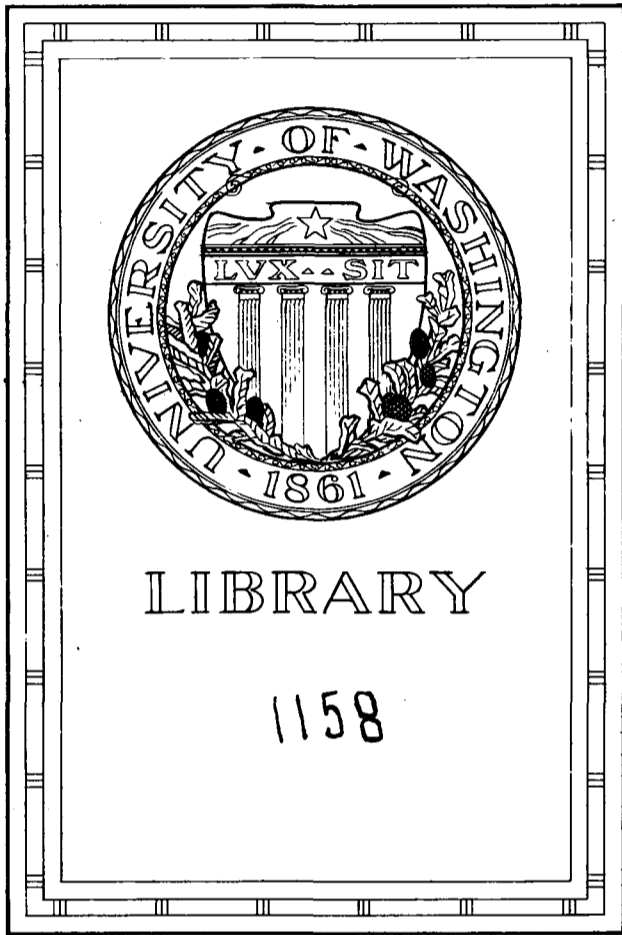


MELVIN GARDNER DE SHAZO
RADICAL TENDENCIES IN THE SEATTLE
LABOR MOVEMENT AS REFLECTED
IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF ITS
CENTRAL BODY



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RADICAL TENDENCIES IN THE SEATTLE LABOR MOVEMENT
AS REFLECTED IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF
ITS CENTRAL BODY

by

MELVIN GARDNER DE SHAZO

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PREFACE

The city of Seattle has long been recognized as a stronghold of organized labor; but since the occurrence of the general strike in February 1919 it has acquired the less savory reputation of being a hot-bed of radicalism, bolshevism and anarchism. This notoriety may be imputed to the colorful tales of impressionistic observers and to the machinations of those individuals and organizations whose economic interests, fear, or malice leads them to thwart and discredit organized labor at every opportunity. Not that there is no truth in the allegations but the truth is so mixed with fiction, the facts so clouded by emotion, that to the unwary reader or the uninformed listener, an utterly false picture is presented.

The following quotation is given as an illustration of the type of malicious newspaper propaganda by which the Seattle Trade Unions were reviled in the eyes of the nation. This opprobrious slander was printed under the caption, "Spectacle of a City Committing Industrial Suicide."¹ It reads in part:

"Seattle today is overrun by red-flag agitators in the guise of 'labor leaders'. This is the attitude of the renegades the business men of this city have coddled, hesitated 'to irritate', and sided in spread-

1. Edwin Selvin, "Business Chronicle", Jan. 25, 1919.
Reprint in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Jan. 28, 1919.

ing their corroding propaganda by supporting with advertising the anarchistic Daily Union Record, without which Bolshevism would not now be in the saddle in Seattle....

"So we have the Seattle of today--a once proud city brought to the brink of industrial ruin; the Seattle that has come to be known throughout the length and breadth of the land as a hotbed of sedition, branded by the Department of Justice as one of the two cities that constitute the danger points of revolutionary Bolshevik propaganda; the Seattle that is feared alike by Capital seeking investment and the better class of American workmen seeking to live in a peaceful and law-abiding atmosphere; the Seattle that has gained the unenviable notoriety of being the most labor union tyrannized city in America...."

Possibly no other individual has done more to disparage the organized trade union movement in Seattle than the man whom labor elected to the mayoralty, Ole Hanson. Intoxicated by the self-induced vision of himself as the stern conqueror in an incipient "revolution" the former mayor printed a dramatic picture of the strike with which he garnished the mythical exploits which formed the basis of his triumphal tour of the nation. "I issued a proclamation that all life and property would be protected; that all business should go on as usual. And this morning our municipal street cars, light, power plants, water, etc., were running full blast. There was an attempted revolution. It never got to first base.¹" Such were the grandiose accounts of the general strike which Ole Hanson broadcasted to the nation.

We are of course not concerned with personal opinions except in so far as they set up reactions which are prejudiced against the common welfare. The history of labor organizations is replete with instances wherein the power and

effectiveness of unions has been weakened by insidious propaganda having but a partial basis in fact. The labor movement in the Northwest has a special interest in that it has been the center of revolutionary propaganda on the part of the I.W.W. The problem of the extent to which radicalism has permeated the Seattle trade union organizations, the economic and social conditions that have given rise to these tendencies, the aims and aspirations of the unions so affected--these are the questions which gave rise to the present paper.

Radicalism in the Seattle Trade Unions is intimately bound up with the peculiar economic situation in which the city is placed. The metropolis of the Northwest, the greatest industrial center of the state, and the natural gateway to Alaska--this city is a natural lodestone for the idle population of the surrounding territory. The significance of this circumstance is enhanced by the fact that Seattle is the industrial center of a state which is characterized by four fundamental industries each of which may be characterized as seasonal. Mining, agriculture, fishing, logging and lumbering--these industries necessitate a large supply of workers only during a limited season of the year. The worker who engages in them is forced to remain idle a good part of the time. These temporarily idle men, the "casual" workers, drift into the centers of industrial activity that they may maintain themselves through the winter months. Seattle, by virtue of its size, and its position, and its industries, attracts an undue proportion of these unemployed. The problem of unemployment is rendered more difficult by virtue of the fact that all four basic industries of the state exercise their demand for labor

at about the same time.

The presence of great numbers of these unemployed together with a goodly number of idle men who are awaiting the spring opening of Alaska's fisheries and mines necessitates a strong organization on the part of union labor. The realization of the menace to union organization and to wage scales involved in this seasonal competition of semi-skilled and unskilled "casuals" has acted as an abiding stimulus to the development of a form of organization that would mitigate this danger from the unemployed. Single craft unions were quickly found to be unequal to the task; and a combination of craft unions along industrial lines was early appreciated. This is the system of "craft industrialism" which is best exemplified in the Metal Trades, and also underlies the plan submitted by James Duncan for the reorganization of the A.F. of L. In order that harmony may exist between the separate crafts within the industrial organization the "blanket agreement" which covers all the crafts within the same industry is negotiated.

The second type of industrial union that might meet this exigency is the "One Big Union" for which the I.W.W. agitate so vigorously. That the I.W.W. have had a great deal of influence in the promulgation of this idea is beyond question. But the "One Big Union" is not to be regarded as a patented I.W.W. invention. This plan of organization was adopted by the Longshoremen when the Truckers, Checkers and Longshoremen amalgamated in 1919. The State of Washington, since the organization of the I.W.W. has constituted the battlefield for their revolutionary agitations. "Long hours, low wages,

unsanitary camps, lack of family life, absence of community life, unsatisfactory relationships with foremen and superintendents"¹ are potent arguments that "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common....Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."² The strength of the I.W.W. in Washington's "key" industry--lumbering--is evidenced in the following: "Most of the time during the past 15 years the I.W.W. has been stronger than the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and it has been impossible to develop any policy in agreement with the I.W.W., as it refuses absolutely to sign agreements. The I.W.W. does not bargain collectively--it collectively takes all it can get and gives as little as possible."³ To conclude that this philosophy has characterized trade union policy in the Northwest would be a gross error; that it has influenced and modified that movement not directly but indirectly the history of the Seattle C.L.C. would seem to indicate.

In this paper an attempt is made to trace the spirit of the Seattle Labor movement as evidenced in the activities of its Central Labor Council. The author cherishes no illu-

1. Ogburn, U. of W. Forest Club annual, 1918 pp. 11-14. Quoted from U.S. Dept. of Labor Bulletin No. 349, Bureau of Labor Statistics p. 39. "Industrial Relations in West Coast Lumber Industry."
2. I.W.W. Preamble.
3. Ibid p. 11.

sions as to the comprehensiveness of such an undertaking. Organized labor constitutes but a small percentage of the whole labor movement and indeed the Central Labor Council does not entirely represent even the former. To grasp the spirit of the Seattle labor movement, it would be necessary not only to study the particular economic problems which gave rise to the different unions together with the vicissitudes of their birth and growth but also to analyse the related movements which reflect somewhat similar needs in other fields and which have affected the methods, aims and aspirations of organized labor itself. Among these we may note the colonizing movement, the growth of socialism and communism, the rise of the Farmer's Grange and the Non-Partisan League, the co-operative movement both within and without organized labor's ranks, the State Federation of Labor, the I.W.W. and the Four-L's,

This more valuable and comprehensive analysis must be postponed for lack of time and available means and the present work restricted to an admittedly narrow and therefore inconclusive study of the attitudes of organized labor in Seattle as reflected in the proceedings of its central body.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I The Western Central Labor Union. 1888 - 1905.....	1
II The Growth of Radicalism in the Central Labor Council. 1905 - 1919.....	19
III The Seattle General Strike. February 6 - 11, 1919.....	41
IV The Decadence of Radicalism in the Central Labor Council. 1919 - 1925.....	62
Conclusion.....	99
Bibliography.....	104

RADICAL TENDENCIES IN THE SEATTLE LABOR MOVEMENT
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CHAPTER I

THE WESTERN CENTRAL LABOR UNION¹

Seattle's first central union body was conceived in the mind of an idealistic socialist and born in a spirit of brotherhood that approached very closely to class-consciousness.² Since its inception in 1888, the history of this central organization, the Western Central Labor Union (W.C.L.U.)--immediate predecessor to the Seattle Central Labor Council (C.L.C.)--has reflected in great measure the history of the organized labor movement in this city. That socialistic class-consciousness

1. The minutes of the W.C.L.U. are available only since 1892. Most of this early material on that organization is taken from a "History of Organized Labor in Seattle" written by W.H.Middleton in the "Labor Day Annual" (published by the Union Record) of 1912. Mr. Middleton was closely identified with the movement. He served as a delegate from the Bricklayers' Union; and, as Secretary of the W.C.L.U., he was elected eighteen times without opposition. In 1902, having lost an arm, he realized he could no longer work at his trade; and, as opposition to him in the impending election was brewing, he declined to run and retired from the labor movement.
2. In 1886, labor had been aroused to violent opposition by the importation, at the behest of the Great Northern Railroad, of Chinese laborers. Labor conditions were not good. The situation culminated in the "Chinese Riot" in which the incensed workers attempted to drive the Orientals from the city. Martial law was established and feeling was tense. As the city election became imminent, the contest of the pro-Chinese and the anti-Chinese factions was carried over into the political field.

which in the person of the Knights of Labor acted as god-mother for the new movement was soon to be renounced, almost, we might say, along with its swaddling clothes. The absence of hereditary class barriers and the presence of undeveloped natural resources in the United States have stimulated a personal aggressiveness and emphasized an individualism which have rendered the American labor movement comparatively free of any lasting class-consciousness. This state of militant unity has been induced in any considerable body of American workmen only under conditions of bitter oppression and then but for the period of persecution.¹

Following upon the organization of the Western Central Labor Union, the cause of unionism received a decided impetus in the period of unexpected prosperity which succeeded the Seattle Fire of 1889. This short three years of business activity revealed to the local unions an economic power which they were eager to use in their own behalf. The principle of political, class-conscious action propounded by the Knights of Labor gave place to the philosophy of job-conscious, economic

The pro-Chinese faction sought to raise martial law that they might control the election machinery; but they were thwarted by the intervention of President Cleveland who countermanded the order. The election was held under the protection of U.S. troops and the "People's Anti-Chinese and Labor Party" triumphed.
W.H. Middleton: History of Organized Labor in Seattle.

1. The avowed policy of the I.W.W. to agitate for a strike even when such a weapon is fore-doomed to failure, the insistence with which they preach and practice sabotage, the avidity with which they welcome martyrdom in their struggle to awaken and maintain a class-consciousness in the ranks of American labor, is a fitting testimonial to this fact.

bargaining characteristic of business unionism. But the reaction was not long in coming. As the boom of construction incidental to the rebuilding of a city gave place to a business depression that culminated in the panic of 1896, the new unions found themselves first losing ground and finally fighting for their very existence. This was a period of great unemployment and much misery--the period that produced the famous "Coxey's Army." That labor's loss of power and the disintegration which sundered its organizations resulted from a lack of a unifying idealism, a spirit of militant class-consciousness, as some believed,¹ is not certain, although there is no doubt that the absence of these qualities augmented the catastrophic effects of the depression. The Western Central Labor Union maintained a nominal existence from 1894 to 1898; but after the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1897, business activity was resumed and in its wake organized labor became once more a power in the community. Organized labor retained its conservative, wage-raising philosophy. To unite legally that which was already united in spirit, the Western Central Labor Union in the spring of 1902 became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor,² and in 1905 suffered reorganization, that a closer co-operation between its associated locals might be possible.³ Thenceforth

1. Interview with P.K.Mohr, who was a delegate from the Bakers' Union to the W.C.L.U. at this time. He was a Knight of Labor, active in the Populist movement, and joined Coxey's Army. Since 1904 he has been continuously associated with the Bakers' Union and acted as a delegate to the C.L.C. until unseated along with the Communists in 1925.
2. The Charter was issued to the W.C.L.U. on Mar.14,1902.
3. Minutes of the W.C.L.U., Mar.26, 1902.

it was to be known as the Seattle Central Labor Council.

Otto F. Wegener¹ organized the Western Central Labor Union in April, 1888. By profession a civil engineer, Mr. Wegener was an idealist and a Socialist, a man of considerable influence in Seattle at that time. He had led the fight against the Chinese two years previous and it was due to his telegram to the President that the order raising martial law was countermanded and the election won for the labor group. During this period, organization among the workers was proceeding with cumulative force. The Cigarmakers', Typographical, and Iron Moulders' locals had been chartered by their respective internationals. Other crafts without internationals were organized in Knights of Labor Assemblies, still others in independent bodies. The W.C.L.U. was built around the three strong organizations mentioned above but it represented through delegates practically every trade and labor union and Knights of Labor assembly in Seattle and King County, even including the miners of Renton, Cedar Mountain and Newcastle. The new central body was dominated at this time by the philosophy of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor which in 1887-8 had reached the height of its phenomenal rise to power.² The prevalence of this philosophy in the W.C.L.U. resulted in part from the reaction of labor to the Oriental and in part from the actual

1. Mr. Wegener served as President of the W.C.L.U. during the first fifteen months of its life.

2. P. Brissenden: History of the I.W.W. pp.30-31.

strength of the Knights at that time.¹ This philosophy has been likened to that of the I.W.W. It insisted upon the identity of interests of all laborers and therefore aimed to include all productive workers within one organization, from the membership in which it would bar only the "lawyer, banker, professional gambler, or stock broker." Its declared ideal was the abolition of the wage system; and although it disparaged all use of violence or force, it embraced in actual practice, the doctrine of sabotage. The characteristic motto of the Knights, "An injury to one is the concern of all", is not unfamiliar to those acquainted with the I.W.W.²

But the decision of Seattle to rebuild after the disastrous fire of June 6, 1889, brought about a labor situation which served to belie the assumption of the K. of L. that the interests of all wage workers are essentially identical. Among the economic powers in the Community, organized labor suddenly attained a position in the front rank. The building trades achieved a strength not again equalled for over twenty-two years. At the same time a growing demand for coal in California gave added strength to the Miners' and the sailors' organizations. With the growth of prosperity and the opportunity for craft advantage through economic pressure the emphasis shifted from the uplift unionism of the Knights to the business unionism more characteristic of the A.F. of L. The growth of labor's bargaining power weakened its sympathy with

1. During this period there were from thirty to forty K. of L. Assemblies in Seattle.--W.H.Middleton, op.cit.
 2. Brissenden, op.cit. pp.31-34.

the plea of the Knights for political action. Individual craft advantage easily superseded the appeal of an unselfish class-consciousness, and the importance of an individual interest in craft bargaining brought the K. of L. "mixed assemblies"¹ into suspicion. This distrust was intensified as the zeal with which the delegates from these assemblies propounded their propaganda encroached upon the time devoted by the W.C.L.U. to purely trade union questions. The great Labor Day Parade of 1890 developed into a matching of power between the two factions and despite the strength of the miners who came in from all parts of the state, the adherents of strict craft bargaining were markedly predominant. The propaganda of the Knights which before had caused irritation now seemed to be nothing other than obstructionism; hence in the winter of 1890-91, the delegates from Knights of Labor assemblies were definitely expelled from the Western Central Labor Union and their organizations gradually disintegrated.²

From 1892 to 1898 there is no evidence in the minutes of the W.C.L.U. of either class-consciousness or radical tendencies of any sort. Labor regularly sent a delegate to the Commercial Club³ and in so far as it dabbled in politics it maintained the conservative non-partisan policy of "rewarding one's friends and punishing one's enemies." Economically it

1. A "mixed assembly" is one to which petty bosses are eligible.
2. Interview with W. H. Middleton, early Secretary of W.C.L.U.
3. The Commercial Club was an organization of progressive business men who aimed to guide their business as well as their labor policy in the interests of a greater Seattle. Interview, James Duncan.

adhered strictly to a wage-raising, trade-conscious philosophy; but its energies at this time were directed more toward the problem of organization than to any other issue. With the completion of Seattle's building projects in 1891, business activity declined, depression gradually intensified into panic, and the organized trade unions were hard put to retain their charters, not to mention their membership.

