

DEPRESSION YEARS CHANGES LIVES

Survival in the Pacific Northwest was difficult at the beginning of the 1930s
economic realities of falling farm prices, industrial unemployment and foreclosed mortgages
all added up to pervasive despair
ironically, this reality followed the most prosperous decade in regional history to date

AGRICULTURE WAS HARD HIT BY DEPRESSION

Farming was in the doldrums with the collapse of the world economy
although farming remained an important source of employment in Washington state
farm population during the 1930s dropped to 20% of its former number
Farm life changed during the Great Depression
income was down which meant many farmers were forced to sell out to more fortunate neighbors
number of farms shrank as the economic depression eliminated markets for farm goods
percentage of tenants renting farms increased dramatically
Drought added to the misery factor as crops burned in the fields in Eastern Washington
banks foreclosed on farms -- farmers moved into cities
tax-delinquency added land to state's public trust lands
Soil erosion was a most serious long-term problem for farmers and tenants alike
one quarter of the cropland of the Northwest was badly damaged by erosion
in the cattle industry overgrazing destroyed vegetation and soil alike
But farmers who could hold on were able to increase the size of their holdings
wheat, hay and oats were the principal products with fruits and nuts rising in importance

GREAT DEPRESSION EXPANDS THE DEMAND FOR THE PIKE PLACE MARKET

Several multi-level buildings were constructed creating a central marketing district
accessible to pedestrians and motorized vehicles
During the Great Depression the market expanded by offering the cheapest food in town
at one time a bag full of vegetables sold for 25 cents
Hotels and an auditorium stage also brought entertainment and more income to the area
allowing Seattle boosters to claim that Pike Place
was "The Finest Public Market In The World"

INDUSTRY SUFFERED FROM THE DEPRESSION

Misery was nowhere more prevalent in the Northwest than in the timber industry
which suffered the greatest loss of income during the Great Depression
significant losses were felt in Tacoma, Bellingham, Hoquiam, Aberdeen and Vancouver
it was no longer profitable to bring logging railroad tracks, trains and giant steam donkeys
into small cutting areas

logging roads and logging trucks dominated the industry as forest areas diminished
at first, gasoline trucks were used and then diesel trucks came to the fore
Other industries suffered only slightly less
shipbuilding, flour milling, grain production, meat packing, printing and publishing,
fruit and vegetable canning all suffered decline
rail service to the mines of the Coal Creek region stopped
coal mine and town of Newcastle were both dismantled
Fishing industry also suffered during the depression
collapse of the fishing market drove boats into harbor and their crews to the relief lines
fishing, which had been declining anyway for several decades, never really recovered

TOURISM DECLINED AS FUNDS DRIED UP DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Although railroads and bus lines cut the price of tickets to attract tourists
few people, inside or outside of the region, could afford to buy at any price
Hotel and tourist court (motel) operators, restaurant owners
and service station attendants all suffered

UNION MOVEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST WAS SLOWED BY ECONOMIC INACTIVITY

Great Depression ate into management's profits
many corporations reduced wages and laid-off workers
union welfare plans were reduced to accommodate the growing number of those in need
assembly lines were speeded up causing exhaustion and accidents
Longshoremen, warehousemen, salmon canning workers and inland boatmen
were involved in organizing the docks along the waterfront but few gains were made

UNEMPLOYMENT EXPLODED AS THE ECONOMY DETERIORATED

Total unemployment was estimated at between 25 and 30 percent of the labor force
"working stiffs" were accustomed to losing their jobs
white collar workers and professionals were not
they attached their status as well as income to their employment
Money vanished in failed banks; farms were lost to unpaid mortgages -- many faced hunger
there were no safety nets to catch laid-off workers in an economic free fall
quickly despair yielded to anger -- then anger turned to determination
Yet there was no violent revolution in the nation
given the terrible state of the economy it is surprising
that there was not more violence during the Great Depression
this period of time was peaceful although there was ferment and labor strife

McNEIL ISLAND FEDERAL PENITENTIARY POPULATION REMAINS ABOUT 1,000 INMATES

Cell house No. 5 containing two new wings holding thirty-eight-man cells was finished -- 1930
penitentiary also added an administration building, auditorium, kitchen and dining hall
Due to the need for water another 1,618.33 acres were purchased
this brought the total prison acreage to 2,107.3 -- just less than half the island's 4,445 acres
During these years, sewage was just dumped onto the shoreline
(eventually, the penitentiary installed a pipe to discharge sewage directly into Puget Sound)¹

