1922.
- ²³*Ibid.*, May 17, July 26, August 16, September 6, October 4 and 18, and November 8, 1922. Local 38-12 reported 130 initiations to the Central Labor Council between May 17 and November 8, 1922.
- ²⁴PCDILA 1922, p. 32.
- ²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 39.
- ²⁶JEC, May 19, 1922.

- ²⁷PCDILA 1923, pp. 6-10.
- ²⁸Ibid., June 14, 1922.
- ²⁹Ibid., February 17, 1923.
- ³⁰Ibid., February 24, 1923.
- ³¹Ibid., March 15, 1923.
- ³²Ibid., March 15, and April 5, 1923.
- ³³Ibid., May 11, 1923.
- ³⁴Ibid., August 9, 1923.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶MB3, May 15, 1923.
- ³⁷PCDILA 1923, p. 15.
- ³⁸PCDILA 1924, p. 8.
- ³⁹JEC, September 12, 1923.
- ⁴⁰Letter from Joseph Weber to George Soule, David Madison, and George Kennedy, September 11, 1923.
- ⁴¹JEC, October 12, 1923.
- ⁴²SUR, December 27 and 29, 1923.
- ⁴³JEC, January 11, 1924.
- ⁴⁴TLA, June 8, 1934.
- ⁴⁵Hector Goulet Interview.
- ⁴⁶NLB, Testimony of William H. Meakin, p. 1617.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., Testimony of Arthur Whitehead, p. 1593.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., Testimony of Thomas Wadum, p. 1601.
- ⁴⁹JEC, April 11, May 9, September 12, October 10, and November 28, 1924; January 23, and February 27, 1925.
- ⁵⁰*The Seattle Longshore Log*, July 1924, based the 7 percent figure on state and private insurance records.
- ⁵¹Letter from Commissioner Hamilton Higday to the other members of the Industrial Insurance Commission, January 27, 1913.
- ⁵²PI, February 8, 1916. ST, June 23, 1917.
- ⁵³Robert Duggan suggested the following sources for the Haverty case: *International Stevedoring Co. v. Haverty*, 47 Sup. Ct. 19. *Haverty v. International Stevedoring Co.* (1925) 25 Pac. 360. *Appellants Opening Brief in the Supreme Court of the State of Washington*, p. 22. Grant Gilmore and Charles L. Black, *The Law of Admiralty*, Second Edition, 1975, pp. 278-279, 330-331, 416-455. Richard Haverty Interviews. Haverty started longshoring fulltime in 1920 at the age of twenty-four. In 1922 he joined Local 2 of the Federation of Marine Transport Workers as a charter member. During 1930 Haverty became a member of ILA Local 38-12. International Stevedore refused to hire Haverty for four years after the accident. Richard Haverty memorabilia courtesy of Richard and Miriam Moork.

- ⁵⁴*Memorandum Decision on Motion for Judgment Notwithstanding the Verdict, or New Trial* by Calvin S. Hall, Judge, Superior Court of the State of Washington for King County. *Haverty v. International Stevedoring Co.* (1925) 25 Pac. 360.
- ⁵⁵Ibid. *International Stevedoring Co. v. Haverty*, 272 U. S. 50. Supreme Court decision discussed in *Monthly Labor Review*, Volume XXIII, December 1926, pp. 1227-8.
- ⁵⁶Letter from John B. Andrews to Anthony J. Chlopek, January 4, 1924, and November 19, 1925.
- ⁵⁷Letters from John B. Andrews to F. P. Foisie, August 12, October 19, and November 7, 1925.
- ⁵⁸Letter from F. P. Foisie to John B. Andrews, October 6, 1925.
- ⁵⁹*Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act c. 509*, 44 Stat. 1424.
- ⁶⁰JEC, January 23, 1925. Arkills had been safety engineer for the Pullman Company from 1913 to 1918, and from 1918 to 1924 for the Pacific Coast Steel Company.
- ⁶¹M. E. Arkills, *Accident Prevention Work, Causes, Prevention, and Results* in NWEU, November 29, 1924. A national survey by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission for 1929 indicated that 28 percent of longshore accidents were caused by falling objects, 16 percent while handling objects, 18 percent by moving objects, and 12 percent by falls. See Frank C. Gregory, *How and Why Stevedoring Accidents Happen* in *The Longshoremen's Journal*, Christmas 1930.
- ⁶²*Reports of the Washington State Department of Labor and Industries*, 1921-1931. Hereafter cited as DLI.
- ⁶³Moe, pp. 28-29.
- ⁶⁴DLI, Category 42. 1922, 1925, and 1933.
- ⁶⁵JEC, February 26, 1926.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., March 26, 1926.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., November 25, 1927.
- ⁶⁸JEC, October 26, 1928.
- ⁶⁹*Pacific Coast Marine Safety Code*, 1931 Edition.