In 1891 the W.C.L.U. opposed an attempt to drag it into the former alliance of the third party¹ (Populist Party) and in the following year it specifically declared that there could be no affiliation with any political party. In fact, a proposed amendment to the constitution which would have allowed the discussion of independent labor politics was promptly defeated.²

Although a year's subscription to the Journal of the Knights of Labor was recommended on Oct. 18, 1892, this must not be interpreted as reflecting a changed attitude toward that organization, since but two weeks later aid was granted to the United Garment Workers of America in their fight with the Knights over a boycott levied by the latter upon the products of the Garment Workers in an attempt to force their affiliation.

On Nov. 30th of this same year a resolution was adopted urging that each affiliated local send one delegate to act upon a legislative committee, such group to investigate the various laws upon the statute books detrimental to labor and to recommend to the legislative body measures designed to cor-

1. Minutes, W.C.L.U., Dec. 23, 1891.

2. Ibid, Aug. 17, 1892.

reet such evils. This resolution supplied a very useful precedent for future action by the council prior to the convening of the legislature.

From 1893 to 1897, Seattle wrestled, along with the rest of the nation, in the throes of depression. Unemployment was almost universal, suffering acute, and violence common. The fall of 1894 witnessed that famous protest against the conditions of the time--"Coxey's Army". This "living petition" to the government to issue "greenbacks" for a national road-building project that might relieve unemployment was recruited from all parts of the nation. Seattle's contingent marched down Second Avenue on its way to the "White House", several hundred strong. Approximately four hundred men congregated in Puyallup preparatory to "taking off" on their long journey.

Organized labor was battling for its life. The Longshoremen lost their strike against a reduction of wages by the Pacific Coast Company in 1894 and their union soon disappeared. Of all the building trades, only the Stonecutters and the Bricklayers preserved their organizations from 1894-98. Of these, the Stonecutters succeeded in maintaining their regular schedule of wages and hours; but the Bricklayers were forced to sacrifice their wage scale although they defended their eight-hour day.¹ The Western Central Labor Union continued to function but with only a mere handful of delegates.

Feeling still ran high against the Oriental, and the Chinese Exclusion Act was held in high favor.² Resolutions

1. These two unions were the pioneers in bringing the eight-hour day to Seattle.

2. Minutes, W.C.L.U., May 9, 1894.

were adopted requesting all workmen to stay away from the city during the depression and urging the restriction of immigration that aliens might be prevented from usurping the best available land. Furthermore, a petition was sent to the A.F. of L.¹ calling for a Labor Congress to act upon questions of interest to labor such as the creation of municipal employment agency and the abolition of that species of extortion so flourishing among private agencies, payment for the chance to work. Despite the exigencies of the time, the spirit of the organized movement remained conservative and law abiding. Indeed, in 1894, a resolution was adopted "That we request all friends of the labor movement to use their utmost endeavor to prevent the destruction of property, or the commission of other unlawful acts."²

In this same year there was organized in Seattle the American Industrial Brotherhood³--a local movement apart from the recognized labor movement proper, although drawing its membership exclusively from within labor's ranks. It was significant in that it recognized political action as a means for the attainment of labor's ends after the depression had pulled the teeth of organizations using purely economic methods. The "A.I.B." became more or less of a propoganda club with a leaning toward the Democrats and the Populists. Only nominal dues were charged and during political campaigns meetings were

1. Minutes, W.C.L.U., April 4, 1894.

2. Ibid, July 11, 1894.

3. Interview, W.K. Middleton.

held weekly. To insure that no member should be tarnished with capitalism, each applicant had to be identified with the working class and vouched for by some member of the association in good standing. The association attained a strength in Seattle of some seven hundred men; and to insure perfect democracy, during the three years of its active life a new President was elected afresh at each meeting. It is worth noticing that during the period of depression this extra-legal political movement on the part of labor eclipsed in membership and influence the bona fide labor movement.

With the discovery of gold in the Klondike, business began to revive and union memberships to swell. By 1898, unions were beginning to reorganize and conditions had improved to such an extent that on Labor Day the first parade since 1893 was staged. This revival was not confined to Seattle but was, on the contrary, widespread. The Western Labor Union was organized at Salt Lake City in 1898 mainly through the efforts of the Western Federation of Miners. After moving to Chicago in 1902 it became known as the American Labor Union which in 1905, with the W.F.M. and other radical unions, merged to form the Industrial Workers of the World.¹

On May 25th of that year the W.C.L.U. rendered a decision of far reaching significance in the history of Seattle's control union body. In reply to a communication from J. W. Conley, Secretary of Assembly #3963, Knights of Labor, Anaconda, Montana, inviting the W.C.L.U. to join with it in

1. P. Brissenden, op.cit. pp. 43-44.

affiliating with the new Western Labor Union, the secretary was instructed upon a motion from the floor to refuse the invitation on the ground that most of the affiliated unions of the W.C.L.U. were also members of the A.F. of L. This action is important as reaffirming the W.C.L.U.'s divorce from all class-conscious uplift brands of unionism and declaring once more its allegiance to conservative craft conscious, business tactics.

As the industrial revival became more pronounced, unions grew in numbers and in influence. In 1900 the longshoremen had reorganized and reported a membership of four hundred. Stonemasons, Waitresses, Clerks, Barbers, Cooks and Waiters, Butchers, Leather Workers, Teamsters, Icemen, Laundry Workers, Mill Workers, Telephone Operators and the Building Trades Council announced newly formed organizations; and many business houses were reported fair. In evidence of their new power, the Retail Clerks' Association with the support of the W.C.L.U. forced the six o'clock and Sunday closing agreement upon the retail establishments of the city;¹ and in the following year the Iron trades began their long struggle for the nine hour day.² Delegate Oldham had stated on Dec. 20th, 1899, his intention to publish a labor paper in Seattle and had secured the endorsement of the council for his enterprise. Now, early

1. W.H.Middleton: Labor Day Annual, 1912.

2. In the minutes of the W.C.L.U. for Dec. 18, 1901, the machinists were reported as gradually going back to work with the promise of a 9 hour day from the first of the year. On July 30, 1902, the Boilermakers received a 9 hour day. (Minutes of the W.C.L.U. for that date.)

in 1900, the Union Record, under the editorship of Gordon Rice,¹ made its first appearance upon the streets of the city.

On July 11, 1900, Dr. Titus² was granted the floor and gave an impassioned address in behalf of the striking telephone girls, urging organized labor, if other measures failed, to inaugurate a general sympathetic strike; but the council was deaf to the appeal and the girls lost their strike.

The partisan, class-conscious attack of The Socialist soon called forth a declaimer from the W.O.L.U. As early as October 3, 1900, it resolved "that the said Socialist newspaper is not in any manner a representative of organized labor and (resolved) that we indorse the policy of the Union Record as being fully in accord with the principles of trade unionism. We recognize the Union Record as the only official organ of or-

1. Gordon Rice had started another paper, the Seattle Labor Gazette in 1894. Although this paper did good work for the cause of labor, it failed in but a few months for lack of advertising to sustain it. (W.H. Middleton, Labor Day Annual, 1912,
2. No treatment of labor attitudes in the Northwest is quite complete without some mention of Dr. Herman Titus who edited and published a weekly newspaper, The Socialist, "To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation", and from 1900 to 1909 ruled the revolutionary socialists in this state with a firm hand. Dr. Titus was an A.M. from Colgate and a M.D. from Harvard. He came to Seattle as a Baptist minister to engage in settlement work in 1894 and taught the practical redistribution of income in his church at Sixth and Jackson. His study of medicine was motivated by the desire to guarantee to himself freedom of speech, and his foresight proved advantageous in his later struggles. Although The Socialist began on Aug. 13, 1900 as a mere campaign sheet to further the interests of Debs in his candidacy for the Presidency of the United States, it reached a paid circulation of five or six thousand and at the height of its influence. Titus was as firm a believer in trade unionism as he was in the doctrine of the class war and the efficacy of political action. Although

ganized labor in Seattle."¹

Anti-Oriental feeling was still strong as evidenced in a long resolution directed against Japanese and Chinese laborers early in 1901 and a further resolution that labor assist in putting through a law to keep such foreigners out of the country.

In response to a resolution urging upon all unions the necessity of a better education in the principles of trade unionism and in economic questions related thereto, and in order more successfully to secure legislation in the interests of the working class, a committee was appointed to work on a plan for closer relations with other trades and labor unions throughout the state. On Dec. 11, 1901, the recommendation of committee that a State Federation of Labor be formed and requested to affiliate with the A.F. of L. was adopted. Again the W.C.L.U. had expressed its sympathy with the conservative labor movement; and the tie was more firmly established when the Washington State Federation of Labor received its charter on March 26, 1902.

During the School Board election of 1901 the Seattle Union Record, by its refusal to endorse Oldham, a union man, who together with Titus was running on the Socialist ticket, brought upon itself, at the hands of The Socialist, the stigma "capitalistic labor paper."² Not to be outdone, the Record

his frequent attempts to gain the recognition of labor for his principles and his candidates were doomed to failure, he had a marked influence upon the development of socialism in this state and indirectly upon the organized labor movement itself.

1. Minutes W.C.L.U., Oct. 3, 1900.
2. The Socialist, Nov. 24, 1901.

branded the Socialist, by virtue of its insistence upon principles rather than men, a stumbling-block in the way of a united political front for organized labor. This, despite the fact that a program demanding, among other things, more school buildings of less cost, more and better paid teachers with permanent tenure during efficiency, free meals and free clothing, if necessary, to keep children in school at least until the age of fifteen years, free kindergartens for children between the ages of three and six, and free medical inspection weekly might be expected to appeal to the working man.¹

Again, in their state platform in the election of 1902², the Socialists based their fight upon a class-conscious opposition to capitalism and a promise to advance the interests of the working class at all times; but once more the Union Record, as the mouth-piece of organized labor, displayed an utter lack of sympathy with the doctrine of the class struggle. The Record advised union men to vote for union men irrespective of party and the Socialist was left to lament its failure even to hint at a workingman's platform. All of this is significant as a contrast of the emphasis upon principles within the class-conscious socialistic ranks with the complacent, conservative, opportunistic attitude of organized labor. Indeed, a motion that delegates to the W.C.L.U. who are employers of labor be removed and others sent in their places was

1. The Socialist, Nov. 3, 1901.
2. Ibid, Oct. 26, 1902.

tabled. Such was the class-conscious attitude of Seattle labor on January 22, 1902.¹

On March 18, 1903, the W.C.L.U. after long considerations lasting from the first quarter of 1901, when the purchase price was quoted at \$1,000, bought the Union Record for \$350 and elected a board of control consisting of six members to hold office for one year. Rust was made manager and G. Rice continued as editor. Thenceforth the Union Record was in fact as well as in theory the accredited mouth-piece of organized labor.

At the convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor in 1903 a determined effort was made by friends of the Socialist movement to secure its recognition by² organized labor. The following resolution was introduced and indefinitely postponed only after being "illegally" entertained a second time:²

"Whereas, That invention of labor-saving machinery has resulted in the throwing out of employment of a large number of men and will continue to do so, and

Whereas, This army of the unemployed tends constantly to depress wages to the lowest possible living limit, and

Whereas, The right to life carries with it the right to employment and the full fruits of labor performed, therefore

Be it resolved, That these labor-saving machines should be owned and controlled by the people who produce and operate them, i.e. the working people."

Again, a recommendation that labor study the principles advoc-

1. Minutes W.C.L.U., Jan. 22, 1902.

2. Socialist, Jan. 10, 1903.

cated by the Socialist Party was ruled out of order by the chair and not even permitted to be read. And lastly, a motion to commend the Socialist Party as a "friend of Organized Labor" on the basis of a \$10,000 contribution made by the Party to the strikers in the Pennsylvania coal fields, was also ruled out of order as "partisan politics."

This same year¹ the street car employees organized a union and struck within twenty-four hours out of sympathy with the Tacoma strikers. The Seattle Electric Company offered an agreement granting all demands except their insistence that none but union men be employed. Despite the fact that there was a regular "army" of unemployed at the time, the men rejected the proposal. The Socialist clamored long and loud for a general strike to back up the men; but organized labor heeded not at all such radical suggestions. The committee of strikers composed of Harmon, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the W.S.F. of L., Rust, Secretary of the W.C.L.U., and Webster of the Carmens' Union, after conferring with a Businessmen's committee advised the union to accept the terms offered by the company; and the strike was called off.

June 2d,² the Socialists through the agency of a circular letter made another appeal for the endorsement of organized labor in Seattle. They insisted that the time was not far off when "strikes, boycotts, or fighting capital with capital, will be futile and out of date", and urged that the

1. Socialist, April 5, 1903.
2. Ibid, June 21, 1903.

modern weapon, "Political Power", must be used "to even alleviate your present condition, and to finally capture the powers of Government, and inaugurate a system whereby there will be work for all and all will get the full product of their labor. The Socialist Party asks you to join the party of your class as well as the union of your craft, if you want to gain economic freedom from wage slavery." Although the Brewers' Union had but the week previously accepted unanimously an invitation to join the German Branch of the Socialist Party, this bid for recognition, like the others, brought no perceptible response on the part of organized labor.

On August 31st¹ the teamsters went on strike and a special meeting of the W.C.L.U. was called to consider a sympathetic strike; but the movement came to naught and by September 16th the teamsters were forced to admit defeat. Another street-car strike in September again brought out the suggestion of a general strike but to no avail. The failure of this effort brought recognition even by The Socialist of the following facts: (1) that craft consciousness was more powerful in Seattle than class consciousness, (2) that there was no labor union political movement worth anything to the working class in the city.²

On April 12th, 1905, the new constitution of the W.C.L.U., designed to bring about a more effective co-operation

1. Minutes, W.C.L.U., August 31, 1903.
2. Socialist, Sept. 20, 1903.

of unions, was approved by a majority referendum vote of Seattle unions. One of the outstanding achievements under the new constitution was the division of unions into sections, each to manage its own finances, elect its own officers, and attend to its own internal affairs so long as they do not conflict with those of other unions outside such section. There were seven sections in all: Building Trades, Metal Trades, Waterfront, Printing Trades, Brewery Trades, Provision Trades, and Miscellaneous. On May 3, 1905, the new constitution went into effect, the Western Central Labor Union passed into history and the Central Labor Council was born.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF RADICALISM IN THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

To analyse the intricate complex of conditions which foment radicalism is far beyond the limitations of this present work. Much less is it the intent of the writer to imply that radicalism is dependent entirely upon economic conditions. Radicalism may arise where economic pressure is intense; or it may arise when unparalleled prosperity makes bold and inordinately effective the minority demand for a new order of things.

During this period of what has been termed the "Growth of Radicalism" business and industrial activity in the city and state fluctuated widely. The influence of such changes in the demand for labor has an especial significance in the case of Seattle. Seattle, it will be recalled, is the largest city in a state in which the chief industries are agriculture, fishing, mining and lumber--every one characterized as seasonal. Furthermore, Seattle is the natural gateway to Alaska. This economic situation renders the city a haven of thousands of "casuals" and hundreds of the unemployed awaiting the opening of Alaskan Canneries each year; and by the same token, a period of general unemployment brings in its wake especially acute suffering and a marked danger to labor organiza-

tions. From 1905 to 1908, organized labor found itself upon the defensive. The panic of 1907 had stilled business enterprise and times were dull. Organized labor was forced to be cautious and the conservatism evidenced in the old W.C.L.U. still displayed itself in the mute impassivity with which it received the importunities of the Socialists. A slight revival in 1909 was smothered in 1913 in a depression the wide scope of which brought into Seattle an army of unemployed appalling alike to an apprehensive business community and an uneasy labor structure. Thousands of hungry men pleaded for jobs at absurdly low figures and violence was common.

But with 1916 confidence was restored, the camps and mills began again to draw off the surplus of the unemployed, and the stringency of organized labor's economic position was relaxed. The next two years proved to be the heyday of bargaining for Seattle labor. The essential war industries, especially the shipyards, the spruce production demands, and the general industrial boom gave to the worker a collective and an individual bargaining power of which he had never before dreamed. Employers were bidding against each other for skilled men; and, the union lists exhausted, even "closed shop" employers were forced to apply to the employment agencies for men. Labor unrest grew apace, and labor turnover reached undue proportions.

These are the conditions under which the C.L.C. began to display tendencies not entirely compatible with the doctrines of the A.F.of L. The osmotic force of persistent socialistic propoganda, the reaction from a period during which organized

labor was at bay, the sheer dissatisfaction with a social and industrial system revealed in a new perspective by a previously unexperienced economic freedom, the absolute growth of power among the unskilled workers--all of these influences and possibly many more collaborated to fashion an almost stolidly conservative organization into an active, sensitive, radical power in the affairs of the City of Seattle and in the deliberations of the conventions of the A.F. of L.