PACIFIC NORTHWEST ABSORBED THOUSANDS OF MIGRANT WORKERS

(Early Hispanic immigration to the Pacific Northwest had begun in the [1850s]
a small number of Hispanics workers as muleskinners [team drivers] and cowboys
skill, courage, and responsibility brought some of them important positions such as foreman
but these jobs disappeared by the turn of the century as large-scale wheat farming
caused the disintegration of big ranches)

U.S. citizens of Mexican descent began new pursuits in the Northwest during the 1920s and 1930s
many became migratory agricultural laborers

these workers were mainly single men, residents of Texas, Arizona and New Mexico
who followed the crops north to California, Oregon Washington and Idaho
tracking the ripening fruit and vegetables
they worked in the Willamette Valley of Oregon and Yakima Valley of Washington
little is known about them
but their working conditions and social lives could hardly have been very good

BLACK CITIZENS CONTINUED TO WALK A DIFFICULT PATH

Terrible pressures of discrimination which they had experienced everywhere
were exacerbated by the Great Depression
but the black experience was, as always, one of fulfillment as well as discrimination
Urban blacks worked as musicians, maintenance workers, businessmen and in the professions
as well as in transportation which remained the chief means of livelihood for black workers
in Seattle transportation was a significant source of employment
African Americans worked as sailors and longshoremen
and for the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION SLOWED DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Washington state was home to 17,837 Japanese
there were 4,958 Japanese in Oregon
Idaho counted 1,421

¹ Daryl C. McClary, HistoryLink.org, Essay 5238, April 17, 2003.

There was a tendency for Japanese to congregate in cities which served as ports of entry

Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma

many Japanese settlers gardened, farmed and carried on small businesses with remarkable success
they mixed rather freely with the majority population

NORTHWEST POETRY AND FICTION SOFTENED THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Northwest authors were essentially descriptive

their writing was characterized by romanticism and parochialism

most of the plots were set in the pioneer years

which was safely removed from the conflicts and controversies of the Great Depression
characters in Northwest literature were heroic men and women -- people without flaws

“realism,” “naturalism”, and any critical note about the region, was absent

PLANS FOR LANDSCAPING THE CAPITOL GROUNDS ARE CARRIED OUT

Brothers John Charles Olmsted and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. were renowned landscape architects

who served as consultants [1911-1912] for the Olympia campus

they designed the original landscaping plan

trees and gardens were added to the dignity of the capitol and other buildings

this work was virtually completed by 1930

(Monuments have been added to what today is called the West Campus grounds)

• *Winged Victory* statue sculpted by Alonzo Victor Lewis was dedicated [May 30, 1938]

this bronze statue and its granite pedestal has four inscriptions:

facing South: **“They fought to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy”**,

facing East: **“To the memory of the citizens of the State of Washington who lost their lives in the service of the United States during the World War 1917 1918”**,

and the state seal

facing West: **“Their sacrifice was to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world”**,

facing North: **“Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend.”**

this monument has been restored numerous times since its installation

• *Story Pole* carved by Snohomish Artist-Chief William Shelton dedicated [May 14, 1940]

after the death of the chief, the project was completed by tribal carvers

• *Tivoli Fountain* designed by architects Wohleb, Wohleb and Bennett [April 15, 1953]

inscribed on it is **“Replica of the Tivoli Fountain—Tivoli Park, Copenhagen, Denmark. Presented to the State of Washington by Olympia-Tumwater Foundation. Peter G. Schmidt, President.”**

- Du Pen Fountain* designed by artist Everett Du Pen for the front side of the state library building
 this monument was dedicated [January 23, 1959]
 today the Joel Pritchard Building houses government staff offices and a cafeteria
 Du Pen's design evokes images of the Pacific Northwest's beauty
 it features four sea gulls soaring above rippling waves, flanked by two leaping salmon
 behind the sea gulls, level with the waves, sits a small crab
 these forms symbolize the vigor and strength of the state
 light, air, and water surrounding them represent Washington's great natural resources
 and prosperous industries
 three water jets are positioned front and center in the fountain
 they spray water straight up into the air
 two more jets spurt water from supporting waves underneath the salmon
- Territorial Sundial* was designed by artist John W. Elliot
 it was dedicated [January 23, 1959]
 its inscription reads: **"Time is a sort of river passing events, and strong is its current"**
 ~**Marcus Aurelius**
- Medal of Honor Monument* located northeast of the Legislative Building
 in the center of the west campus drive-around circle
 this memorial it was dedicated [November 7, 1976]
 it is a replica of the Washington State Obelisk
 in the Medal of Honor Grove, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania
 its inscription is an explanation of the Medal of Honor, U.S. Seal, Washington State Seal,
 an acknowledgment of donors, and the names of state recipients of the Medal of Honor
- Vietnam Veterans Memorial* was designed by artist Kris Snider
 located on the east lawn of the Insurance Building it was dedicated [May 25, 1987]
 its inscription reads: **"Washington State Vietnam Veterans Memorial,"**
 "To all my brothers and sisters who made it back, but never made it home. In
 memory of those who have died from physical and emotional wounds received while
 servicing in the Vietnam War.
 We honor and recognize their pain and suffering, but above all we respect the
 courage of these Washington State residents. When our country called, you were
 there. We have not forgotten, you are not alone. You Now Rest in Glory,"
 names of the 1,116 state residents killed or missing are listed
- POW-MIA Memorial* is dedicated to American prisoners of war and those missing in action
 located directly east of the Winged Victory Monument
 originally created as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial it was dedicated [1982]
 when the larger Vietnam Memorial was dedicated, the original marble monument
 was refitted with a new granite top inscribed with words honoring POWs and MIAs