CHAPTER XI THE AWAKENING

- ¹ILA 1927, p. 140.
- ²PCDILA 1924, pp. 5-6.
- ³MB2, May 21, 1924.
- ⁴Ibid.
- ⁵Hector Goulet Interview.
- ⁶PCDILA 1924, p. 7.
- ⁷MB2, January 6; March 17, 25, 26, 28; April 3, 7, 14, 17, 21; May 5, 29; and July 13, 1925.
- ⁸ILA 1927, pp. 136-139.

- ⁹Ibid., pp. 136-139.
¹⁰MB2, July 6, 1926.
¹¹ILA 1927, pp. 137-138.
¹²JEC, May 28, 1926.
¹³ILA 1927, p. 138.
¹⁴ILA 1931, pp. 67-70.
¹⁵NLB, Testimony of W. T. Morris, pp. 1738-1740.
¹⁶Ibid., p. 1740.
¹⁷TLA, October 25, 1929.
¹⁸Ames Box 57, February 2, 1925.
¹⁹Ibid., December 31, 1926.
²⁰NWEU, April 18, 1925.
²¹ST, June 18, 1929.
²²Ibid., October 12, 1929.
²³Ibid., October 13, 1929.
²⁴Ibid., October 20, 1929.
²⁵Ibid., October 22, 1929.
²⁶Ibid., October 25, 1929.
²⁷Ibid., October 30 1929.
²⁸Bernstein, *The Lean Years*, p. 254.
²⁹NLB, Testimony of W. T. Morris, pp. 1738-1740.
³⁰Seattle Chamber of Commerce, *The Business Pulse of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest*, April 1930, p. 4.
³¹Moe, pp. 25 and 29.
³²JEC, February 28, March 28, September 26, and December 5, 1930.
³³PCDILA 1931, p. 9.
³⁴MB2, August 21; November 6, 30, December 4, 18, 30, 1930; January 4, 11, 18, 25, February 1, 11, 18, 25, March 5, 9, April 16, 22, 30, 1931.
³⁵PCDILA 1931, p. 4.
³⁶MB3, May 7, 1931.
³⁷JEC, January 31, 1930; March 27, and April 24, 1931.
³⁸Ibid., September 25, 1931.
³⁹Ibid., October 23, 1931.
⁴⁰Anonymous, *This Leaflet Is Worthy of the Best Thought and Consideration of Every Stevedore Docktruckman and Warehouseman in the Port of Seattle*, December 1931.
⁴¹JEC, January 20, 1932.
⁴²WES, January 11, 1932.
⁴³MB3, February 4, and 18, 1932.
⁴⁴JEC, December 15, 1932.
⁴⁵Ibid.
⁴⁶WES, December 12, 1932.
⁴⁷JEC, December 22, 1932.
⁴⁸WES, February 27, 1933.
⁴⁹JEC, May 26, 1933.