In the late summer of 1906 Dr. Titus opened a determined fight against the dictum of the mayor (rendered in August 1905) that street speaking would be permitted in Seattle within but two defined regions. He began hostilities by announcing to the police that he would hold a meeting at Second and Union.¹ Nothing happened, so he declared that he would speak on the following day at Second Avenue and Pike Street. Here he was subsequently arrested after haranguing a crowd for twenty minutes. In the fight that followed, only Socialist crowds were interfered with, the Salvation Army and like groups going unmolested. Titus was arrested for the sixth time on September 25th and denied bail, but the jury in the Superior Court refused to convict. E.J. Brown, Socialist candidate for Prosecuting Attorney, Vincent Harper, Thomas C. Wisewell, and Alfred Wagenknecht were arrested for obstructing what was shown to be an impassable street.² The spirit of the C.L.C. at this time

1. Socialist, Aug. 25, 1906. Caldwell, Idaho.

2. Ibid, Sept. 29, 1906.

is no better evidenced than in the fact that although it was silent throughout these struggles for freedom of speech, it heartily reaffirmed its position in regard to the Oriental when on December 5th it instructed its business agent to wire the Anti-Japanese and Korean League in San Francisco "that it is our desire to work in harmony with them in their crusade against the Japs."¹ It must be recorded, however, that there was in the C.L.C. sufficient human interest in the tribulations of labor outside of the purely local situation to grant to a committee of the I.W.W. on January 30, 1907, permission to use the floor of the council for ten minutes; but only after a motion to refuse them and another to substitute a Socialist committee had failed.² This resulted in the appointment of a joint committee which arranged for a great joint meeting on the first anniversary of the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, a meeting which subsequently turned out to be a grand success.³

In September, 1907, the fight for free speech on the streets of Seattle was continued. J.B.Osborne, the "Blind Orator", was arrested,⁴ Dr. Titus was confined in jail for a period of forty days (on the basis of \$3 per day) for refusal to pay fines aggregating \$120 levied upon him,⁵ and R.S.Anderson was arrested for selling The Socialist upon the streets of

1. Minutes C.L.C. Dec. 5, 1906.
2. Ibid, Jan. 30, 1907.
3. There were 2,500 people present.
4. Socialist, Sept. 7, 1907.
5. Ibid, Sept. 21, 1907.

the city.¹ It is most interesting in this connection that a resolution introduced into the C.L.C. protesting against the arrest of socialists in the streets was tabled on motion from the floor.² Agitation on the part of jailed socialists finally resulted in the closing of the city jail by the Board of Health on October 9th as being unfit for human habitation upon three counts: (1) Lack of sufficient air space, (2) Inadequate drainage, (3) Plumbing not in accordance with ordinances of the City of Seattle.³ Mayor Moore summarily removed the Board of Health as being delinquent in their duty. The arrests of socialists continued; on October 28th nine socialists including Mrs. Titus were arrested one after the other in the Market Place. This called forth a resolution of sympathy from the Journeymen Tailors' Union #71 and resolutions from both the Typographical and Riggers' and Stevedores' Unions⁴ condemning the city administration for its actions with regard to the socialists. On December 17th the crowning infamy occurred when forty socialists, despite their protest of their constitutional right to a separate trial, were condemned and fined 'en masse'.⁵ Later, however, when they refused to work on the chain gang they were discharged by Judge Gordon.

The C.L.C. along with the Washington State Federation of Labor was co-operating during this period with leaders of progressive groups in the organization of the farmers for po-

1. Socialist, Sept. 28, 1907.
2. Minutes C.L.C., Sept. 25, 1907.
3. Socialist, Oct. 12, 1907.
4. Ibid, Nov. 9, 1907.
5. Ibid, Dec. 17, 1907.

litical action. Labor's affiliation with the Grange Movement began in 1906¹ with the seating of fraternal delegates from the Grange in both bodies. This action adumbrates what later became a very powerful alliance. It must not be thought of, however, as in any sense analogous to that union of labor with the farmers which characterized the Knights of Labor. No class-consciousness motivated the union but rather a realization that labor had much in common with the farmers, and that both would be benefited by their common action at the polls. It was therefore a political, opportunistic move on the part of the unions which in no sense pledged the latter to any definite political faction. Indeed the C.L.C. reaffirmed its conservative political position by a motion made and carried on September 16, 1908, that the council follow the political policy of the A.F.of L.

During 1909 the council was busily engaged in politics, both local and state--chief among the issues being the eight-hour day and the initiative and referendum. The United Mine Workers, District #10, assembled in convention in Seattle during September of this year, adopted a resolution which although quite in accord with their general attitude, is so much in contrast to that of the C.L.C. as to be worth noticing. We "recognize and declare for the necessity of the public ownership and operation and the democratic management of all those means of production and exchange that are collec-

1. Report of President Charles R. Case to Convention W.S.F.of L. 1912, p.2.

tively used, that every man or woman willing and able to work can have free access to the means of life and get the full social value of what they produce."¹

At the instigation of the Bricklayers' Union, a city convention was called in Seattle for February 8, 1910. Upon this date a new political sect, the "United Labor Party", was organized. To the convention of this new aspirant to political power, months later, forty unions sent delegates. This convention endorsed a ticket of union men exclusively and adopted a platform which set forth explicitly the class struggle of the capitalist versus the workingman.² Strangely enough, on July 13th this radical class-conscious platform was adopted by the C.L.C.³ It would appear that this action by the council was motivated more by its opportunistic desire to name certain candidates than by any feeling of class-consciousness; at least, the council still maintained a regular delegate to the Commercial Club. Nevertheless, there was a growing emphasis placed upon political action, so much so that there would be from eight to ten outside politicians at the meeting of the council at one time.⁴ This condition finally called forth in the summer of 1913 a proposed amendment to the constitution, that the "Council should not accept credentials for

1. This resolution holds an added interest through comparison with that submitted by the Socialists to the Wash. S.F. of L. Convention in Jan. 1903 and tabled by the latter. See p.15. (Socialist, Sept. 11, 1909)
2. Socialist, July 27, 1910.
3. Minutes C.L.C., July 13, 1910.
4. Interview, P.K.Mohr.

delegate from anyone not a wage earner, who is a professional politician or lawyer, or who is not working at the trade from whose organization he receives credentials."¹ But the forces of the political partisans were strong enough to defeat this attempt to rid the Council of these politicians who were using organized labor for their own ends.

The C.L.C. showed its appreciation of the strength of industrial organization when on November 6, 1912, it concurred in the recommendation of its legislative committee that a resolution which favored allowing internationals to amalgamate be endorsed. Its attitude was made even more explicit when on August 13, 1913, it endorsed a resolution submitted by the Barbers declaring that the Council favored the industrial form of organization, and instructing delegates to the A.F. of L. Convention to work for the adoption of such a plan.²

In February, 1912, the socialists made another bid for the support of organized labor in their request to the C.L.C. for a joint committee to help arrange a meeting in the Dreamland Auditorium to consider the I.W.W. strike at Lawrence, Mass. The C.L.C. washed its hands of the whole affair by tabling the request.

In the early winter of 1913, most of the mills, the mines and the logging camps of the state as well as the neighboring territory had ceased operations and thousands of jobless men drifted into Seattle. As the winter wore on and to this

1. Minutes C.L.C. July 16, 1913.
2. Minutes C.L.C. Aug. 13, 1913.

horde of unemployed was added the usual crowd of "basuals" awaiting the spring and the opening of the Alaskan Canneries, the situation became grave. Suffering was acute, and violence appeared imminent.¹ Hundreds of hungry men were tramping the streets and pleading for a chance to work at absurdly low wages. Although the municipal and county authorities through the City Superintendent of Streets expended thousands of dollars to supply work at a low rate of wages for needy men, hunger and deprivation were driving men to crime.² To relieve the plight of the homeless unemployed, the "Hotel de Gink", fostered by liberal donations from a fearful business community, was organized in the fall of 1913. This institution first occupied the old Providence Hospital Building at Fifth and Madison and was operated by the inmates themselves under the direction and control of Peter Pauly, the "King of the Hoboes."³

All through the winter the G.L.C. gave continued assistance to the "Hotel"; but this is not to be too quickly judged an evidence of budding humanitarianism. Even though we

1. 18th Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission, 1913. Also 20th Annual Report, 1915.
2. Some conception of the condition of the laborers may be conveyed by the report of D.W. Lyman, Asst. Labor Commissioner. The Milwaukee RR at this time was offering from 17¢ to 20¢ per hour for warehouse work. At that figure the City Employment Office could furnish them from 50 to 150 men per day. (18th Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission, 1913).
3. This institution was maintained for about two years and was supported in great part by the efforts of the men themselves.

assume that the Council had not strayed from its former job-conscious position, the same course of action would be expected. Organized labor, with thousands of unemployed tramping the streets, was forced to bolster up their own precarious organized existence.

The Longshoremen took advantage of a revival in trade to demand a higher wage scale in 1916. On September 20 they presented to the C.L.C. a request for a sympathetic strike in their support. At its following meeting, the C.L.C. concurred in the recommendation of its Strike and Grievance Committee that the council request its affiliated locals to take a strike vote, returns to be kept secret; and at the same time it declared itself in favor of such a strike. The proposed strike was never called for the longshoremen shortly after accepted a proposal made by efficiency expert Becker that the men return to work at the old rate and after ten days submit the wage scale to arbitration. During this period the Navy Intelligence Department was actively engaged in ridding the waterfront of the I.W.W. while at the same time the employers were encouraging the formation of a new and independent union. The settlement of the strike did not prove wholly satisfactory to the men. There was soon evidence of an effective blacklist and many of the Riggers and Stevedores experienced difficulty in getting work through the employers' Employment Office known among union men by the stigma "Fink Hall". Such conditions augmented within the rank and file a growing impatience for some change in the system of organization that would make it

easier for all unions to act in concert.

On Sunday, November 5, 1916, there occurred what has often been referred to as the "Everett Massacre".¹ Upon the preceding April 1, the International Shingle Weavers' Union had adopted in convention a scale of wages to apply to all Western Washington to take effect May 1.² Attempts at amicable adjustment failed in Everett and at the appointed time some three hundred men went on strike. Strike-breakers were imported upon the pretence of an issue described by the Commercial Club as a fight for the "closed shop" and despite a stubborn resistance the shingle weavers were losing ground. Although up to this time the I.W.W. had not been a factor in the Everett labor movement, it is their claim that they received an S.O.S. call from the Business Agent of the Shingle Weavers. At any rate they responded with a very effective free-speech fight using as the basis for their propoganda the U.S. Industrial Relations Report. (This view of the matter is credited by J.Duncan, then Secretary of the Seattle C.L.C.) Monday night, October 30th, forty I.W.W. were taken by armed men from a boat entering the city, escorted in automobiles to Beverly Park just outside the city limits, and made to run a gauntlet of clubs, revolver butts, and black-jacks. The I.W.W. answered the challenge with a call for volunteers and distributed handbills announcing that at two o'clock Sunday they would hold a mass meeting in Everett on the forbidden corner of

1. Union Record, Nov. 11, 1916.

2. Bureau Labor Statistics, Bulletin #349, p.61.

Wetmore and Hewitt. That Sunday morning two hundred and fifty men boarded the steamer "Verona" in Seattle for Everett. They were met at the docks by armed men deputized at the behest of the Commercial Club¹. Just which side fired the first shot has never been determined, but in the altercation which followed seven men were killed, two on the docks and five on the ship. Soon after the Shingle Weavers called off their strike to relieve the tension of the situation.

To understand the part played by the C.L.C. in the defense of the I.W.W., it is first necessary to realize the political strength that labor had gained in the state.² This power grew out of the formation in 1911 of a permanent political organization known as the "Joint Legislative Committee"³ of the Direct Legislation League of Washington, the State Federation of Labor, the Farmers' Union, and the State Grange. In 1916 election of Governor, labor had set itself the task of defeating seven referendum bills then before the people, three of which had already been signed by Governor Lister, including the most objectionable of the seven--the anti-picketing bill. In order to insure the defeat of these measures, labor induced Jim Bradford⁴ to enter the contest on an independent ticket making the measures in question the issue of the

1. In this connection it is interesting that the President of the Commercial Club, Fred K. Baker, was also proprietor of one of the mills affected by the strike.
2. From an interview with James A. Duncan.
3. Report of Pres. Case to Convention W.S.F. of L. 1912, p. 6.
4. Jim Bradford was not a union man but a progressive lawyer. He was elected city Corporation Counsel in 1915.

campaign. Using the argument that labor wielded the balance of power, a committee from the C.L.C. waited upon the Democratic Campaign Committee. Lister, the Democratic candidate for re-election, finally repudiated the measures; and each of the seven suffered ignominious defeat in the election. Out of this campaign, labor and the C.L.C. emerged with greatly heightened prestige.

In regard to the Everett affair, the C.L.C. took the position that the I.W.W. were fighting an A.F. of L. battle. At its meeting on November 8th a committee composed of Doyle,¹ Duncan,¹ and Ault¹ was appointed to work for the defense of the imprisoned I.W.W.,² given power to act in the name of the Council, and voted \$100 for incidental expenses. An appeal was sent by the Council to all affiliated locals for defense funds. Labor was instrumental in securing G. Vanderveer³ to take the defense, nor did it hesitate to make it known that there were but two judges, French and Ronald, in the state whose courts it would consider just. It may be significant that Judge Ronald was appointed by Governor Lister to try the case. Prominent members of the C.L.C. signed the bonds of the

1. Chas. H. Doyle, present secretary of the C.L.C. has been active in the union movement since 1908. James Duncan became a member of Maoh.Hope Lodge #79 in 1906, acted as delegate to the Council for years, and as Secretary of that body from 1915-1923. E.B.Ault was a member of the "Equality" Socialist Colony, a co-worker with Titus on the Socialist, and manager-editor of the Union Record since 1912. He is now part owner of the Record.
2. The passengers of the "Verona" had been jailed immediately upon her return to Seattle. In all 74 men were imprisoned.
3. G. Vanderveer was a former Prosecuting Attorney of King

accused I.W.W.; but the first test case¹ resulted in a failure to convict and the remaining cases were dismissed.

On November 29th the Boilermakers' delegation submitted a recommendation to the C.L.C. that boats be chartered or transportation secured for the purpose of staging a real free-speech fight in Everett in protest against the affair recounted above. Only after a discussion lasting three hours was the motion finally defeated.

Even in the very midst of the A.F. of L. defense of the I.W.W. in 1916, the latter commenced to picket A.F. of L. restaurants in Portland in order to displace the A.F. of L. card with their own, and only desisted upon the threat of the Seattle C.L.C. to withdraw from the Everett affair.² Again "Red" Doran, an I.W.W. organizer, even while speaking to local unions under the auspices of the C.L.C. stirred up antagonism against his organization by slurring remarks upon the A.F. of L. Another straw was added to the groaning load when McDonald, editor of the Industrial Worker, forced upon J. Duncan, despite the latter's protests as to the untimeliness of the affair, a debate upon the relative merits of the A.F. of L. and the I.W.W. In this debate, McDonald made the grievous error of boast-

County. This was his first defense of the I.W.W. He later became their regular attorney.