it inscription reads: **“In gratitude to those who sacrificed their freedom in the service of our country we, the citizens of the State of Washington, dedicate this monument to honor all former American prisoners of war, those still missing, and those Americans who may still be held prisoner. National POW/MIA Recognition Day, September 16, 1988.”**

- *World War II Memorial* designed by artist Simon Kogan dedicated [May 28, 1999]

is located on the Northeast campus lawn beside 11th Avenue

it focuses on the soldiers of Washington State who gave their lives in battle

bronze blades contain the names of the nearly 6,000 Washingtonians killed in the war,

large granite stones are engraved with a list of major battles fought by year,

over 1,000 granite tiles are inscribed with personal messages from project donors,

one bronze plaque gives a summary of World War Two events

another bronze plaque reads **“When my country called, I answered... When my**

country asked, I gave... Reach out now, across the years and through the tears...

Remember me.” - A WWII Veteran

- *Law Enforcement Memorial* designed by artist John Swanson

was dedicated to the Citizens of the state of Washington [May 1, 2006]

it is located north of the Temple of Justice

overlooking Capitol Lake, Heritage Park, and the Overlook Trail

an inscription reads: **“Their duty was to serve. Our duty is to remember”**

listed are the names of Washington state law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty

(Additional monuments and art pieces are located on the East Campus across Capital Way

- *The Shaman* is an abstract form depicting a prehistoric Indian Medicine Man

located on the East lawn of the Transporting Building it was dedicated [October 8, 1971]

an inscription reads: **“The Shaman, Sculptor James Lee Hansen, 1971”**

- *Water Garden* is a soothing water feature designed by artist Lawrence Halprin

this art piece was installed [1972]

sculptural concrete forms over which water would flow in a variety of ways

terminates in pools and basins of varying depths -- cascading water is the dominant feature

- *untitled Stainless Steel* art piece was designed by Lee Kelly

it is located on the North side of the Transportation Building

installed [May-14-17, 1973] the stainless steel, Stonehenge-like piece was selected

as it was **“...compatible with the building and plazas in scale and materials, even**

though clearly having a life of their own.”

- *Mysteries of Life* by artist James Washington, Jr. was dedicated [1973]

located on the lower East lawn of the Transportation Building

it depicts numerous religious and nature symbols

a fish -- the universal symbol for the Christian Church,

a rabbit -- representing the lower animal kingdom,

a fetus-- representing the higher animal kingdom

•*Boiler Works* designed by artist Thomas Jay

is located on the lower lawn of the East Campus Transportation Building

installed [1973] this nine-piece art work is designed **“to be accessible to people so that they can become involved both physically and socially. -- Jay”**

•*Woman Dancing* was installed [February 7, 1976]

it is located on the East Campus near the Highway-Licenses Building and Office Building

its inscription reads: **“Woman Dancing, 1976, Phillip Levine”**

•*Korean War Memorial* is located on the East Campus Plaza next to the Capitol Way skybridge was designed by artist Deborah Copenhaver Fellows and dedicated [July 24, 1993]

it features three soldiers huddled around a campfire -- each displays a **“thousand yard stare”** inscribed on the memorial are the words: **“Korean War Veterans Memorial 1950-1953,”**

“The Forgotten War,”

it lists the names of all Washingtonians killed in that Police Action

•*Sea to Sky* is an art piece mounted on the North entrance of the Natural Resources Building

its inscription reads: **“Sea to Sky, by Susan A. Point, August 5, 1993. Washington State Arts Commission Arts in Public Places Program in Partnership with: Department of Agriculture, Department of Fisheries, Department of Natural Resources.”**