- ⁵⁰WES, May 29, 1933.
⁵¹NLB, Testimony of W. T. Morris, pp. 1746-1755.
⁵²Gordon Wiley Interview.
⁵³MB3, September 1, 15, and 26; October 20; November 3 and 17; and December 1 and 15, 1933.
⁵⁴Ibid., January 5 and 18; February 1 and 15; March 1 and 22; and April 5 and 19, 1934. Dewey Bennett, Secretary of Local 38-12 did not record initiations from June through August 1932.
⁵⁵Howard Kimeldorf, *Sources of Working-Class Insurgency: Politics and Longshore Unionism during the 1930s*, pp. 14-15 and 20-21.
⁵⁶Letter from Ed Harris, Secretary, Local 38-3, to Harvey W. Wells, August 23, 1933.
⁵⁷*Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Waterfront Employers of Seattle and the Association of Washington Stevedores*, August 28, 1933. This was the largest assemblage since the last meeting of the Northwest Waterfront Employers on April 18, 1925.
⁵⁸Ibid.
⁵⁹Letter from John C. Bjorklund to Matt Meehan, July 18, 1933.
⁶⁰MB3, July 21, 1933.
⁶¹Ottillie Markholt, *The New Deal on the Waterfront*, pp. 10-11.
⁶²NLB, Testimony of W. T. Morris, pp. 1750-1755.
⁶³*New York Times*, November 1, 1933.
⁶⁴WES, November 13, 1933.
⁶⁵JEC, November 15, 1933.
⁶⁶*Memorandum from Boris Stern to William H. Davis, Administrator of the Shipping Code*, November 10, 1933.
⁶⁷MB3, November 17, 1933.
⁶⁸TLA, November 24 and December 1, 1933.
⁶⁹MB3, February 1, 1933.
⁷⁰PCDILA 1934, p. 87.
⁷¹Ibid., pp. 119-120.
⁷²Letter from J. C. Bjorklund to All Affiliated Locals, March 19, 1934.
⁷³*Report of Henry F. Grady, C. A. Reynolds, and J. L. Leonard to President Franklin D. Roosevelt*, April 25, 1934, pp. 1-3, in FDR File 716.
⁷⁴Paul Eliel, *The Waterfront and General Strikes San Francisco*, 1934, p. 8. During 1934, Eliel was director of the industrial relations department of the Industrial Association of San Francisco. Hereafter cited as Eliel.
⁷⁵Letter from William Lewis to All Pacific Coast Locals, April 11, 1934.
⁷⁶MB3, April 10, 1934.
⁷⁷Telegram from J. C. Bjorklund to Joseph P. Ryan, May 4, 1934. In the Seattle election the ILA received 952 votes and the company unions 352.
⁷⁸*Statement issued by President's Special Board on Longshoremen's Strike*, May 28, 1934, in FDR File 716. Hereafter cited as PSB.
⁷⁹Letter from J. C. Bjorklund to All Affiliated Locals, April 30, 1934.
⁸⁰Dewey Duggan and Gordon S. Wylie Interviews.

CHAPTER XII THE GREAT MARITIME STRIKE OF 1934

¹*Oakland Tribune*, May 21, 1934. Cited by Eliel, p. 27.

²*Seattle Star*, May 9, 1934. Hereafter cited as SS. PI, May 9, 1934. ST, May 9, 1934. *Tacoma News Tribune*, May 9, 1934. Hereafter cited as TNT.

³Schwartz, p. 87.

⁴Peterson, p. 21.

⁵Bernstein, *The Turbulent Years*, pp. 217-317. Hereafter cited as Bernstein 2.

⁶Shaun Maloney and T. A. Thronson Interviews. Maloney served on the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster Executive Strike Committee, and Thronson was elected to the 1934 Joint Northwest Strike Committee. Maloney and Thronson recalled that strikers placed little credence in the newspaper accounts.

⁷MB3, April 26, 1934. Local 38-12 elected Pete Erickson chairman of the strike executive committee. Other members included: William S. Burns, Thomas Carsley, Robert Collins, William Craft, Shelvy Daffron, Hugh Drew, William Ezard, John Fallbom, John Karlock, Leslie Kerrigan, Joseph Marshall, Chris Martin, Frank Miller, Thomas Mitchell, Ed Morton, Harry Olson, Nick Peris, John Shannon, Emil Swanson, Louis Taggart, William Veaux, Tom Wadum, Frank Whepley and Arthur Whitehead. Only William Veaux and Arthur Whitehead had participated in the 1916 strike.