1. E.B.Ault and J.Duncan signed the bonds of 38 of the 74 I.W.W. who were accused of unlawful assembly. The strongest case of the prosecution, that of Thos.H.Tracy was lost on May 12, 1917 and shortly after the remaining prisoners were released in batches of 10 and 12. (Union Record Dec. 14, 1916 and May 12, 1917.)
2. Interview with J.A. Duncan.

ing openly of the great quantities of coal set on fire in Australia and other overt manifestations of sabotage. Not that the A.F. of L. abhors sabotage (it is Mr. Duncan's contention that it not only practices sabotage but that sabotage is the natural weapon of labor); but they do not preach it, far less brag about it. This long series of grievances culminated in an attack on the I.W.W. culminating in the following resolution adopted on May 16th by an overwhelming vote of some 250 to 19:

"Resolved, That this Council call upon all those yet unorganized to beware of organizations that hold out high-sounding, yet empty promises, tearing down rather than building up, and urge them to affiliate with the A.F. of L., which is recognized the world over as the organization representing the workers of America; and further,

Resolved, That hereafter this Council refuse to issue credentials to representatives of the I.W.W. to visit unions affiliated with the A.F. of L. for the purpose of soliciting moral or financial assistance or carrying on their propoganda; and further, be it

Resolved, that this council recommend that local unions having no such provision in their constitution, take such steps as are necessary to bar their members from holding membership in any dual organization to their local union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through which agency they can fully protect their interests and bring about improved conditions in a sane, orderly, and effective manner."¹

Confirming a strong stand taken in 1916 against the Preparedness Parade, the Council in March, 1917 sent a night letter of congratulation and encouragement to Senator Jones at Washington, D.C., in his fight against war and militarism. Later 250 delegates representing some 25,000 unionists in Seattle voted unanimously against the impending war with Germany. Just previous to the passage of the Conscription, Hulet M. Wells,

1. Minutes C.L.C. May 16, 1917. Union Record, May 19, 1917.

prominent member of the Socialist Party and former President of the Council, submitted to the C.L.C. a resolution condemning conscription which was endorsed unanimously. Many prominent labor leaders remained active¹ in what had been known as the National League Against Militarism, even after war was declared. A pamphlet, presumably written by Bruce Rogers (at least Duncan accused him of it and he did not deny it) was issued through the League after the declaration of war.² In this leaflet conscription was denounced and resistance urged on the basis of its unconstitutionality. Bruce Rogers took a trip to Alaska immediately upon the passage of the Conscription Act and Hulet Wells was convicted upon evidence that he had ordered and paid for the printing of the circular. The C.L.C. maintained the defense and after he was convicted upon his second trial, the first jury failing to agree, it appointed a special committee to investigate the method of selecting Federal jurors. In its final report on May 1, 1918, the committee claimed that Wells' conviction was the result of the vicious ambition of Clay Allen, Superior Court Judge, to redeem his reputation after the jury in the first case had failed to convict. The report urged the use of the ballot, first to eliminate him at the earliest possible date from the Superior Bench, and second, to effect the necessary reforms in the obsolete methods of securing jury lists which had made Wells the victim of a "travesty upon Amer-

1. Interview with J.A. Duncan.

2. Copy of Circular.
Union Record, May 19, 1917.

loan justice."¹

Since July 10, 1907, there had been in the C.L.C. from time to time an agitation to make the Union Record a daily paper. However, the Record had not won the support of the workers as it had been hoped that it would. As early as 1904 several unions had withdrawn from the Council upon the attempt of the central body to assess all affiliated locals for the maintenance of the paper; while in 1908 only a small percentage of Seattle unions were taking the Record. Coupled with this lukewarm support by organized labor was the virile opposition of the so-called Citizens' Alliance² which in November 1904 carried its attack to the point of sending circulars to the business men of the city urging them to refrain from patronizing labor papers. Little wonder then that the editr-manager found it necessary to appeal to the Council quite regularly for aid. With the opening of 1917, Ault had reported that either the Record must be out in size or raised in price; and through the summer the paper was maintained only by continued donations. Finally after considerable agitation, Ault was promised the support of the Council in establishing a Daily Union Record if he could first obtain twenty thousand pledged subscriptions for a period of two months.³ The fight was then begun in earnest. Contributions quickly amounted to \$935 in

1. Reports of Investigating Committee. Minutes C.L.C. March 6, May 1, April 10, 1918.
2. The "Citizens' Alliance" was an employers' organization. It aimed to weaken and discredit the organized labor movement.
3. Interview E.E.Ault.

a "Trail-Blazers' Fund"; gradually one union after another fell into line; and finally with the pledge and assessment of one dollar per member on the part of the great Boilermakers', Shipbuilders' and Helpers' Local #104, with its 11,262 members, the required number was assured. On February 13th a committee of fourteen was appointed to draft the articles of incorporation for a stock company to be capitalized at \$75,000 of which the C.L.C. was to own \$38,000, the rest to be sold to working men and women. Then on April 24, 1918, the first daily edition of Seattle's labor-owned Union Record appeared on the streets of Seattle.¹

The C.L.C. in 1918 took renewed interest in politics. A Political Welfare Committee was functioning and on April 3d a resolution was adopted that each union subscribe two dollars per month to maintain a political secretary on full time. An attempt to confine the political endorsements of the Council to those carrying union cards was thwarted although the Council did go on record as favoring union men, all other things being equal. In the fall campaign the C.L.C. co-operated with the Pomona Grange², to form a complete city and county organization. The fruit of this planning was shown in the September 18th re-

1. Two months later, the Boilermakers by a referendum vote of five to one decided to purchase \$17,000 in stock in the Union Record Publishing Co. This fact illustrates the growing enthusiasm for the promotion of organized labor and its activities.
2. The Grange is an organization of farmers. The Granges were organized to attain a political unity that would render the farmer along with the worker an effective influence in legislation.

port of the Political Welfare Committee that fifty percent of labor's ticket had been carried, labor electing four state senators and seven representatives.¹

On May 2d the Council voted almost unanimously to discontinue its membership in the Chamber of Commerce. This belated move was practically forced upon the C.L.C. since the Chamber of Commerce had some time previously brought about an amalgamation between itself and the Commercial Club; and the Council's representation in the latter had been carried over without authorization into the new organization. The Chamber of Commerce was a far more reactionary body than the Commercial Club; in fact, during the strike of the longshoremen in 1916, it had all but persuaded the latter to declare itself in favor of the "open shop".² Still the long participation of the C.L.C. in the deliberations of the Commercial Club emphasizes the essentially conservative, opportunistic character of the organized labor movement.

At the A.F. of L. Convention in St. Paul in 1918 James Duncan as the delegate of the C.L.C. offered to that body one of the resolutions which earned for him the title of "Resolutions Duncan" and precipitated a debate between himself and President Gompers upon the issue of industrial unionism. The substance of Mr. Duncan's proposal was "That all internationals and through them, their affiliated local unions, be urged to as far as possible and practicable remove all barriers to the full-

1. Union Record, Nov. 7, 1918.

2. Minutes C.L.C. June 28, 1916.

est freedom of movement, consistent with the best interests of labor, from one craft union to another under whose jurisdiction individuals are competent to work."¹ After a long debate, the resolution was defeated.

That the progressives in the state might be protected against such attacks as those made by Special Assistant Attorney-General Clarence L. Reames upon Hulet M. Wells and William Bouck² the C.L.C. concurred in a resolution submitted by the shipyard laborers in September calling for a committee of fifteen known patriots to be appointed by the central bodies throughout the state in proportion to their respective memberships and to co-operate with a similar committee to be appointed by the State Granges.³

Later in the fall the C.L.C. after a stormy debate adopted unanimously a motion to make one last appeal to Governor Stephens of California in behalf of T. Mooney, and a second to cease work on December 9th and remain out "until justice should be secured." This proposed strike was called off on December 5th in deference to the San Francisco Mooney Defense League which requested a postponement of the strike until such time as the Labor Congress could meet in Chicago to prepare for a nation-wide demonstration.

1. Union Record, June 18, 1918.
2. Mr. Bouck, the master of the Wash. State Grange was arrested at Mt. Vernon for violation of Sec. 3 of the Espionage Act upon his alleged contention that this was a rich man's war and should be carried on upon a pay-as-you-enter basis. He was subsequently exonerated in Jan. 1919 for lack of evidence.
3. Union Record, Sept. 14, 1918.

As early as November 27, 1918 the C.L.C. adopted ✓ overwhelmingly a resolution calling for amnesty for all political prisoners. This was followed by a resolution urging the federal government through Special Prosecutor Reames to prosecute Col. Blethen immediately for inciting to riot by an editorial appearing in his paper, The Seattle Times on November 25, in which he upheld the soldier and sailor rioters who broke up a socialist meeting in Madison Square Garden, N.Y. At the following meeting, an attempt to make citizenship a qualification for a delegate was squelched by being laid on the table; while a resolution was adopted calling for a special committee to be headed by Anna Louise Strong and to act as a bureau of Russian Information, and that the United States be requested to guarantee the safe delivery of a cablegram to Lenine and safe conduct for the American Labor Mission from Vladivostok to St. Petersburg. The C.L.C. even became conscious of the strictures placed upon freedom of speech when on the last day of the year, it concurred in a resolution submitted by the Metal Trades Council demanding that Mayor Hanson discontinue the pernicious practice of jailing people upon open charges and for such 'crimes' as selling radical newspapers, etc. Not only this, but it endorsed a statement of principles and a program¹ of reconstruction adopted by the S.F. of L. and the State Grange that would compare with programs advocated by the Socialists

1. Program and Principles.
Union Record, Dec. 16, 1918.

and the United Mine Workers a decade before.¹ The new spirit was so pervasive that it was upon the request of the C.L.C. that International Longshoremen's Association Local #38-12 called upon the President of the United States on December 30, 1918, to withdraw American troops from Russia, and at the same time solicited the concurrence of other locals upon the Pacific Coast in a refusal to handle shipments of arms and ammunition intended for the use of counter-revolutionists against the Soviet Republic of Russia.

1. After pointing out certain "self-evident" truths-- that the cause of labor unrest is the exploitation of producers by parasites, that the earth belongs to the people thereof and therefore cannot belong to any individual, group or corporation, that all wealth is the labor of hand and brain plus natural resources, and that anything of value belongs to its producer--"Therefore we, representatives of the producers of all wealth, the workers, urge and insist that in the reconstruction period made doubly necessary by war, the above principles and the following measures shall be applied and enacted into laws, written in a simple language that all may understand....No power, individual or otherwise, can be allowed to exist that interferes with the rights of the people to function through their organizations, both economic and political." Compare with Socialists' 1902, and United Mine Workers, 1907. See pp. 15 and 25 above.

CHAPTER III

THE SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE¹

Something has been said in the last chapter concerning the unparalleled business and industrial activity that distinguished the years 1917 and 1918, in Seattle. Never before had labor in this city drank so deep of the cup of power. As the shortage of men became more marked and employers were forced to bid with each other for the services of an adequate labor force, the "opportunity cost" of accepting any one job became extremely high.¹ Labor unrest was prominent and voluntary turnover was excessive. This was especially characteristic of the helpers and laborers (the unskilled). In fact their turnover was of so large proportion that it "necessitates invoking by authorities a patriotic appeal to all to contribute toward winning of the war by accepting war-essential employment with local shipyards."³

1. Feb. 6 to 11, 1919.
2. 22d Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission, 1917. Reporting labor conditions in the lumber industry in 1917 Mr. Shields, Supt. of the City Employment Bureau, remarks that "camp conditions, hours, wages, proximity to city and system of operation were invariable determining factors in attracting or dispelling labor in alignment with an ever-changing status of jurisdictional dispute between different factions of workers."
3. 25d Annual Report. In the year 1918, there was a grand total of 104,094 individuals called for from the City Employment Bureau alone.

Under these conditions the membership of Seattle's unions reached new records. This was particularly true of such unions as the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners and the Boilermakers, the latter achieving the huge total of 18,000 men. In truth the metal trades under the impetus of the government's demand for ships, attained a pre-eminent position among the unions of the city. The high wage standards existing during this period are attributable to the activities of organized labor but particular credit is due to the alertness of the metal trades and the Metal Trades Council. High wage scales established in the local shipyards and the metal trades would bring a favorable reaction in other war-essential industries; and a general rise in the price of labor would follow in order that working forces might be kept intact. Indeed, it was directly out of an attempt by the Metal Trades Council to raise the existing wage rate that Seattle became the scene of the first general strike in America.

At their Seattle Convention on Saturday, November 9, 1918, the Pacific Coast Metal Trades District Council (P.C.M. T.D.C.), after considerable discussion, adopted unanimously a resolution introduced by Alfred E. Miller, a Seattle union official, calling for the amalgamation of all metal trades unions into one big industrial organization to be nation wide in scope and jurisdiction. If favored by the majority of councils throughout the nation, the plan was to be presented to the Metal Trades Department of the A.F. of L. at the convention in June, 1919. Along with this resolution, the convention voted

not to accept the award of the Macy Board which, if it had not provided that wages being paid should not be reduced, would actually have lowered many wage scales in the shipyards. At its following meeting the Seattle Metal Trades Council concurred in the action of its delegates relative to the Macy Award; and the great Boilermakers' Local #104 with its 18,000 members put itself on record as favoring the action of the P.C.M.T.C. in regard both to the Award and to the plan for an industrial union.

In anticipation of hard times attendant upon the demobilisation of returning soldiers and sailors, the Metal Trades Council on January 3, 1919 voted for the formation of a "Soldiers', Sailors' and Workmen's Council"¹ to take care of the destitute, help those seeking jobs, and spread the propaganda of trade unionism among the returning men. At the same time the Council went on record as advocating the six-hour day (previously endorsed by the C.L.C.) so that work available might satisfy all demands made upon it; and urged the assessment of one dollar per capita upon all affiliated unions (35000 strong) to provide funds for the scheme. The Building Trades Council immediately followed suit with a recommendation of a similar assessment upon its twenty-seven locals (7,500 members) the money to be used along with the other fund for the same end.

After the decision of the P.C.M.T.C. on November 9th

1. Union Record, Jan. 3, 1919.

to refuse the Macy Award, the authority to call a strike one month later in case the demands of the Council were not met was secured by the requisite two-thirds majority of the local unions affected. Nevertheless, the strike vote had been held in abeyance pending a decision of the Board of Appeal and Reviews at Washington, D.C., before which the case had been laid by a committee headed by J. A. Taylor. Upon the failure of this appeal, the P.C.M.T.D.C. convening at Portland on January 10, 1919 voted to have no further dealings with the Macy Board. Although the Seattle M.T.C. succeeded on the 18th in getting one building firm to sign up a blanket agreement which nullified the Macy Award,¹ further activities in this direction were out short when Pies, head of the United States Shipping Board, denied the verbal promise he was claimed to have made to the Metal Trades Representative to the Adjustment Board (that any agreement made separately with shipbuilders in the Northwest would be satisfactory to the Board) and forbade local shipyards on threat of cancellation of contracts, to enter into any negotiations with the Council. On the 21st, 30,000 shipyard workers walked out 'en masse' for the basic wage scale submitted by them in August 1918. At the same time and for the same cause, 15,000 men from 4 shipyards and 29 contract shops walked out in Tacoma.

Contending that the agreement between their international officers and the Emergency Fleet Corporation out of

1. Union Record, Jan. 18, 1919.

which the Macy Adjustment Board was formed, did not preclude the making of any amicable agreement with their employers, the M.T.C. submitted a request to the C.L.C. to call for a general strike to back up its demands. The C.L.C. promptly endorsed the proposal by a unanimous vote and submitted the question to referendum of its affiliated locals.

Thus was fomented the Seattle General Strike. It is the opinion of Dave Levine,¹ prominent C.L.C. official, that the strike was instigated by a few radical leaders and that the rank and file were whipped into line by such men as Percy May of the Longshoremen and Leon Green of the Electric Workers. This same view was characteristic of the business world. For instance, "Any strike more wide-spread than the present, whether it be a complete or a partial strike of unionized workers, will be simply a demonstration of the temporary control of the radicals over the organized working forces of the city",² or, "A handful of radicals precipitated this absurd and indefensible conflict. A handful of radicals put Seattle in the position of staging a revolution against the government of the United States. These radicals must go and it is the business of employers to See That They Do Go, by co-operating with conservative labor in the reconstruction."³

If these opinions be true, no greater praise could be bestowed upon the energy of this "handful" of agitators, nor a

1. Interview, Dave Levine.
2. Editorial, Post-Intelligencer, Jan. 30, 1919.
3. Editorial, Seattle Times, Feb. 10, 1919.

better commentary made upon the soul-stirring force of the radical propaganda which they disseminated than the splendid unanimity with which the general strike was ratified by Seattle's organized workers. Of the few unions which voted against the strike, perhaps the most characteristic were the Federal Employees and the Railroad Clerks who could not strike¹, and the Postal Clerks and Letter Carriers who announced that their regulations were such that they faced jail by such action. Much more suggestive of the spirit of the movement was the action of the Longshoremen which, through the amalgamation of the Stevedores and Riggers with the Truckers, had just achieved 100% organization and their long-sought "closed shop" agreement on the waterfront. These victories were cheerfully imperilled that the cause of organized labor might triumph. Or the Street Car Men, finally 100% organized and awaiting a decision of the Supreme Court that involved substantial increases in pay, but which nevertheless voted to go out with the rest of labor and leave their civil service ratings to the Gods of Chance. Or the Musicians' union which although voting five to one against the idea of a general strike, yet voted six to one in favor of striking with the rest of labor in case the others decided to go out!

But leaders were oppressed with presentiments. International officers opposed and many officials and old-timers

1. "The Seattle General Strike", by History Committee of the General Strike Committee. pp. 13-14.

within the Seattle labor movement only reluctantly endorsed a general strike the like of which had never been experienced in this country. The General Strike Committee (consisting of three delegates from each of 110 striking unions as well as independent leaders voted into the Committee) realized that the fate of organized labor hung in the balance and began four days before the strike to arrange complex details and prepare to deal with the intricate problems incidental to the operation of a modern city. The time for the general strike was definitely set for Thursday, February 6th, at 10 o'clock A.M. An Executive Committee of fifteen headed by Brother Hanman was appointed to work jointly with a like committee from the M.T.C. to outline and submit a definite program to the General Strike Committee. This Committee of Fifteen was then made permanent and charged with the power to consider among others all questions of exemptions subject only to appeal to the General Strike Committee itself. These two problems (1) Exemptions and (2) The opposition of international officers proved to be the weightiest connected with the strike. The first is exemplified by the Garbage Wagon Drivers who reported that health commissioner McBride had informed them that they were required to care for the hospitals and sanitariums under penalty of the law. (Certain exemptions were granted). The second, when the stercotypers announced the presence of one of their International officers who would probably attempt to force them back to work, most likely by supplying men to fill their places. (The Committee here declared that the strike would not be called off

until the stereotypers were reinstated in any positions lost by virtue of the strike.)