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD ABSORBS SMALLER PACIFIC NORTHWEST RAILROADS

Washington Rail & Navigation (OWR&N) track

from Vale, Oregon through the Malheur Valley was abandoned in Eastern Oregon

as well as fifty-eight miles of track connecting Robinette, Brownlee, Copperfield,

and Homestead, Oregon

Northwesters Railroad Company's short line from Huntington, Oregon along the Snake River was sold the Union Pacific Railroad

In Central Oregon the Oregon Trunk Line that connected Bend, Oregon with the Columbia River became part of a joint operation with the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railroad

(Over the next thirty years the Union Pacific Railroad's main line was rebuilt

to accommodate various river dam projects constructed on the Snake and Columbia rivers

OWR&N name slowly fell into disuse as steam locomotives were replaced

by diesel locomotives with the Union Pacific emblem on them)

PLAYLAND AMUSEMENT PARK OPENS IN SEATTLE

This twelve-acre recreational resort along the shores of Bitter Lake north of the Seattle city limits opened with a flourish -- May 24, 1930

Playland's feature ride was “The Dipper” a state-of-the-art roller coaster

soaring eighty-five feet into the air with 3,400 feet of track
filled with reverse curves, sixty-degree banks and one virtual somersault
Playland was well located for thrill seekers coming from the north and the south
it was easily reached by electric streetcar and the Interurban trolley
whose 25¢ round trip fair included admission to the park -- rides were 10¢ each
by this time automobiles were well established in Seattle
Playland's location between Greenwood Avenue and Aurora Avenue
made driving north from downtown Seattle and south from Everett very easy
after the Aurora Bridge opened [1932] travel from Seattle was even easier
as a result land next to the park was cleared to provide free parking for 12,000 cars
entrance price for those who did not use the interurban was 10¢ for anyone over twelve
Rides provided entertainment for patrons seeking all levels of excitement
in addition to The Dipper for the more adventurous there was the "Giant Whirl"
made up of eighty-five-foot steel chains that connected thirty cars to a giant Maypole
or a quarter-mile long race track, the "Red Bug Speedway," awaited thrill-seekers
a fleet of bumper-cars, "Dodgems," provided an outlet for aggression by all age groups
for patrons with queasy stomachs there was the Penny Arcade and Shooting Gallery
and a Fun House with its trick mirrors and a revolving barrel best negotiated
by crawling on all fours
there was a Merry-Go-Round and a miniature scenic railroad
that ran along the shore of Bitter Lake
canals of Venice led boats through 1,200 feet of mysterious "underground"
dark and exotic passages provided an opportunity to hide adolescent displays of affection
Bill Darby's Playland Dance Band performed daily
in a 9,600 square foot hardwood floor dance pavilion
Playland was well planned with a variety of rides, quality concessions, and efficient public relations
it was poised for profitability but the owners opening was badly timed
it failed after only a year of business
operation was taken over by Carl E. Phare, the builder of The Dipper, who took over the lease
Fun could also be had for free inside the turnstiles
flagpole sitting and dance marathons were the fads of the day during the Great Depression
Park owners constructed an automobile race course, the "Aurora Speedway," [1932]
it was located on the vast parking lot to the east of Playland
across the Interurban tracks and fronting on Aurora Avenue
the oval track and large wooden grandstand covered the ground
between N 130th and N 135th Streets
(Playland thrilled park goers for thirty years until its demise at the end of the [1961] season
rides were removed and their foundations covered with fill dirt

R. H. Thomson Junior High School was constructed at the west end
Bitter Lake community center and adjacent grassy fields were eventually built
near the site of The Dipper
the Speedway site became incorporated into a shopping center)

SILK PRICES CONTINUE TO FALL

Raw silk was Japan's major money crop
silk financed the country's foreign exchange and paid for its imports
From a high of nearly \$18.00 per pound [1920], prices dropped to \$3.56 --1930
as the price declined, shippers began using the longer but cheaper water route to New York
thus the demand for fast silk trains declined until thirty-six percent of imported silk
was shipped via the Panama Canal
Because the Japanese dominated the silk trade from production to marketing,
Japanese exporters could determine how silk reached its market
Lower prices for raw silk and declining silk imports in Seattle
meant the Great Northern ran fewer and shorter silk trains

COMMUNISTS BEGIN AN INDUSTRIAL UNION OF THEIR OWN

International Communist Party abandoned their policy of "boring from within" organizations
Communists hosted a convention of about 180 delegates
mostly former members of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies)
Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU) was created -- April 26, 1930
it was to be a revolutionary, industry-wide Communist-led alternative
the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
MWIU claimed to represent seamen, longshoremen, and all other port workers
however, efforts to recruit longshoremen failed and it remained primarily a union of seamen
In the tradition of the IWW, MWIU carried out a series of highly visible protests and strikes
but each one ended in defeat