⁸Dewey Duggan Interview.

⁹Burt Nelson Interview.

¹⁰Earley Douglas and Hector Goulet Interviews. There are no entries in the Local 38-12 minute book from May 4 through July 31, 1934. The activities of Local-38-12 discussed in this chapter are based primarily on the reports of Seattle delegates to the Joint Northwest Strike Committee, interviews with participants, and newspaper accounts.

¹¹SCLC, May 9, 1934.

¹²ST, May 11, 1934. Seattle Teamsters worked the docks from May 10 through 14, but boycotted dock merchandise from May 15 until the strike ended.

¹³WES, May 8, 1934. The following members signed attendance sheets on May 8, 1934:

M. A. Shook	Alaska Steamship
A. F. Haines	American-Hawaiian Steamship
R. C. Fraser	American Mail Lines
C. W. Eshon	Balfour Guthrie
H. W. Burchard	Blue Star Lines
K. J. Middleton	Burchard & Fiskien
G. Bildsoe	East Asiatic
P. R. Selbach	Fruit Express Lines
R. K. Brown Jr.	General Steamship

D. R. Girdwood
W. D. Vanderbilt
S. A. Griffiths
W. S. Barr
S. G. Huson
C. B. Warren
E. C. Bentzen
L. B. Fitch
K. Sawai
Norton Lilly
C. Stroud
J. Mahoney
C. A. Finger
F. E. Lovejoy
R. Pinneo
J. Allsop
J. F. Cornell
W. A. Strange
M. C. Robinson
J. H. Farmer
Joseph Weber
C. Tait
J. M. Mitchell
D. D. Ballard
R. C. Clapp

E. A. Quigle
H. A. Armstrong
A. H. Green
G. W. Albin
C. C. Querin
W. F. Varnell
H. W. Hall
J. O'Neil
W. D. Gould
A. J. Bacon

Brothers Milling
Yamashita Shipping, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, and Canadian Pacific remitted checks to the strike fund on May 10, but did not join the Waterfront Employers of Seattle.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, May 9, 1934.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, October 16, 1934

¹⁶*Ibid.*, June 15, 1934. The finance committee recommended, and the membership approved, a new dues structure for the duration of the strike. Steamship companies would be assessed 20 cents per ton of

Girdwood Steamship
W. R. Grace
James Griffiths & Sons
Interocean Steamship
Luckenbach Steamship
Matson Navigation
McCormick Steamship
Nelson Steamship
Nippon Yusen Kaisha
H. P. Lilly
Pacific Steamship
Panama Pacific Steamship
Powell Shipping
Puget Sound Freight Lines
Quaker Line
Royal Mail Lines
Shepard Steamship
Strange & Company
Swain & Hoyt
Brady & Hamilton Stevedoring
Griffiths & Sprague
International Stevedoring
Pacific Lighterage
Puget Sound Stevedoring
Rothschild Stevedoring
and Seaboard Stevedoring
Washington Stevedoring
Western Stevedoring
Ainsworth & Dunn Dock
Ames Terminal
Arlington Dock
Dodwell Dock & Warehouse
East Waterway Dock
Great Northern Docks
Matson Terminals
Salmon Terminals and Albers

general cargo, 10 cents per ton for bulk cargo, and 15 cents per thousand on lumber. Dock and stevedoring companies had to pay 10 percent of their payroll, straight time. On October 1, 1934, WES paid \$7,500 as its part of the \$40,000 coastwide legal fee for services rendered in San Francisco for negotiations and representation at the National Longshoremen's Board hearings. See WES, October 1, 1934. On April 22, 1935, W. D. Vanderbilt of Grace & Company reported at a WES meeting that the 1934 strike had cost shipping companies \$60,000 in Seattle, \$122,000 at Portland, \$563,000 in San Francisco, and \$862,000 in Los Angeles. Unfortunately, the financial records of Local 38-12 for this era have not been found.