Numerous committees were appointed--Law and Order, Public Welfare, Relief, Finance, Exemptions in Construction, Transportation and Provisions. The impartial attitude assumed in exemptions is no better illustrated than in the following. Extra Janitors were allowed the Co-operative Market because of the large amounts of food handled for the Strikers' Kitchens; but requests for exemption of janitors from both the King County Commissioners for the City-County Building and from F. A. Rust for the Labor Temple, were denied. As the day of the strike grew nearer the momentous question of city light and power remained unsettled and was causing Mayor Hansen not a little worry, especially in view of the declaration of Leon Green that the Electric Workers would strike with "no exemptions." "More than any other one event during the entire strike, this front page report of Green's intentions aroused both fear and resentment, not only among outsiders, but within the ranks of organized labor as well."¹

At any rate, this declaration called forth the first burst of opposition on the part of the Mayor who declared that

1. "The Seattle General Strike", by History Committee of the General Strike Committee. P.24. This fact is significant in the light of a widespread belief on the part of labor that Green was a paid agent of the employers, hired to foment trouble within labor's ranks and bring the movement into disrepute. It is suggested that Leon Green's first job in Seattle was on the ultra-conservative Seattle Post-Intelligencer; that he soon after became almost rabidly radical; and that after the General Strike he was next apprehended when he was tried by a Committee of the Retail Clerks'

city lights¹ would run even if he had to bring in soldiers to run them. But despite this militant attitude the mayor spent some little time in conference with labor committees in an effort to save city light from serious inconvenience.² Meantime the general public, with full confidence in their Mayor's ability to carry out his boast, bought up all available supplies of oil lamps and candles. In the end, the Electric Workers yielded to the demands of the Executive Committee, and city light, with the exception of commercial power, ran unmolested.³

On the momentous Thursday at 10 A.M. 60,000 men walked out on strike and "not a wheel turned in any of the industries employing organized labor or in many others which did not employ organized labor."⁴ Assistance to the strikers was offered by various unions throughout the state; an Everett

Union and the Hebrew Trades of Chicago and guilty of accepting a bribe of \$3,000 from certain employers in connection with negotiations for a new trade agreement. (Minutes C.L.C., May 9, 1923).

1. The question of "city lights" involved far more than the darkening of the city's lights. The shutting down of city power would mean the spoiling of large quantities of food in the cold storage warehouses; and far more serious, it would cut off the water supply in West Seattle and on Queen Anne Hill.
2. Upon the invitation of the Committee of Fifteen, he even rushed to a meeting in the Labor Temple after midnight and remained until 3:30 in the morning of the dreaded Thursday. (History Committee, p.26)
3. A month later a member of the strike committee of the Electric Workers stated that the whole question of city light was a bluff between Green and Hansen, the former knowing perfectly that he could not close down city light since only the line and meter men were sufficiently organized; and the engineers who could have tied up the system consistently declined to accept the policy of "no exemptions".
4. "The Seattle General Strike", by History Committee of the General Strike Committee. P.24.

delegation assured them that if any work was sent into Everett they would call out their men; Tacoma called a similar strike at the same time.

Whether it was the action of Leon Green mentioned above, or the complete, business-like tie-up of all of the city's activities in a strike the definite goal of which was not stated nor the duration of which even intimated, still it is certain that the business men of the community were bitter, militant, and fearful and it is equally certain that Mayor Hansen, although elected by union labor, shared in the general foreboding. He increased the police force by 600 men, deputized 2,400 citizens of all degrees of responsibility with the right to carry arms, stationed machine guns at advantageous places;¹ and soldiers under Major-General Morrison were brought from Camp Lewis (at whose request and for what purpose could not be ascertained by labor's investigators). But despite this parade of force the general police court arrests sank far below normal; and Major-General Morrison was moved to remark that in 40 years of military experience he had not seen so quiet and orderly a city. Labor's own unarmed body of 500 ex-service union men constituted a police force that allowed no crowds to congregate and took great care that labor gave no possible grounds for provocation. That Mayor Hansen expended \$50,000 for extra police protection and yet not one arrest could be attributed to the strike is ample

1. "The Seattle General Strike", pp.46-47.

evidence of the success of this policy.

Meantime, the Milk Wagon Drivers, through their own organisation, established 35 neighborhood milk stations through which milk authorized for the use of babies was distributed.¹ After the first day, difficulties connected with the feeding of 30,000 strikers and other customers began to be ironed out.² Food was served under the auspices of the provision trades in cafeteria style at some 21 different eating places throughout the city. By the end of the strike a very substantial meal could be had by all for 25¢ (at first the price to the general public had been 35¢). Such conditions of peace and control, especially when most every auto upon the streets, every truck, every garbage wagon, every laundry wagon, yes, even every funeral bore a banner "Exempt By Strike Committee", must have rankled in the breasts of those who hoped to see the strike collapse or longed to utilize the armed forces so thoughtfully concentrated. In a special strike edition of the Union Record published at the request of the General Strike Committee, 'Anise' expressed this thought in an editorial under the title "They Can't Understand":

"What scares them most is,
That Nothing Happens
They are ready
For Disturbances."

Perhaps the gravest mistake in the General Strike was the failure to fix a time limit. As early as February 3d a committee from the C.L.C. (Ault, Swenson, Duncan, Rust) waited

1. "The Seattle General Strike", p.41-42.
2. Ibid, p43-44.

upon the Executive Committee of the M.T.C.¹ in an attempt to convince this body to set a limit of from twenty-four to forty-eight hours; but the attempt failed when the General Conference of the Metal Trades refused to concur. James Duncan made a similar attempt before the General Strike Committee. The influence of the rank and file is evidenced in the fact that there was considerable debate upon the motion to allow Mr. Duncan to speak upon the subject;² the committee refused to discuss the question until he had left the room; and the proposition was then quickly voted down. The unexpected blatantly militant attitude of the Mayor did not ease the situation. In the words of Ben Nauman (President of the Executive Committee), "Ole attempted to call the strike off at noon of Friday, and said that if we didn't do it he'd declare martial law. Then he said that unless we declared the strike off Saturday morning he'd declare martial law. Ole didn't declare martial law, and we didn't declare it off. Finally, he made many of the members of the committee so mad we couldn't declare it off ourselves."³ A proclamation issued on Friday by the Mayor declaring that business should go on as usual resulted in the appearance Saturday morning of seven cars on the municipal car line--otherwise the situation remained unchanged. Saturday morning, however, the Committee of Fifteen after long consideration voted

1. Interview J.S. Duncan.
2. He was not an accredited member of the General Strike Committee at that time since Proctor, Pres. of the C.L.C. had as yet failed to name the council's delegates.
3. "The Seattle General Strike", p.31.

thirteen to one (one member being absent) to declare the strike at an end at 8 P.M. that night. This resolution was presented to the General Strike Committee that afternoon by J. Duncan but despite the fervent appeal made for its adoption by both himself and Ault, a roll-call vote taken after midnight showed such an overwhelming defeat of the proposal that the meeting voted unanimously to continue the strike.¹

During this same meeting an attempt was made by Doyle to have the General Strike Committee go on record as willing to accept, in the interests of the general public, either mediation or conciliation as a means of settling the sympathetic strike, but his resolution was promptly tabled. The meeting did not adjourn until 4:12 A.M. Sunday morning. Nevertheless, by Monday morning several unions had gone back to work either under a false impression that the strike was being called off or in obedience to the orders of their executive committees or international officers. Of these the most important were the Teamsters² and the Street Car Men³; the Barbers, Stereotypers, Auto Drivers, Bill Posters, Ice Wagon Drivers, Milk Wagon Drivers, and Newsboys were also reported at work.

At the end of its Monday morning session a resolution

1. Minutes Gen.Strike Com. Feb. 8, 1919. An interesting feature of this meeting was some of the 'conversions' effected during an adjournment for supper. In an interview with Mr. Duncan, the Longshoremen were reported in this connection as being peculiarly effective "evangelists".
2. Auditor Briggs stated to the Committee of Fifteen that he ordered the Teamsters back to work largely because of the refusal of either the C.L.C. or the Gen.S.Com. to accord him even the courtesy of admission in spite of the fact that he was an A.F.of L. representative.
3. Interview Jas. Duncan. The Street Car Men had been of-

was drafted by the Committee of Fifteen and unanimously approved by the General Strike Committee¹ that all unions which had returned to work call out their men until twelve noon February 11th, "and to then declare this strike at a successful termination, and if developments should then make it necessary that the strike be continued, that further action be referred to the rank and file exclusively". The same resolution expressed the conviction that "the stampede to return to work was not on the part of the rank and file but rather on the part of their leaders." The Teamsters, Newsboys and Auto Drivers at open meeting decided to come out again until the appointed time; but in all cases where the decision rested with the Executive Committee or with International officers, the decision was adverse.² This but adds color to the consensus of opinion that the Seattle General Strike "was not a strike engineered by leaders, but one voted for, carried on, and kept up by that part of the rank and file which attends union meetings or takes part in referendum votes." Notwithstanding this action on the part of union officialdom when the whistle blew at twelve noon on February 11th all but a negligible few of those who had walked out the previous Thursday were found in the ranks of the strikers.

It must be emphasized however that the strike orig-

ferred their jobs without question if they were at work by 9 o'clock Sunday morning. (Interview Jas. Duncan).

1. Minutes of Executive Committee, Feb. 10, 1919.
2. "The Seattle General Strike", p.40.

inated in, and was carried on by regular A.F. of L. unions. It is true that the I.W.W. struck with the rest but so did the Japanese as well as many non-union men. According to T.F.G. Dougherty,¹ I.W.W. representative in Seattle at the time, the I.W.W. took no strike vote and participated only to the extent that some of its members were also members of the Shipbuilders' Industrial Union. Nor can it be rightly said that labor on the whole evidenced any peculiarly radical tendencies during this period. It is true that in the first enthusiasm of solidarity a resolution² from the Teamsters' Union, Local #174 requesting that upon the settlement of the strike, all locals make agreements expiring at the same time was adopted by the General Strike Committee; but such a policy was not only unsuited to the needs of the several crafts³ but obviously beyond the power of the council to enforce. It was never acted upon. It is also true that during the strike upon the request of the Transport Workers (I.W.W.) all union cards were ordered recognized at the eating places regardless of affiliation.⁴ But it is likewise to be noted that when on February 11th King, of the Painters' Union, moved that a universal card be recommended to all affiliated unions and that

1. Union Record, Mar. 11, 1919.
2. Minutes General Strike Committee, Feb. 6, 1919.
3. It is the policy of the respective crafts to so negotiate their agreements that they expire during the period in which there is the greatest demand for labor. This obviously enhances their bargaining strength; but it is just as evident that the same period is not equally advantageous to all unions.
4. Minutes General Strike Committee, Feb. 7, 1919.

all cards be recognized, the motion was promptly tabled.¹

But Mayor Hansen was not satisfied. Thirty workmen including 26 I.W.W.'s, 2 Socialists, and 2 unaffiliated were arrested on February 13th on a charge of criminal anarchy. ✓ The evidence consisted of certain hand-bills and dodgers distributed during the strike which urged the workers to own their own industries. Although the men arrested had no connection either with the C.L.C. or with the General Strike, the C.L.C. recognized an "invasion of fundamental rights" and appointed an investigating committee.² The committee reported that the leaflets in question advocated socialism and not anarchy, that they made no appeal to overthrow the government by force, that the presence of a policeman in the plant of the Equity Printing Company was inexcusable, and that the workers held for trial seemed to have been selected out of the total number arrested because they belonged to no organization possessing either economic or political power. Objecting to what appeared to be an attempt on the part of the administration to give color to the Mayor's fanciful 'revolution' by prosecuting innocent, helpless men, the Council accepted almost unanimously the recommendation of the committee to take up the active defense of the accused. None of the men were ever convicted and the whole affair was finally dropped.

Was the General Strike a failure? The Committee³ of

1. Minutes General Strike Committee, Feb. 11, 1919.

2. Union Record, March 6, 1919.

3. "The Seattle General Strike", p.45.

the Metal Trades lost something between \$6,000 and \$7,000 on its kitchens, while the Milk Wagon Drivers suffered a deficit of \$700 on some 3,000 gallons of milk contracted for in excess of the actual requirements of the kitchens.² (Most of this loss is attributable to the difficulties encountered in getting things under way and to an overestimation of the number of meals that would be required). And when the strike was ended, Pies of the Emergency Fleet Corporation was still as adamant to the demands of the shipyard workers. And what of revolution? This is the view of the strike that, thanks to newspaper exaggeration and the personal propaganda of Mayor Hansen, has received greatest publicity. "The issue is no longer in doubt; the leaders of revolt are openly proclaiming that the shipyard dispute is only a pretext; that it is camouflage. It is not a strike; it is a delirium-born rebellion."² Again, "A part of our community is, in fact, defying our government, and is, in fact, contemplating changing that government, and not by American Methods. This small part of our city talks plainly of 'taking over things', of 'resuming under our management'.

"We call this thing that is upon us a general strike, but it is more than that. It is to be an acid test of American citizenship--an acid test of all those principles for which our soldiers have fought and died."

That there were some grounds for such apprehension

1. "The Seattle General Strike", p.42.
2. Front-page Editorial Post-Intelligencer, Feb.6, 1919.
3. Editorial, Seattle Star Feb. 5, 1919.

is not to be denied. An editorial penned by A.L.Strong was published in the Union Record the day before the strike--an editorial ending with these words: "Labor will not only Shut Down the industries, but Labor will Reopen under the management of the appropriate trades, such activities as are needed to preserve public health and public peace. If the strike continues, Labor may feel led to avoid public suffering by reopening more and more activities,

Under Its Own Management.

And that is why we say that
we are starting on a road that
leads--No One Knows Where!"

It is also true that on the day before the strike a motion was made in the C.L.C. to the effect that, if the strike were prolonged and the employers refused to reach a settlement, the strike committee should arrange to take over the Shipbuilding Industry, eliminating bosses and operating industry in the interests of workers.¹; but it is equally true not only that the motion was quickly laid on the table but also that it was made by an enthusiastic, irresponsible boy²--the delegate from the Newsboys' union. Furthermore, it is significant that a motion submitted before the strike by the Millwrights urging that if the General Strike were called, all unionists stay out until all grievances of all unions be settled was tabled indefinitely.³ The temper of the strikers is probably no better

1. Minutes C.L.C. Feb. 5, 1919.
2. Interview, Dave Levine.
3. Minutes C.L.C. Jan. 29, 1919.

shown than when their great strike committee, numbering over three hundred men--direct delegates of the rank and file--voted down a proposed slogan setting forth the class struggle in the well-known battle cry of the Communist Manifesto, "We have nothing to lose but our chains and a whole world to gain,"¹ in favor of the much more conservative motto of organized labor "Together We Win!"¹ -- a slogan more graphic of a strike which was "called, organized and carried through by the regular unions of the American Federation of Labor, acting regularly by votes of the rank and file."² Although it is no doubt true that there were among labor's ranks some who believed a revolution imminent, the great majority of the rank and file as well as the recognized leaders of the labor movement never seriously entertained any such suggestion. The only tangible evidence for a contrary opinion is the failure of labor to set a particular objective and the refusal of the rank and file to heed the pleas of their leaders to set a definite time limit to the strike.

As expressed in an editorial in the Union Record about two weeks after the strike, "If by revolution is meant violence, forcible taking over of property, the killing or maiming of men, surely no group of workers dreamed of such action. But if by revolution is meant that a Great Change is coming over the face of the world, which will transform our method of carrying on industry and will go deep into the

1. "The Seattle General Strike", p.18.

2. Ibid, p.27.

very sources of our lives, to bring joy and freedom in place of heaviness and fear--then we do believe in such a Great Change and that our General Strike was one very definite step towards it....Some day, when the workers have learned to manage, they will Begin Managing."

But even more impressive was the spirit of the strike itself. Men working on under exemption permits but contributing all earnings due to such exemptions to the General Strike fund; union officials and delegates debating far into the night, without pay, for the good of the cause; ex-service men scorning an easy \$5 or \$6 a day in order that from within labor's ranks they might better serve their working brethren; cooks laboring from 12 to 14 hours per day without reward and then many times faced with a four or five mile hike home; 60,000 workers walking out as a unit and carrying on for five days with "not even a fist fight"--there is something inspiring in the picture! In the words of Ben F. Nauman, "We did something in this strike which has never been done before by the A.F. of L. We pulled off a general strike with craft unions, with ironclad contracts which had to be broken and with a constitution which had to be ignored."¹ Never before and never since has Seattle labor been so closely united, so nearly class-conscious; As an expression of workingmen's solidarity more than any other single event, the General Strike represents the crest of a mighty wave of unified,

1. Union Record, Feb. 13, 1919.

class-conscious labor power that had been growing for almost twenty years but was destined soon to break and crash upon the rocky shores of self-interest.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECADENCE OF RADICALISM IN THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

In the General Strike, the radicals within the organized labor movement reached a position of power and influence that they had never before approached. But in that same event were sown the seeds of their own undoing: they had aroused the hate and fear of an element in the community which would not be appeased until they were entirely eliminated. Behind this element there was capital, the power of the press, the control of industry.

A more fundamental source of the gradual waning of their power and of their final eradication from the C.L.C. is to be found neither in employers organizations, i.e. the associated Industries, nor in their dupes among workingmen, i.e. the American Association of Craftsmen and Workmen, but rather in the economic depression which sapped the vitality of effective organization and put trade unionism upon the defensive.¹ Even before the occurrence of the General Strike, curtailment of business and industrial activity contingent upon the return to "normalcy" had effectively lowered the rate of turn-

1. This discussion of economic conditions is based upon the Reports of the Civil Service Commission from 1919 to 1924.

over among workingmen. Employment was becoming scarce, and men ceased taking that easy freedom with their jobs which characterized the more prosperous war period.