¹⁶WES, May 16, 1934. Dawson retired from his waterfront business ventures in 1932. He continued to serve as secretary-treasurer of the Waterfront Employers of Seattle until 1937. He was WES president-treasurer from 1938 through February 1941. In 1933 Dawson was elected State Senator from the 27th district where he served until his death in 1942.

¹⁷Harry Evans, *Employers Treat Machines Better Than Workmen*. in SS, May 23, 1934.

¹⁸WES, May 23, 1934.

¹⁹Harry Evans, *Average Pay of Longshore Worker Low*, in SS, May 24, 1934.

²⁰WES Press Release, *The Facts About the Strike of the Seattle Longshoremen*, in ST, May 22, 1934

²¹PI, May 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1934. ST, May 15, 16, 17, 23, and 24, 1934. SS printed plant closures on May 23, 28, and June 5, 1934.

²²MD, May 12, 26, and July 7, 1934. RMN, June 1934.

²³*Town Crier*, May 19, and July 15, 1934.

²⁴SS, May 23, 1934.

²⁵The *Daily* quote is cited by SS, May 11, 1934.

²⁶*Voice of Action*, May 15, 1934. Hereafter cited as VA.

²⁷SS, May 11, 1934.

²⁸*Ibid.*, May 14, 1934. On May 24, 1934, Local 38-12 Secretary Dewey Bennett told ST "We have no Communists in our ranks. We are a branch of the American Federation of Labor, and it would be a violation of the Federation's constitution to permit Communists in our unions." On June 29, 1934, "outside elements" angered the Joint Northwest Strike Committee. Seattle delegate Louis Taggart introduced a motion which was adopted "to oppose any and all demonstrations unless approved by our organization." See *Joint Northwest Strike Committee Minutes*, June 29, 1934. Hereafter cited as JNSC. JNSC minutes are courtesy of Otilie Markholt.

²⁹T. A. Thronson Interview.

³⁰*Diary of Everett Longshoreman Bert Farmer*, entry for May 12, 1934.

³¹Hector Goulet, John Mahoney, Waino Moisio, Victor Olsen, and T. A. Thronson Interviews.

³²Gordon S. Wiley Interview.

³³WES, May 12, 1934.

³⁴*Ibid.*, May 14, 1934.

³⁵*Ibid.*, May 15, 1934. Seattle waterfront employers who met with Governor Martin on the morning of May 15 were W. S. Barr, K. J. Middleton, W. D. Vanderbilt, and T. B. Wilson. At the request of Barr, attorney A. J. Schweppe accompanied the delegation. Tacomans present included John Prins and T. A. Stevenson from the chamber of commerce, Lee F. Dowd of Defiance Lumber Company, and Sam Stocking, president of the Waterfront Employers of Tacoma.

³⁶For employer reaction to the meeting see WES, May 15, 1934. For labor see TLA, May 18, 1934. Labor leaders at the afternoon conference with Governor Martin included James Taylor of the State Federation of Labor, Teamster Dave Beck, Secretary of the Tacoma Central Labor Council Harry McIlvaigh, Paddy Morris and George Smith representing Tacoma longshoremen, and two each from Aberdeen and Olympia ILA locals. Martin specifically invited Seattle Local 38-12 to attend, but the membership voted not to participate.

³⁷WES, May 15, 1934.

³⁸*Ibid.*, May 17, 1934. Letter from E. A. Quigle to Frank P. Foisie attached to minutes.

³⁹Roger Buchanan, *Dock Strike*, pp. 74-75. Hereafter cited as Buchanan.

⁴⁰For diametrically opposite analyses of the strike in San Francisco compare Eliel with Mike Quin, *The Big Strike*.

⁴¹Eliel, pp. 16-17.

⁴²*Minutes of a Special Plenary Session of the Waterfront Employers of Seattle*, May 18, 1934.

⁴³PSB, p. 6.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁵Telegram from F. A. Foisie to E. A. Quigle, president of WES, May 28, 1934.

⁴⁶ST, May 29, 1934.

⁴⁷TLA, June 1, 1934.

⁴⁸ST, May 31, 1934.

⁴⁹TNT, May 30, 1934.

⁵⁰Hector Goulet Interview.

⁵¹ST, May 20, 1934.

⁵²*Ibid.*, May 23, 1934.

⁵³JNSC, May 24, 1934. The Joint Northwest Strike Committee included delegates from Aberdeen, Anacortes, Astoria, Bellingham, Everett, Longview, Olympia, Port Angeles, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Port Townsend, Portland, Raymond, Seattle, Tacoma, and Vancouver, Washington.

- ⁵⁴Ibid., May 25-26, 1934.
⁵⁵Ibid., May 29, 1934.
⁵⁶Ibid., June 5, 1934.
⁵⁷Ibid., June 7, 1934.
⁵⁸Ibid., June 9, 1934. A copy of the June 8, 1934, Alaska Agreement is attached to the June 9, 1934, JNSC minutes.
⁵⁹The WES statement concerning the Alaska Agreement is cited by Eliel, p. 52. Eliel's source was the June 10, 1934, *Los Angeles Times*. Seattle daily newspapers did not print this WES press release. Charles L. Smith began his tenure as Mayor of Seattle on June 4, 1934.
⁶⁰TNT, June 12, 1934.
⁶¹Ibid., June 13, 1934.
⁶²JNSC, June 12, 1934.
⁶³WES, June 13, 1934.
⁶⁴JNSC, June 19, 1934.
⁶⁵WES, June 13, 1934.
⁶⁶JNSC, June 14, 1934.
⁶⁷SS, June 15, 1934.
⁶⁸A copy of the June 16, 1934, San Francisco agreement is attached to the June 15, 1934, WES minutes.
⁶⁹ST, June 17, 1934.
⁷⁰WES, June 17, 1934 at 3:00 p.m.
⁷¹ST, June 18, 1934.

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- ¹ST, July 5, 1934.
²*San Francisco Joint Marine Strike Committee Minutes*, June 19, 1934. Hereafter cited as JMSC. The San Francisco Joint Marine Strike Committee Minutes are courtesy of Otilie Markholt.
³Eliel, p. 82.
⁴Ibid., p. 83. Eliel cites the San Francisco *Examiner*, June 19, 1934, as his source for the June 19 meeting. As early as June 15, the Seattle Communist Party had called for a general strike of all unions in favor of waterfront workers and seamen. See the *Voice of Action*, June 15, 1934.
⁵Eliel, pp. 85-86.
⁶*Report of the National Longshoremen's Board*, February 8, 1935, p. 1. in FDR File 716.
⁷ST, June 20, 1934. Before a regular meeting during 1935, Local 38-12 gave ex-Chief Howard a gold watch in gratitude for his support during the 1934 strike. The event went unrecorded in Local 38-12's minutes. See the transcript of Monrad Dyroen's interview.
⁸Victor Olsen Interview, Tacoma flying squad lieutenant, Olsen was present at the Milwaukee Dock. For the newspaper account see TNT, June 20, 1934.