The gravity of unemployment was enhanced in Seattle by virtue of the city's close proximity to military and naval cantonments. In view of this fact as well as the prevalence of ideal climatic conditions in the Sound region and the previous industrial activity existing there, Seattle was forced to absorb more than her due proportion of ex-service men. The employment problem became even more serious in 1920. The gradual closing down of the shipyards and other war industries together with a further reduction in business activity so increased the numbers of the unemployed that committees were organized by city officials, city work was planned for the needy, donations were solicited that free meals might be supplied, and the citizenry was exhorted individually and collectively to provide work whenever possible. Such were the conditions which weakened the progressive Metal Trades and enabled the Employers to crush the strongest radical union affiliated with the Council--the Longshoremen.

A partial revival of business activity in 1922-23 was offset by an increase of migration to this city so that although a mild scarcity of semi-skilled and unskilled labor, willing to perform heavy or disagreeable work obtained during the summer months of the latter year, the winter found even greater unemployment than during the previous twelve month period. The inactivity of Washington's key industries--logg-

ing and lumbering--for four months during the summer of 1924 did nothing to ameliorate the general precariousness of the laborer's position.

In many respects the situation which confronted the C.L.C. during this period is analagous to that in which the W.C.L.U. found itself in the early '90's. Unions that had tasted power gradually losing their prestige and fighting for their lives, radicals absorbed in questions far removed from the immediate problem of economic bargaining--and the inevitable reaction. The resentment which the radical engendered by virtue of his refusal to permit discussion to long escape the confinements of his own propaganda was intensified by acts, attributable to his influence, which threw the C.L.C. itself open to reproof from the A.F. of L. and exposed organized labor to the condemnation of the press. Furthermore, the disclosures that resulted from the investigation of "union" enterprises and the experience of the Council with the Union Record added to a dissatisfaction with activities beyond the scope of trade union bargaining and confirmed in the eyes of labor the conservative, opportunistic policy of the A.F. of L. Only the transgressions of the I.W.W. against the C.L.C. and the persistent intrusion by the Communists of their unwelcome propaganda upon the deliberations of the Council were necessary to crystallize and concentrate upon the radical a displeasure which was in great part a product of economic demotion.

On February 20th, James A. Duncan submitted to the

C.L.C. his plan for the reorganization of the A.F. of L. This plan called for the elimination of all existing internationals and the creation of twelve great industrial divisions --the Amusement Trades, Building Trades, Clothing and Textile Trades, Culinary and Provision Trades, Marine and Transportation Workers, Metal Trades, Mine Workers, Postal and Federal Office Employees, Printing Trades, Railway Workers, Telegraph and Telephone Workers, and the Timber Workers--to the end that blanket agreements might be more easily negotiated and unified action on the part of the workers in any particular plant might be made more feasible. This resolution was endorsed by the C.L.C. and sent to all of its affiliated locals (130 in number) with the request that it be submitted by each to its respective international in order that it might be put to a referendum vote of the entire organization. Mr. Duncan advanced the plan as a bit of educational propoganda--a goal for constructive organization endeavors. But in the A.F. of L. Convention in the spring, some over-zealous delegates from Portland made the mistake of introducing a resolution to endorse the plan and in that way gave the officials of the A.F. of L. an opportunity to denounce it.¹ Nevertheless the plan was finally adopted by the Timberworkers' International; and

1. The opposition of officials is not to be wondered at since many would stand to lose very lucrative positions by the adoption of such a scheme of organization. For instance, there are among the railroad men 17 different national organizations each of which supports its retinue of officers including a President who receives in some instances as high as \$25,000 per year.

the carpenters received a sufficient number of votes to demand a referendum from their International.¹ However, Hutchinson, their International President, forced repudiation of the plan upon his threat to withdraw the charter of the local organization.

On February 25th the Produce Workers submitted a resolution defining "reds" as I.W.W.'s and urging that unions having delegates to the Council known to have membership in a dual organization be requested to replace them; but at the following meeting after about ninety minutes of stormy debate during which emphasis was placed upon the vagueness of the resolution and especially upon the fact that it would appear as though the C.L.C. was following the admonitions of the Chamber of Commerce and Ole Hansen to "clean house", the resolution was voted down overwhelmingly. A substitute resolution submitted by the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners was passed unanimously. This declared in part, "We hasten to assure the draft-slacking publisher of the Star, all the employers who hate labor, and all those who love to lick their boots, that we know exactly what they mean by 'reds', we know exactly what they mean by 'Bolsheviki', exactly what they mean by 'cleaning house'; that organized labor in Seattle was never so proud of itself, that it appreciated the reds the more for the enemies they have made, that it has no intention of cleaning house to please its opponents, and that the general strike is permanently in the arsenal of labor's peaceful

1. Interview J.A. Duncan.

weapons."¹

In this virile resolution of the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners, the rank and file of the Seattle labor movement accepted the challenge of the business world to a battle to the death; and that they were destined to be vanquished is no reflection upon the vigor of their defence. Forshadowing the struggle to come, the Seattle Times in an editorial on February 9th had prophesied, "Last night's session of the Strike Committee was a wake. They 'sat up with the corpse' of the general strike. There are tens of thousands in this city who also are fearful lest future events prove that they also 'sat up with the corpse' of labor unionism in this city!" With something of this enthralling vision before them, there was incorporated in Seattle on the 12th of March² an organization of employers known as the Associated Industries--the mortal enemy of organized labor and especially of the 'closed shop'. Although its articles of incorporation expressed the most lofty ideals and purposes, organized labor was to know it as a mighty foe anxious and capable to use every means in its power--economic compulsion, political pressure, and the press--to destroy and discredit trade unionism within the city.

This union-busting campaign precipitated by the General Strike, was first felt among the Longshoremen. This

1. Union Record, March 6, 1919.
2. Frank Waterhouse, C.S.Wills, P.H.Watt, A.S.Eldridge, and K.J.Middleton were the incorporators.

is not to be wondered at since the Longshoremen had always been radical; truckers in fact so permeated with the I.W.W. philosophy that due to the conservative element within the Pacific Coast Branch of the I.L.A. as well as its reluctance to an affiliation with a lower skilled group, the truckers' application for a charter had been denied for months. Only with the great strike of June, 1916, did they become so potentially powerful as competitors and effective as strike breakers, that it became highly desirable to have them within the organization. Hence the I.L.A. officials listened kindly to the importunities of the C.L.A. and a charter was issued to local #38-22. In December, 1918, the Longshoremen had succeeded in forcing a "closed shop" on the waterfront after refusing to work with the "Blue Jays" sent out from the Employers' Hall. Their position was strengthened when early in 1919 there was effected a notable amalgamation of stevedores, truckers, and checkers into one big union.¹

These enviable achievements were cheerfully hazarded in the General Strike. In April, 1919, altercations on the G.N. Docks supplied the newly formed Associated Industries with the first pretext for an attack upon the longshoremen's indus-

1. Except for the fact that the Checkers retained their own organization, this amalgamation resulted in a pure industrial union. The longshorement constituted within the ranks of organized labor a tower of strength for those who aimed to establish the "One Big Union" ideal of the I.W.W. This "One Big Union" type of industrialism must be carefully distinguished from the "craft industrialism" of the Metal Trades. The latter is a delegate organization of independent unions while

trial union. It placed its newly acquired financial strength behind the Northwest Waterfront Employers' Union in an attempt to abolish the "list system"¹ which the Longshoremen had forced upon their unwilling employers. But it underestimated the strength of the Longshoremen. A strike lasting from April 14th to May 17th induced the employers to acquiesce to the "list system"; and three months later the Northwest Waterfront Employers' Union entered into an agreement with the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association with regard to wages, working hours, and working conditions. Organized labor had won its first bout with the Associated Industries.

Meanwhile, the strike of the Metal Trades remained unterminated. To the request of O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department of the A.F. of L. that they recommend to their affiliated unions a referendum that the shipyard workers return to work, pending the result of negotiations, the Metal Trades Councils of Tacoma, Aberdeen and Seattle agreed to acquiesce at a joint session held in Seattle on the third of March² provided: (1) that all unions affiliated with the P.C.M.T.C. be given representation, and (2) that all agreements be referred to the rank and file for ratification. This radical attempt at democratic industrial control was thwarted when O'Connell declared that representation would be limited

the former as its name makes evident is a single union within one industry. The weapon par excellence of craft industrialism is the blanket agreement and general strike

1. The "list system" is the plan by which the employer is forced to hire men not thru his own preference but according to an alphabetical list of union men kept in the union hall.
2. Union Record, March 3, 1919.

to those unions affiliated with the International. This decision excluded from representation one-third of the Seattle Shipyard workers, 50 percent of those of Tacoma and 90 percent of all wooden-ship workers. The Metal Trades Councils bowed to the authority of the A.F. of L. official and on March 11th men began streaming back to work. It soon became evident¹ that with the exception of the Skinner & Eddy Corporation, the shipyards were not keeping their agreement that the men should return to work under the same conditions as existed at the time when the strike was called. Shop committees were not allowed to report during working hours, organizers were not allowed in the yards, and working conditions were unfavorably altered. This was but the shadow on the wall; for the Metal Trades in Seattle, the days of their power were already numbered. It is true that a conference of Pacific Coast Employers, Metal Trades and the Shipping Board met at Washington, D. C. and later adjourned to San Francisco, where the shipbuilders of the entire coast signed an agreement for a flat increase of eight cents an hour to become effective October 1, 1919. It is equally true that Seattle employers were unique among the signatories of the document in that they lived up to it. But shipbuilding in Seattle was on its deathbed. It had sprung into massive proportions under the stimulus of the war demand but after the armistice contracts were cancelled and new orders were not forthcoming. The commercial need for

1. Union Record, March 14, 1919.

new carriers was more than satiated by an excess of ships from every shipyard in the nation.. Even in the last month of 1918, cancellation of contracts for ship construction had begun; and although the shipyards maintained a moderate activity during the following year, their silent shops and empty ways are mute testimonials of a departed prosperity. Soon such strongholds of the radical rank and file as were to be found in the Boilermakers and the Shipyard Laborers, Fasteners and Riggers, were to be reduced to empty shells--the emasculated skeletons of a former virility.

Despite the growth in radical sentiment within the C.L.C. there was still a group of the radicals who found the conservative limitations of the council unbearable. This group, on May 12th, organized what was known as the "Federated Unions of Seattle"¹ with Paul K. Mohr as President and J. McKelvie as Secretary. Avowedly it aimed to take over the economic problems of the C.L.C. and leave that body as a semi-political organization. Its founders objected to the Council upon the grounds that the political interests of that body were stifling its economic endeavors and that some body should devote all of its energy to the latter, especially to the end that all labor agreements should terminate on the same date. It was the opinion, however, of leaders within the Council² that this new organization was an attempt on the part of the discontented to put over more radical measures than were possible through the C.L.C. and very likely to supersede the

1. Union Record, May 12, 1919.
2. Interview, Duncan, Levine.

latter altogether. The C.L.C. therefore by a vote of 100 to 43 branded the new council as a dual organization and a menace to labor. Under the stigma of this condemnation the new movement quickly disintegrated.

The opposition of the rank and file to the unsympathetic, autocratic control of the officials of the A.F. of L. was voiced in the instructions of the C.L.C. to delegate Duncan that in the A.F. of L. Convention he oppose the re-election of President Gompers.¹ The desire for some new type of organization was made articulate early in the year when Carpenters' and Joiners' Local #131 had presented to the C.L.C. a resolution urging the formation of a State Council representing all the various crafts, trades and unions, both skilled and unskilled, to the end that there might be formed one great, National Supreme body with subordinate states' and districts' councils, local unions and central bodies.² This resolution filed³ by the Council only because of the concurrent plan submitted by Secretary Duncan. The "One Big Union" idea was again urged when at the W.S.F.L. Convention at Bellingham a resolution introduced by H. Wright, a longshoreman of Tacoma, calling for a state referendum on the question of industrial vs. craft unionism was adopted by a large majority.⁴ About

1. Minutes C.L.C. May 28, 1919.
2. Ibid, Feb. 26 and March 5, 1919.
3. A document is "filed" by the Council when it is recorded without any further action either pro or con.
4. Union Record, June 21, 1919. P.K. Mohr, radical delegate to the Bellingham Convention, declares that the left-wing industrialists were in a majority at that gathering but were held in check by the arbitrary rulings of President Short and the treat of a roll-call

two months later the A.F. of L. ordered the balloting upon the "O.B.U." plan in the state to cease immediately upon the penalty of a withdrawal of the state charter.¹ Such balloting was construed to be a direct violation of the basic principles of the A.F. of L. especially its recognition of the autonomy of National and International unions affiliated with it. The Executive Board of the W.S.F. of L. decided to abide by the dictum of the National Federation and called off the balloting.² Despite the objection of some of its affiliated unions as well as an early resolution to defy the A.F. of L. and continue the vote,³ the Seattle C.L.C. finally fell into line. The incident was closed when the C.L.C. tabled a resolution from Harry Wright, author of the "O.B.U." plan, urging that Seattle and Tacoma Councils take charge of the "O.B.U." voting and, if a majority desire a conference, that these councils proceed to organize the "O.B.U." and let the Internationals do as they see fit.⁴

Along with this attempt at a closer unity for labor on the economic field, there arose out of this same convention an organization pledged to endeavor to effect the workingman's aspirations through political action--the "Triple Alliance."

vote which would lay them open to subsequent expulsion. The power of the radicals was demonstrated in the fact that although the convention was called on a Monday, they allowed no business to be transacted until Wednesday night at which time the "O.B.U." resolution was adopted as a compromise measure. (Interview, P.K.Mohr).

1. Union Record, Aug. 11, 1919.
2. Ibid, Aug. 15, 1919.
3. Ibid, Aug. 14, 1919.
4. Minutes C.L.C. Aug. 20, 1919.

This was an alliance of the State Federation of Labor, the State Grange and the Railroadmen's Welfare Committee (representing 16 railway unions). In the words of its chief proponent and organizer, President Short of the W.S.F. of L., it aimed¹ "to secure remedial legislation through political solidarity and to select and elect men and women for public service loyal to the best interests of all the people of the state." Under its motto, "Justice for all; special privilege for none", it rapidly justified the endorsement of the convention by its growth and influence.

In opposition to the radicalism in the organized labor movement there was organized in July 1919 the "American Association of Craftsmen and Workmen." (A.A.C.W.) This movement arose in the shipyards (according to the Executive Secretary, its only salaried officer) among a group of American-born workmen who deeply resented what they regarded as the foreign domination and unpatriotic activities of existing organizations. On the principle of mutuality of interests and a program of co-operation between labor and capital, it sought to establish the principle of incorporation for all labor unions so that labor might be collectively responsible to the courts for the keeping of contracts.² No man could become a member who was not an American citizen or at least had taken out his first papers. The strike was a "two-edged weapon" not

1. For objects, see Constitution, Art. II.

2. See By-Laws of A.A.C.W.

to be countermanded; all labor disputes were to be settled by arbitration and conciliation, the "list system" was to be abolished and the "open shop" maintained. Employers and business men were welcome but radicals and I.W.W.'s were anathema. To preserve conservatism within the ranks, each member must be elected by the Board of Trustees; and spies were employed to report on the radical utterances of the men. The A.A.C.W. aimed to eliminate the 'foreigner' as a competitive menace to American workmen by guaranteeing him no job until the latter were employed. Under 'foreign labor', which, they contended, constituted 60 percent of the city's laboring population, they included such delightfully ambiguous categories as "reds", "aliens" and "non-American citizens". At the same time, the A.A.C.W. nowhere denied the right of the employer to "hire and fire"whom he pleased. Such was the program by which this organization sought to "revolutionize" industry.

It is not at all strange that an organization so blatantly 'American' and so stupidly intolerant should prosper, especially after the "Centralia Tragedy",¹ when men seemingly had ceased thinking and responded to categorizing names as a bull to a red flag; nor is it at all incomprehensible that it failed to become a lasting influence upon the laboring movement but rather sank into insignificance as soon as men had ceased "seeing red."

We may dismiss such suggestive evidence as the fact

1. See p. 77 et sequentes.

that the A.A.C.W. was supported by funds donated by a wealthy U.S. army captain (E.C.Bickford) who admittedly had very heavy interests in the Associated Industries. But nevertheless, an organization so irresponsible to the rank and file and so obviously subjecting labor to the mercy of the employer must be judged in fact, if not intent, as nothing short of an employers' union. Whether or not this be literally true, the A.A. C.W. became from the date of its inception, a strike-breaking organization. It was largely through their aid that the Master Builders were enabled to break the strike of the Building Trades in the fall of 1919 and to declare the "open shop" on October 13th. The maintenance of the open shop caused the dispersion of great numbers of union workers throughout the state and the consequent weakening of organized labor within the city.