- ⁹ST, June 20, 1934.
¹⁰SCLC, June 20, 1934.
¹¹Ibid., June 27, 1934.
¹²VA, June 15, and 29; July 6, 13, and 20, 1934.
¹³Waino Moisio Interview.
¹⁴JNSC, June 21, 1934.
¹⁵ST, June 21, 1934.
¹⁶JNSC, June 21, 1934.
¹⁷ST, June 26, 1934.
¹⁸Ibid., June 24, 1934.
¹⁹Ibid., June 29, 1934.
²⁰Ibid., June 24, 25, 26, and 27, 1934.
²¹Ibid., June 28, 1934.
²²Ibid., June 29, 1934.
²³JNSC, June 30, 1934.
²⁴ST, July 5, 1934. On July 6, a Snohomish County coroner's jury declared, "We the jury empanelled and sworn by coroner L. S. Challacombe to inquire into the death of Shelby S. Daffron find as follows: That Shelby S. Daffron came to his death by the following means: By gunshot wound, and that such death was done by criminal means." See County Coroner Report on the Inquest into the Death of Shelvy S. Daffron. Two days after the inquest Standard Oil Company lawyers Weldon Baltano and O. D. Anderson obtained a writ of habeas corpus freeing W. C. Douglas, who had been charged with shooting Daffron. See Snohomish County Court Case #32776. Douglas was never tried.
²⁵Phil Poth Interview.
²⁶ST, July 3 and 4, 1934.
²⁷JNSC, July 5, 1934.
²⁸T. A. Thronson Interview.
²⁹TNT, July 17, 1934.
³⁰J. C. Bjorklund Files, *Plan to Create a District Strike Fund*, undated.
³¹ST, July 6, 1934.
³²Ibid., July 8, 1934. A copy of the straw ballot is appended to the July 6, 1934, minutes of the Joint Northwest Strike Committee.
³³ST, July 10, 1934.
³⁴JNSC, July 20, 1934. Bjorklund's appeal letter was dated July 6, 1934.
³⁵Eliel, p. 108.
³⁶Bernstein 2, p. 272.
³⁷Donald Mackensie Brown, *Dividends and Stevedores*, in *Scribner's Magazine*, January 1935, p. 55. An eyewitness account suggested by Otilie Markholt.
³⁸Eliel, p. 127.
³⁹Copies of Plant's correspondence with NLB on July 11, 12, and 13, 1934, are in the files of Waterfront Employers of Seattle.

⁴⁰JMSC, July 15, 1934.

⁴¹Eliel, pp. 145-167.

⁴²ST, July 8, 1934.

⁴³Ibid., July 10, 1934.

⁴⁴JNSC, July 9, 1934.

⁴⁵Rosco Craycraft Interview.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷ST, July 14, 1934.

⁴⁸Buchanan, pp. 78-80.

⁴⁹SCLC, June 20, 27, and July 18, 1934.

⁵⁰ST, July 9, 1934. As a laundry truck driver during the 1919 Seattle General Strike, Dave Beck learned a lesson: "No union is ever going to win a general strike." See the transcript of Dave Beck Interview.

⁵¹ST, July 16, 1934.

⁵²Ibid., July 17, 1934.

⁵³Ibid., July 19, 1934.

⁵⁴VA, July 20, 1934.

⁵⁵Ibid., July 27, 1934.

⁵⁶ST, July 20, 1934. Dewey Duggan, Monrad Dyroen, Waino Moisio, Burt Nelson, and Gordon Wiley Interviews. Olaf Helland died in the hospital on August 6, 1934.

⁵⁷Eliel, p. 173.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 173.

⁵⁹TNT, July 26, 1934.

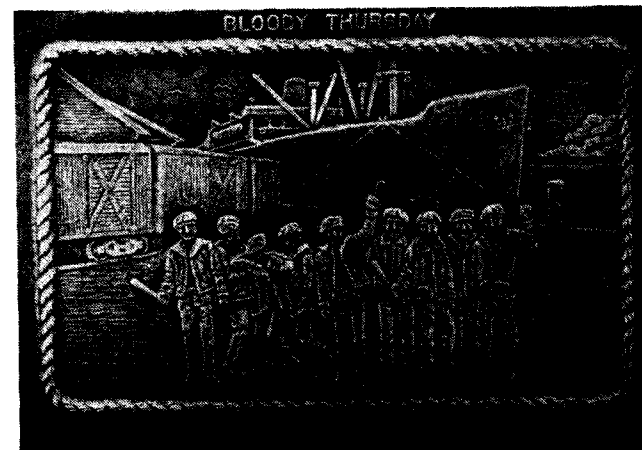
⁶⁰*Letter from Waterfront Employers of Seattle and Puget Sound to the Longshoremen of Seattle and Puget Sound*, July 27, 1934.