At the same time the daily newspapers began a virulent attack upon the lack of patriotism within the labor movement. Labor was convinced that these vitriolic charges of disloyalty and anarchism emanated from the Associated Industries; they were satisfied that every paper in the city except the Union Record was commandeered by the employers through the latter's control of the advertising which supplied their life blood. To this outside attack upon the radical members of of organized labor, was added a measure of resentment and distrust from within, when the C.L.C.'s Moonsey Defense Committee was discharged on October 15th. The C.L.C. had been active in the attempt to release Tom Moonsey although an attempt

made by the Seattle Mooney Defence Committee in 1918 to call a general strike upon August 1st and remain out until Mooney was a free man was thwarted by the more cautious delegates.¹ Once more, a year later, a move to endorse a Mooney Strike for July 4th was lost only by the narrow margin of 67 to 76.² Despite this refusal to strike, the C.L.C. had appointed a Mooney Defense Committee of Fifteen on March 19, 1919³ to solicit funds and carry on propaganda for the release of Mooney. But the Committee proved itself interested neither in Billings nor in Mooney;⁴ and it soon resolved itself into a fat job-paying scheme for the dissemination of radical propaganda.⁵

And then occurred the Armistice Day Tragedy in Centralia,⁶ with its attendant intensification of the hate and

1. Minutes C.L.C. July 17, 1918.
2. Ibid, July 2, 1919.
3. Ibid, March 19, 1919.
4. Interview P.K. Mohr, and J. Duncan.
5. At the date of its discharge it showed a balance of \$900.57 on hand for Mooney defense work out of a total accumulations through donations, collections and sales of buttons, dance tickets, and papers of \$9,684.37. Of its expenditures \$5,932 was spent in salaries. (Financial Statement issued by C.L.C. upon transactions of Mooney Defense Committee.)
6. Prior to the tragedy on Armistice Day 1919, the I.W.W. had made several unsuccessful attempts to establish permanent quarters in Centralia. This little city was the center of the lumber region and therefore a price-less field for the I.W.W. organizer who finds his easiest converts among the loggers and the millmen. (The reason for this lies in the conditions of the industry itself as well as in the type of worker who is attracted to seasonal employment.)
Two months before the tragedy they had secured an old store as a meeting place; but the threats which accompanied the forceful expulsion from the town of a strong friend of the I.W.W.'s-- a newsdealer by the name of Tom Laster--made their prolonged tenure precarious. They were consequently apprehensive of further violence.

fear of the vaguely apprehended 'radical'. For a considerable period the Times had been carrying on an attack on organized labor which it concentrated upon "the Bolshevist Labor Council

On the return March of the Armistice Day parade, a company of ex-service men, unarmed, was halted directly in front of the I.W.W. headquarters. The explanation of the motive behind this action varies with the point of view from which it is interpreted. At the coroner's inquest, it was testified that the shower of bullets from the I.W.W. headquarters, the Avalon Hotel opposite, and from a nearby hill, which seriously wounded four of the ex-service men (of whom three afterwards died), was discharged only after the soldiers had started a raid on the hall. Who was the real aggressor was never determined.

In the pursuit of the I.W.W. another marcher; was shot to death that night the lights of the city were suddenly extinguished and a man supposed to be the secretary of the I.W.W. was kidnapped from the jail and lynched. The victim of this outburst was not the secretary but Wesley Everett, an active member of the organization. An era of I.W.W. terrorism followed. Seven of the accused I.W.W. were subsequently found guilty of second degree murder, punishable by imprisonment of from fifteen years to life by a jury five of whose members later signed affidavits to the effect that their decision had been rendered under duress. The men are still in prison.

References: "Centralia and the I.W.W." Theresa S. McMahon, The Survey, Dec. 1919.
 "Centralia before the Court". E.M. The Survey April 3, 1920.
 "Centralia". E.M. The New Republic, April 14, 1920.

and the I.W.W. Record." ¹ Speaking of the Centralia affair on the 12th, "The American Bolsheviki there acted precisely as the planners of the Seattle general strike would have been pleased to act--had the forces of law and order in this community Also Been Unarmed!"² Nor did the Editor of the Times forget that an election was impending. Violence, he declared in the same editorial, "is the secret hope of the men who have organized the so-called Tripple Alliance, but which they dared not put into language for fear of affronting even the patient public of the state of Washington. It is the doctrine the Reds intend teaching our children if they gain control of the city schools at the election on December 2d."

Then, on the basis of two editorials in the Record, one on November 11th entitled "Who Loses?" (a plea for concerted action at the polls on the "Vote As You Strike" principle of the Socialists) and a second on the 12th under the caption "Don't Shoot In the Dark!"³ (a plea for law and order and fair dealing in the trial of the Centralia I.W.W.'s),

1. The Times, Editorial, Nov. 13, 1919.

2. Ibid, Nov. 12, 1919.

3. Union Record Editorial:

"Don't Shoot In the Dark!

Violence begets violence

Anarchy calls forth anarchy.

That is the answer to the Centralia outrage.

And the reason for it is found in the constant stream of laudation in the kept press of un-American, illegal and violent physical attacks upon the persons of those who disagree with the powers that be.

The rioting which culminated in the deaths of three of our returned service men at Centralia last night was the result of a long series of illegal acts by these men themselves--acts which no paper in the state was American enough to criticize except the Union Record.

Organized labor has had no connection with nor has

E. B. Ault, editor, F.A. Rust, Secretary of Board of Trustees, and G.P. Listman, President of the Union Record Publishing Co. were arrested on a charge of sedition on November 13th. The Union Record was closed indefinitely, the situation culminating in the seizure of the Union Record plant on the 14th and the barring of the paper from the U.S. Mails on the 16th. After it became evident that the Record was to continue publication even though it was forced to use a job-printing shop to do it, together with the calumnies heaped by the other dailies upon the organized labor movement, the Union Record and the Triple Alliance, not to mention the fact that when the case finally came before United States Commissioner R.W. McClelland he returned the plant with the judgment that the warrants under which the raids were made were legally faulty and of no effect--these circumstances led L.W. Buck, Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, to conclude that the whole affair was but part of the organized attack of the Associated Industries upon organized labor and the Triple Alliance.¹ In the light of this conclusion it is significant that when on

it any sympathy for the perpetrators of the violence at Centralia, No Matter Whom They May Be, and from the facts at hand both sides have earned the severest condemnation of law-abiding people.

We advise all to await with us the development of the truth about the whole affair."

That this position was pre-eminently just and in no sense "seditious", a perusal of the facts of the case and especially of the affidavits of jurors made since the verdict will satisfy.

1. Union Record, Nov. 22, 1919.

the 19th the Post-Intelligencer and the Star ran an editorial written by Edwin Selvin, editor of the Business Chronicle, as a paid advertisement but presumably with their approval, in which he advocated that leaders of the A.F. of L. should be put to death, its American-born membership imprisoned for life and its non-citizen membership deported, the papers were barred from the city streets but no raids were carried out, no plants were seized, while scanty apologies were quickly accepted.

This propaganda of fear and violence, baseless as it may have been, did much to discredit the radicals in the labor movement. Nor was the tension relieved when Chief of Police Warren sent circular letters to ex-service men with the request that they enlist under their own officers for riot duty at any moment,¹ or when Attorney-General L.L.Thompson exhorted all civic and fraternal organizations to form sleuthing committees to ferret out "radicalism" and inform the prosecuting attorney of their district, or by those dealers in arms and ammunition who took advantage of the general anxiety to stimulate their trade.² Raids were carried out against I.W.W.'s

1. Union Record, Nov. 25, 1919.

2. "Dear Fellow Kiwanian:

Are you prepared? Not only to assist, if necessary, in controlling the despicable human element which has sprung up in our midst, but to defend, if necessary, the sanctity of your home and aid in protecting the property and wealth of the community.

Although there has been a considerable scarcity of all firearms during recent months, we are fortunate in having in stock, at the present time, a very good assortment of revolvers, automatic pistols, rifles, shotguns and ammunition.

and persecution of foreigners was rife. A resolution was adopted in a mass meeting representing 12,000 Russians, held on November 16th, which avowed sympathy for and pride in the Bolsheviks, and requesting that "If the solidarity with our Russian Brothers, thus displayed by us, does not for any reason meet with the approval of the authorities here, we, as a committee, ask to be permitted to return to our native land."¹ A short time later, a mass meeting claiming to represent 6,000 local Finns adopted a similar resolution² and appointed a committee to arrange for deportation to Russia on the grounds that they were being persecuted for their radical views and unjustly blamed for industrial unrest more rightly attributable to the high cost of living and the existence of intolerable working conditions.

This general crusade against the agitator was not entirely barren of effects upon the temper of the labor movement. At the urgent insistence of Electric Workers #46 a resolution had been adopted by the C.L.C. deploring efforts to foment discord in the ranks of the A.F. of L., reaffirming the resolution of May 16, 1916, relative to the I.W.W. and de-

Assuring you that it is my desire to place these goods in proper hands rather than an effort to sell goods which are already in considerable demand, I am

Yours very truly,
Hofstetter & Co.
per F.C. Hofstetter."

(Reprint in Union Record for Nov. 26, 1919, of a circular letter received by A.L. Dickson, Sec'y. of Tacoma C.L.C.

1. Union Record, Nov. 26, 1919.
2. Ibid, Nov. 28, 1919.

manding the removal of every offender, be the individual "a member of the Minute Men, the I.W.W., the American Legion," or any other disturbing element.¹ That this might not appear an acquiescence to the constant demand of the press for labor to "clean house", a substitute resolution was submitted by the Longshoremen and concurred in by the Council. In this new resolution the parenthesized reference to particular organizations was omitted and the addition made "that we condemn all persons advocating violence, be he a member of organized labor or otherwise, or a business man or public official--Federal, State, County or City--and hereby demand the prosecution of same under the laws of the land" and further "urge all affiliated organizations to expel from membership any individual who may, on trial, be found guilty of disobedience to these laws (of the A.F. of L.) whether he be radical or conservative or a member of any organization or element seeking to disrupt the A.F. of L."²

With the beginning of 1920, the Seattle Waterfront Employers' Union, emboldened by the presence of several strong "scab" contractors (Washington Stevedoring Co., Griffith & Sprague, Bartlett) ready and anxious to supply "scabs" at from ten to fifteen cents per hour, per man, and even more by the eagerness of the Associated Industries to render assistance, and of the A.A.C.W. to fight the "closed shop" with non-union

1. Union Record, Nov. 21, 1919.
2. Minutes C.L.C., Nov. 19, 1919.

2. Ibid, Dec. 10, 1919.

notwithstanding an employers' union, that the welfare of the men is dependent upon the goodwill of the employer and the character of the Industrial Manager, must be borne in mind if one would understand the contempt in which union men hold "Fink Hall." From our present point of view, this development is significant in that it meant the practical elimination of the longshoremen's union as a power in the Seattle labor movement.

Attempts were still being made to concentrate more power in the C.L.C. to the end that unity and harmony might characterize the action of its different affiliated unions. Only the adverse ruling of President Gompers¹ as to its constitutionality prevented the adoption of an amendment to the constitution which would have necessitated the submission of all wage agreements and working conditions to the approval of the C.L.C. before they became effective. Nothing daunted, a committee was appointed on the 17th to devise ways and means to carry out the intent of the proposed amendment in order that there should be no conflict in wage agreements. Such has since been the common practice among Seattle unions.² In December a resolution was concurred in which affirmed that the Council would in future continue the boycott on unfair firms even though International officers may have settled the controversies in point, so long as they did not confer with the

1. Minutes C.L.C. March 10, 1920.

2. Interview Dave Levine.

men, gave notice of the abrogation of the "list system" to take effect February 21st. The position of the Longshoremen was weakened by the very evident hostility of the District officers of the I.L.A. toward their organization. Indeed, this opposition to the latter's radical tendencies and I.W.W. sympathies was so pronounced that the District Council was prevented from revoking the charter of local #38-12 only by a restraining order secured from the court pending an investigation of a dispute which was finally settled by T.V. O'Connor, International President. Despite this weakness, 3500 men walked out on May 7th, only to be ordered by their International officers back to work on the 14th. The men submitted and the waterfront was "broken open". Regular stevedoring was closed to union men; and only such skilled help as that of "weighers" was still hired through the union hall. After this time conditions on the waterfront went from bad to worse until on October 1st E.P. Foisie, Industrial Relations manager of the Employers' union set out to reorganize and "decasualize" the waterfront on the basis of the shops committee plan outlined in the report of President Wilson's Second Industrial Conference, "Joint Organization Through Employee Representation."

That this reorganization has resulted in a great improvement in the condition of those men who have been retained on the waterfront well as a net gain for the employers themselves, even a cursory examination of Mr. Foisie's 1924 report to the National Foreign Trades Council at its 11th Annual Convention, will confirm. But that the organization is

officers of the C.L.C.¹ This too was designed to safeguard the interests of all affiliated unions and, to further insure that it would be properly cognized, copies were sent to all internationals.

Seattle's organized labor emerged from the General Strike with a unity of feeling, a mutuality of sympathy and understanding, a wealth of experience, and a financial security that augured well for its economic and political future. That this golden opportunity should have been dissipated in the pursuit of an illusive, tantalizing bonanza is the despair of all those whose hopes are centered in labor's welfare. Many private corporations, some endorsed and some not endorsed by the C.L.C., had been organized, particularly after the strike, with union labor leaders for directors and officials. Many of these corporations bore union names. These institutions, such as the Listman Service Co., the United Finance Co. the Padilla Bay Land Co., the Deep Sea Salvage Co., the General Distributors Corporation, the "Union" Theatre Co., the "Trades Union" Savings and Loan Association, the Federation Film Corporation, traded upon the reputation won by their officers and directors within the labor movement to secure the trust and through it the funds of union men and women. So artful became their sales talks, their "news" items, their advertising methods and agencies that many of them became identified in the mind of the ordinary investor with that class of bona fide labor owned enterprises of which the Union Record,

1. Minutes C.L.C., Dec. 1, 1920.

the Mutual Laundry, and the Labor Temple Association were examples. Finally, when it became apparent to many progressives within the Council that the credulity of the thousands of work men investors was merely leading to a financial crash which might do much to undermine the confidence of the rank and file in the organized labor movement itself, a motion was made to investigate all enterprises claiming to be union owned and a committee of five¹ was elected.

After an investigation over a period of six months, the committee brought in a report "showing intertwined and interlocking control of the Union Record and Organized Labor with Capitalistic Corporations and Companies for private gain."² It was shown² that E.B. Ault, Editor and member of the Board of Control of the Union Record, Geo. P. Listman, President of the Union Record Publishing Co., F.A. Rust, Secretary of the Company, J.C. Mundy, President of the C.L.C., A.J. Schmidt, Advertising Manager of the Union Record, held positions of control and affluence in these various "labor" enterprises;³ that the Union Record was being used to propagate with "news" items and announcements, a false sense of security in these corporations of private gain from which the officers of the Record were reaping such a rich harvest; that the Union Record

1. Minutes C.L.C. July 14, 1920. Phil. Pearl, M.J. Kennedy, F.B. Clifford, Wm. McNally and Wm. Brown.
2. Statement by Investigating Committee of the C.L.C. in "Save the Record", April 14, 1921.
3. Interview P. Pearl, Chr. Investigating Committee. In these so-called "labor" enterprises, the common voting stock was held by the board of directors. This desirable situation (for the directors) was insured by a

itself was grossly inefficient and scandalously wasteful of labor's funds.¹ The charge against these officials was not one of dishonesty but of gross incapacity.² The objection was also raised to the capitalization for private gain of the trust of the rank and file in the organized labor movement.³ It soon became apparent that the fight was to be a set battle between the conservative and the radical factions within the Council. The Committee finally brought its charges to a head and secured, by a vote of 100 to 94, the adoption of its report as a whole and the adoption as policy of the following recommendations to be incorporated into the constitution of the Council:⁴(1) "That when one of our fellow unionists engages actively in private business, employing labor for profit, or allows the use of his name for promotion purposes, or receives

policy of selling two shares of preferred to one share of common stock while the directors could draw their pay in common voting stock.

1. Interview P.K.Mohr. It was also brought to light that the Unions' Treasury Fund of which \$100,000 was supposed to be "on Call" at all times with the Labor Temple Ass'n. was being used by these guardians of trade union financial stability for their own private gain.
2. For instance, J.C.Mundy made as high as \$900 per week and yet afterwards could not hold a job selling Chevrolets. He is now running an oil station in Olympia. (P.Pearl, Chr. Investigating Committee).
3. While hearings were affecting him Ault used the columns of the Record to attack the Committee and refused to publish their reply. This fact necessitated the publishing of a complete report of the investigation outside the columns of labor's own paper. It also resulted in circulation of a 4-page bulletin, "Save the Record", as well understood as possible, and is a part of a campaign to save the Record from stock speculators and financiers, and preserve it for uses of the workers who are responsible for its creation and its splendid past achievements."
4. Minutes C.L.C., Mar. 24, 1921.

the major portion of his income from profit, interest, rent or commissions derived from the labor of others, he shall be barred from all executive offices or Boards of Control within the control of this council, provided that institutions holding endorsement of the C.L.C. shall not come under the foregoing rule; (2) that union card holders conducting private enterprises, exploiting labor, shall be excluded from the management or directing influence of union Labor owned or co-operative enterprises as far as this Council can control such co-operative or union labor owned enterprises."

The issue between the two factions was now clearly drawn. New delegates were seated in the Council and many old ones withdrawn in spite of the protests of the Committee that the new men did not have the evidence but were already biased. The objection however was outvoted and some twenty new men were seated. The motion that, whereas the above recommendations of the Committee had been adopted, Ault, Mundy and the rest resign their positions or else a recall be started was debated long and bitterly; but it was finally defeated by a vote of 123 to 102 and the Committee was discharged.¹ The radicals had lost the final vote and were also soon to lose even their initial victory. Gompers declared the proposed provisions for the constitution of the C.L.C. untenable in the light of the constitution of the A.F.of L. and the amendment was ruled out of order.² But in another sense the rad-

1. Minutes C.L.C. March 30, 1921, p.209-10.

2. Ibid, May 21, 1921, p.233.

icals had won a signal victory; in fact there are some who feel that they rose in this issue to the zenith of their power.¹ The facts brought to light in the long 72 hours of bitter debate had most effectively undermined the confidence in, and checked the operations of capitalistic corporations under the guise of labor enterprises.

But if this event mark the zenith of radical power within the C.L.C. the remark credited to J.C.Mundy at the time, that it is "Up to every loyal unionist to fight for the A.F. of L. against the I.W.W." presaged a struggle in which the radicals were soon to be silenced and ousted from the organized labor movement at least as represented by the C.L.C. During the three years directly succeeding the General Strike the Council's proceedings were replete with radical resolutions. That the State Constitution should be amended so that the people of the state could be represented by industries;² that the Council support the efforts of Russian citizens to return to their native lands and exert its influence to stop their wholesale arrests;³ that the Council endorse a request for aid received from the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic;⁴ that the U.S. recognize and open up trade relations with Russia;⁵ that the Council accredit a delegate to the Moscow

1. Interview, P.K.Mohr.

2. Minutes C.L.C. June 9, 1920, p.110.

3. Ibid, Feb. 4, 1920, p.75.

4. Ibid, June 23, 1920, p.113.

5. Ibid, Jan.5, 1921, p.172.

Conference if no expense is involved¹--such was the tenor of what the conservatives within the Council have termed "surplus"² resolutions. But far more significant were the actions which brought to the C.L.C. the rebuke of the A.F.of L. The continued refusal of the Council to endorse the A.F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee;³ and, pre-eminently in view of the fact that the State Convention took a non-partisan political stand, the resolution in favor of independent political action by producers and the endorsement of the Farmer-Labor Party;⁴--these measures called down upon the C.L.C. the criticism of President Gompers. This but added fuel to the indignation of the A.F.of L. officials, which had been aroused by the action of the Council as early as August 1920, when the C.L.C. urged, through a circular letter, that all C.L.C's use their influence to stop the handling and making of munitions and supplies destined for use against Russia and that each Council express itself upon the advisability of a National Conference of the Executive Council of the A.F.of L. to take action upon President Wilson's declaration that he would utilize "all available means" to assist Poland against

1. Minutes C.L.C. Mar.18, 1921. p.196.
2. Dave Levine, present V-Pres. of the C.L.C. and active delegate from the Jewelers' union during the last eight years.
3. Minutes C.L.C. Aug. 16, 1922. p.385.
4. Ivid, April 19, 1922, p.345. In the face of the opposition oboth the A.F.of L. and the State Federation, it was also moved and carried that Farmer-Labor posters be hung on each side of the chairman's rostrum.

Russia.¹ In reply to a communication from the A.F.of L.² calling it to task for its activities, the C.L.C. responded that it was observing every law of the A.F.of L. and holding every one of its principles inviolate, that the only points of difference were to be found in questions of policy. But it maintained it must continue to differ on such questions as the proper attitude on policies relating to Political Action, Russia and Prohibition; and to insure the dissemination of this information, 5,000 copies were ordered to be published and distributed.

This policy was bound to bring a reaction from within the Council itself. The Typographical Union complained of the Council's inattention to strictly union business.³ Following upon this objection amendments⁴ were adopted to the constitution which provided for the "Reports of Sections and Delegates" promptly at nine o'clock no matter what discussion was under way, limited the speech of any member upon any subject so long as any other member desired the floor, and stipulated that "no business of the Council shall be transacted after 11 P.M. except by consent of two-thirds of delegates present, to extend the session for a specified length of time." In fact when the A.F.of L. Convention met in Portland in 1923 and the National Executive Committee notified the C.L.C. to

1. Minutes C.L.C. Aug.18,1920, p.130. Criticism of Comp-ers, *ibid*, Oct. 20, 1920, p.149.
2. *Ibid*, June 6, 1923.p.460.
3. *Ibid*, Feb. 9, 1921,p.182.
4. *Ibid*, May 9,1921, p.227-8.

cite reason and show cause why its charter should not be revoked, it is maintained by the conservatives¹ that they supported the election of such radical delegates as Phil. Pearl and J. Duncan in order to force the removal of the charter and make possible a reorganization of the C.L.C. But through the agency of Chas. Doyle (the third C.L.C. delegate) and Dave Levine, who was present at the convention, an agreement was entered into with President Short of the State Federation and President Gompers in which the C.L.C. consented to confine its activities to local issues and to refrain from interceding in National and International problems. This position was strictly adhered to by the Council in all its later deliberations. A motion to send a letter of condolence to Mrs. Lenin was tabled;² an attempt to secure the endorsement of a resolution asking Premier McDonald to liberate de Valera and other political prisoners was lost;³ and a request from the secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party that the Council send three delegates to a meeting was granted only on the condition that the delegates be instructed to participate in neither state nor national politics.⁴

Meanwhile a general reaction against the radicals within the Council was crystallizing in a sterner attitude toward the I.W.W. An amendment⁵ in 1921 had been adopted to the constitution providing for executive sessions in order

1. Interview, Dave Levine.
2. Minutes C.L.C. Jan. 23, 1924, p. 513.
3. Ibid, Apr. 9, 1924, p. 531.
4. Ibid, July 16, 1924, p. 552.
5. Ibid, Sept. 21, 1921, p. 276.

that the "wobblies" who crowded the galleries might be excluded from its deliberations; and an attempt by W.C. Smith and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers to force the submission of the measure to the referendum vote of affiliated unions was summarily tabled. At the following meeting, a second amendment was adopted including a pledge of loyalty to the A.F. of L. to be taken by each delegate to the Council.¹ Because of the activities of the "wobblies" the Seattle Labor College was refused endorsement² and a motion that an I.W.W. speaker be given the floor to address the Council in regard to the San Pedro raid was denied.³ Finally, after reciting a long list of grievances against the I.W.W. culminating with the continued boycott by that organization of an A.F. of L. union soft-drink establishment, "Our House", which the I.W.W. accused (but could not show one iota of proof) of contributing to a fund used for the prosecution of the Centralia I.W.W., the Strike and Grievance Committee concluded that the local I.W.W. was a "wholly unreliable organization, founded on a destructive rather than a constructive basis."⁴ Furthermore, it recommended that "in future the C.L.C. have nothing to do with or countenance the I.W.W.'s in any way" and "return any and

1. Minutes C.L.C. Sept. 28, 21, p.280.

2. Ibid, Aug.16, 1922, p.385. It was in great part due to the activities of the "wobblies" in the so-called Marxian Club that the Seattle Labor College ceased to make even a pretense of genuine educational activities of the class discussion variety and became an institution for propaganda purposes on the popular lecture plan.

3. Minutes C.L.C. July 30, 1924, p.556.

4. Ibid, Oct.15, 1924, p.575. See report of Strike and Grievance Committee published by C.L.C.

all mail from any I.W.W. branch." Unlike the action of May 16, 1916, relevant to the I.W.W., which was conceded to have long been a "dead letter", ever since this action was taken the C.L.C. has stood firmly by its decision to have no relations of any kind with the I.W.W.

After the disclosures of 1923, labor's enthusiasm and support of the Union Record had been waning. The fact that the advertisers who furnish the breath of life for any Daily were just the individuals or corporations that labor was usually fighting, that the inability of its manager to place the Union Record upon a paying basis constituted a continual drain upon labor's finances, that despite labor's sacrifices it could not definitely control, let alone censor, editorial policy of a daily¹ --these considerations constrained the Council to accept an offer of the American Free Press Association to take the Record off of its hands.² The terms of this offer The terms of this offer constitute a fitting epilogue to labor's

1. During the city election of 1924 when the C.L.C. was playing the A. F. of L. game of extracting promises from both candidates (Brown and Lundin) E.B. Ault spoiled the play by bringing out a caustic denouncement of Lundin. The Council then adopted the resolution that "inasmuch as the C.L.C. represents all Organized Labor that, in future political campaigns, the Editor-Manager of the Union Record will adopt no political policy except that which has been adopted by the C.L.C." Minutes C.L.C., Mar. 12, 1924, p.524.
2. Minutes, C.L.C., Sept. 17, 1924, p.568.

financial heyday.¹

A growing resentment against radicalism, fed by such unhappy experiences as those recounted above together with a greatly weakened economic and financial position² which rendered delegates unsympathetic with the idealistic, humanitarian propaganda of the radical, culminated dramatically when on February 4, 1925, the Building Trades Council presented to the C.L.C. a request that the latter unseat all delegates who are communists, and refuse to seat any communist in future.³ This precipitated so bitter a struggle that an extension of the time of adjournment for one-half hour was necessary in

1. According to P. Pearl, in interview: The C.L.C. relinquished its control of the Union Record to the American Press Association for a consideration of \$60,000 in 20-yr. 7% cumulative gold bonds. No cash transaction took place. In other words, E. B. Ault and his company can use the Union Record plant for twenty years without paying a cent.
2. In Feb. 1922 the C.L.C. was so short of funds that the Business Representative and the Woman Organizer profferred to serve when required without salary for a few months. These proposals were gratefully accepted. (Min. C.L.C. Feb. 5, 1921, p.321.) Again in September, 1924 after a report of the Finance Committee upon the state of the Council's bank balance, it was decided not to send a delegate to the A.F. of L. convention. (Ibid, Sept. 10, 1924, p.567).
3. At the previous meeting of the Council. N. Tallentyre, a district organizer of the Communist Party, and an expelled member of the Carpenters' Union, had been granted the privilege of the floor in the face of strenuous objections from the Carpenters' delegates, that he might discuss the trial of the Communists in Michigan. Of his allotted thirty minutes, Tallentyre had used twenty-five for purely propaganda purposes; and on his conclusion after most of the conservative delegates had departed, P.K. Mohr moved that the C.L.C. indorse the Michigan defense. Dave Levine, who was in the chair, objected to the motion on the ground of the non-representative character of the delegates present, and therefore declared the motion out of order that he

order that a roll-call vote might be taken. When the final count was made the resolution to expel had received the requisite two-thirds majority. The vote stood 98 to 32.

At the following meeting, the Bakers #9 and the Machinists #79 protested the action and requested that the Council rescind its expulsion of the Communists. A second time, the air of the Council chamber was rent with vociferous denunciations that did not hesitate at personalities; but the motion was lost. President Jepsen then announced that although he realized that the whole procedure was out of order, he had allowed free discussion that the question might be settled once and for all and the incident closed.¹ Despite continued protests, the Strike and Grievance Committee persisted in formulating its case against the accused² and on March 18th its report was submitted to the Council. This generated a de-

might "kill time" until 11 P.M. The discussion continued until the constitutional time for compulsory adjournment had arrived; and no action was taken.

1. But the incident did not seem to be regarded as closed. Machinists, #79 and Bakers #9, Carpenters #1184, Painters #800, the Building Laborers, the Bakers' Salesmen, Carpenters #338, Longshoremen #38-12 registered repeated protests and there was even some talk of withdrawal from the C.I.C.
2. H. G. Price, of Machinists Hope Lodge #79, M. Hansen and W.H. Jones of Painters #300, J. C. Carlson of Carpenters #1184, P.K. Mohr of Bakers #9 and Joe Havel of the Stenographers and Bookkeepers.

bate which lasted for the remainder of the evening but at the next session, after allowing each defendant to speak ten minutes in his own behalf, the report of the Committee was adopted by a roll-call vote of 78 to 71. The President of the Council forthwith declared the communists expelled and their seats in the C.L.C. vacant.¹ This dictum was confirmed by a telegram and letter from President Green of the A.F. of L.²; and when the Office Employees requested that Brother Havel be again seated as a delegate the chair ruled the matter closed.³

Once more we find the C.L.C. confirmed in its conservatism, the last vestige of a radical group eradicated from its roster. The waves of radicalism had rushed in with the tide of economic prosperity, submerged the rocky shores of Conservatism and beat vainly upon the cliff-like promontories of self-interest; but the waves were broken asunder and the rocky shore appeared unchanged as the tide receded. Still, it would be rash to claim that the onslaught of the waves had not affected the shore line; it would be foolhardy to predict that they will fail to do so in the future.

1. Minutes C.L.C. March 25, 1925, p.605. Protests were raised that the accused could not be unseated on the ground that the vote for the motion was not two-thirds of the whole. The Chair ruled, however, that the communists stood expelled since the vote just taken was upon the adoption of a committee report while the concurrence of the council with the BTC's request (that all communist delegates be unseated) had been accredited by more than a two-thirds vote.
2. Minutes C.L.C. April 1, 1925. p.607.
3. Ibid, May 13, 1925, p.616.

CONCLUSION

If we mean by conclusion, a judgment based upon a valid inference, then it is evident that this paper permits of no scientific conclusion. The conscious limitations placed upon its scope have necessitated a failure to consider even in a cursory manner all relevant facts. There has been no attempt to analyze the complex of causal factors which motivated any particular act of the C.L.C. Such an analysis must wait upon a more comprehensive investigation of the related movements and of the economic conditions that constitute the background of those movements. This paper aims to present from an historical and economic point of view the variations in the extent of radicalism within the Seattle labor movement in so far as those attitudes are reflected in the proceedings of the C.L.C. It is but the sturdy frame upon which a more mature structure may be built. Still it does not seem amiss to point out certain suggestive trends within the organized labor movement.

We have seen that the W.C.L.U. was conceived in the idealism and class-consciousness of the Knights of Labor; but under the impetus of an increased bargaining power renounced all such doctrines and ejected the delegates of the K. of L. assemblies from their midst. From that day until the new constitution that created the C.L.C. went into effect, the W.C.L.U. showed no evidence of any radical disposition. Nor;

as we found, did the C.L.C. depart from the policy of its predecessor despite the importunities of the Socialists and later of the I.W.W. With the exception of an expressed preference for the industrial form of organization, there was no sign of a radical tendency until the revival of business activity in 1916. As business and industry expanded with war demands, the C.L.C. grew more and more radical until in the general strike the workers achieved a notable unity of purpose and sympathy. But the general strike proved a turning point in the development of radicalism. The organization of the employers and the reduction in business and industrial activity put the radical on the defensive. As the C.L.C. lost in economic bargaining it became more obviously conservative until 1925 the last official link with the radical group was broken when the Communists were expelled from the Council.

An interesting observation upon the history of the C.L.C. is that its radical tendencies seem to vary directly with its economic prosperity. During the periods of depression, the C.L.C. is dumb to all pleas of a radical character; only when the growing volume of business and industrial activity has rendered the job more secure and bargaining power more effective are radical suggestions countenanced in the Council. But nowhere is there a really militant, class-conscious unity. This correlation of radicalism with economic prosperity suggests that the majority of trade unionists are essentially conservative and opportunistic. The average trade unionist is not interested in his union other than as it affects his

job or his wage. If prosperity obtains, work is plentiful and wages high, the conservative unionist loses interest in the proceedings of his union and the more militant radicals make a comparative gain in strength. But when depression sets in, the job becomes a problem and a reduction in wages is imminent--then the conservative member of the union reasserts himself, the job-conscious philosophy is reawakened and the complexion of the union's activities undergoes a decided change.

Little has been said concerning the activities of the I.W.W. This is because the I.W.W. as an organization has had little or no effect upon the activities of the C.L.C. Like that of the Socialists, the influence of the I.W.W. has been indirect. As a matter of fact the revolutionary nature of proletarian socialism in the state of Washington has given the two organizations much in common. The I.W.W.'s joined the Socialist Party in large numbers until in 1919 when the National Convention adopted a resolution unequivocally opposed to all forms of sabotage. The I.W.W. have exercised their greatest influence upon the workers in the lumber camps. The industrial form of organization is a natural one in the lumber camps where the men are closely associated, there is but a small number of crafts, and a strong community of interests.

The war demand for shipyard workers, especially for helpers and laborers, drew heavily upon these men from the lumber camps who were impregnated with the I.W.W. philosophy. The Longshoremen, the Shipyard Laborers, Fasteners, and Rig-

gers, the shipyard carpenters--these constituted a very powerful radical force within the labor movement. Furthermore, it must be noted that the men who guide the destinies of a trade union are the men who attend the meetings. The conservative especially if his job is secure and his wage not imperilled is very apt to stay away from the union halls. But not so the radical, inspired with his mission to spread the propaganda of militant class-consciousness, nor the "casual worker" who has no home ties and therefore makes of the union a place to meet his friends--these men are present when resolutions are presented. The rank and file which attends meetings, the rank and file which forced the continuation of the general strike,¹ this rank and file must not be considered as characteristic of Seattle unionism.

The power of the radicals rose with the economic power of the unions and also fell with it. The great mass of the union men were untouched by the militant class-conscious spirit. So soon as the economic interests of the crafts were in jeopardy a deaf ear was turned to the radical's appeals. When he insisted in forcing his views and his propaganda upon the Council, he was promptly evicted. Despite the apprehensions of the business men of the community, it would appear

1. On Saturday February 9, 1919, Secretary Duncan tried to persuade the General Strike Committee to accept the resolution to call off the strike that evening. Some remarkable "conversions" during an adjournment were credited to the Lagshoremen by Secretary Duncan.

that the great majority of trade unions affiliated with the C.I.C. have never been inoculated with the militant class-conscious zeal of the radical but accept with equanimity the capitalistic point of view, the principle of collective bargaining.

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