⁶¹*National Longshoremen's Board. Arbitration Award in the Matter of the Arbitration between Pacific Coast Local 38 of the International Longshoremen's Association, Acting on Behalf of the Various Locals Whose Members Perform Longshore Labor and Waterfront Employers of Seattle, Waterfront Employers of Portland, Waterfront Employers' Union of San Francisco and Marine Service Bureau of Los Angeles*, pp. 4-5. Hereafter cited as NLB Award.

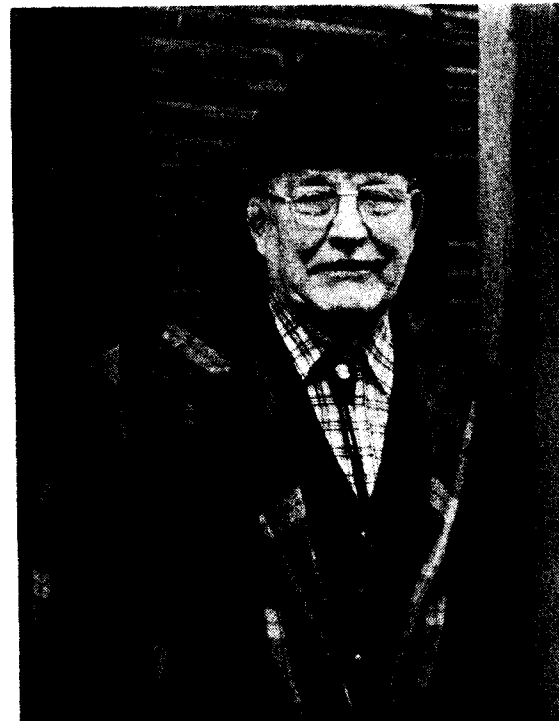
⁶²NLB Award, pp. 3, 6, and 7.

⁶³John Mahoney Interview.

⁶⁴NLB Award, p. 9.



*Bloody Thursday plaque created by Ronald Gustin
Photo by Gayle Rieber*



*Waino Moisio, the Train Stopper
Photo by Gayle Rieber*



Veterans of the Battle of Smith Cove (From left to right): John Mahoney, Dewey Duggan, Burt Nelson, Gordon Fox, Hector Goulet, Ivan Stevens, Orie Schwartz, Earley Douglas, Richard Haverty.

Photo by Gayle Rieber



Pensioners at Smith Cove (From left to right): Richard Haverty, John Mahoney, Dewey Duggan, Cliff Vinje, Chester Crutney, Gus Rystad, Wilfred Fairbanks, Leo Gacek, Lawrence Prong, Earley Douglas, Ed Hepokowski, Orie Schwartz, Lee Anderson, Richard Moork, Burt Nelson, Robert Swanson, Warren Monie, Monrad Dyroen, Del Castle, Hector Goulet, Buzz LeMay, Gordon Fox, Ivan Stevens.

Photo by Gayle Rieber



ILWU Local 19 Pensioners (From left to right standing): Orie Schwartz, Earley Douglas, Gordon Fox, Norm Wivart, Lee Anderson, Gus Rystad, Leo Gacek, Ivan Stevens, Mike Dyroen. (From left to right seated): Ed Hepokowski, Albin Peterson, Virgil Bauman, Waino Moisio, Cliff Vinje, Jack, Cordrary, Hector Goulet, Ray Fox, Buzz LeMay, Ed Hopper.

Photo by Gayle Rieber, 1989



ILWU Ladies Auxiliary 3 (From left to right top row): Amy Williams, Thelma Fairbanks, Mabel Ellingsen, Joan Fox, Glorice Wilbert, Christine Williams, Miriam Moork, Vickie Dean, Teri Cunningham. (From left to right second row): Clara Gould, Tora Rystad, Minerva Henderson, Laura Botler, Lea Vigil, Margie Duggan, Elsie Johnson, Ann Heath, Ann Ellison, Mable Strand, Fritz Dyroen. (From left to right third row seated): Carrie Monie, Minurva Anderson, Jean Ostrus, Lillian Bywater, Renee Jenkins, Hellen Nelson, Abby Allen, Pearl Castle, Ester Moisio.

Photo by Gayle Rieber