UNITED AIRCRAFT AND TRANSPORT CORPORATION REVOLUTIONIZES AIRPLANES

Monomail Model 200 was developed as a mail and cargo plane -- 1930
this sleek, low-wing airplane was most revolutionary commercial airplane at the time
with single, all-metal wings and retractable wheels
Improvements in design and range were made with the Model 221
in addition to cargo and mail, this six-passenger transport could accommodate six people
for flights up to 575 miles at 135 mph
However, major drawbacks of the Monomail held back production
its design was too advanced for the engines and propellers of the time

Model 221 required a low-pitch propeller for takeoff and climb
and a high-pitch propeller to cruise
by the time the variable-pitch propeller and more powerful engines were available
the Monomail was being replaced by newer, multiengine planes it had inspired

BOEING EXPANDS ITS MAIL AND PASSENGER SERVICE

U.S. Postmaster General Walter Brown used new legislation to consolidate the airline routes
meetings (later called “the Spoils Conferences”) with key airline executives were held -- 1930
to provide service to regions of the nation and to establish routes

As a result of these meetings, three companies that would evolve into the modern airlines emerged:

- Stout Air Services and National Air Lines, which carried passengers throughout the mid-West,
combined with Boeing Airplane and Transport Corporation
to form a new company -- United Air Lines which flew the northern airmail route
this company used only Boeing airplanes

United Air Lines changed its name to United Air Lines Transport Corporation
it soon received a mail contract of its own

- Transcontinental Air Transport (TAT) and Western Air Express
merged to form Transcontinental and Western Airline (TWA)
which flew across the middle of the United States

- American Airways operated the southern route, which was extended to the West Coast

All competitors to these three companies were forced out of the airmail market

Postmaster General Brown also awarded bonuses if the airlines carried more passengers
even more money was provided if they bought larger aircraft

powered by more than one engine and equipped with two-way radios and navigation aids

WILLIAM BOEING CELEBRATES HIS GOVERNMENT CONTRACT

Boeing enjoyed horse racing, golf, fishing, and boating

he commissioned construction of the 125-foot yacht *Taconite* -- 1930

named after the iron ore used in steelmaking that helped build his fortune

he cruised Northwest and Canadian waters

mail was ferried to him by a Douglas floatplane

on one of these vacations Boeing met bush pilot Clayton Scott

at the fuel dock in Carter Bay, British Columbia

Boeing hired Scott to pilot the Douglas amphibian airplane around the country

DIFFICULT WEATHER CAUSES PROBLEMS FOR MIDWEST FARMERS

Unusually wet period of the [1920s] encouraged increased settlement
and expanded cultivation in the Great Plains states

Weather across the mid-Western states turned violent

severe spring weather was quickly followed by a very dry summer

Oklahoma and the southern Great Plains states suffered from drought (long period of dryness)

but most farmers produced a wheat crop

Not all farming regions in the nation, or in the Midwest, suffered from dry conditions -- 1930

where rainfall was adequate bumper wheat crops were produced

which drove down the price for the harvest

wheat was everywhere, in the elevators, on the ground and on the roads

bumper crop of over twelve million bushels of wheat was produced

world's wheat surplus was reported at almost 600 million bushels

(almost 1/7th of total world average production)

wheat dropped nineteen cents hitting a price of eighty-six cents a bushel

(it would hit twenty-five cents a bushel [July 1931])

many farmers went broke and others abandoned their over-productive fields

OKLAHOMA SUFFERS FROM RECORD-BREAKING WEATHER CONDITIONS

Drought was accompanied with record breaking heavy rains, blizzards, tornadoes and floods

heavy rains of over five inches fell in a very short time in the Oklahoma Panhandle

causing flooding -- September 1930

flooding in Cimarron County was accompanied by a dirt storm

which damaged several small buildings and granaries

Corn was the only major crop not suffering from surplus production

smallest crop [since 1901] drove the price per bushel higher -- even surpassing wheat

Beef prices also plummeted

WASHINGTON POLITICS TAKES A TURN

Democratic Party's Progressive wing seized its opportunity during the Great Depression

Democrats did have internal divisions but these were manageable

first step was the selection of newly-elected U.S. Senator Clarence Dill and Scott Bullitt

as a National Democratic Committeeman

to help organize Democratic campaigns for office

Senator Dill and Scott Bullitt realized both the nation and the state

were ready to adopt drastic changes to pull their citizens out of the economic depression

they corresponded with Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York

who was attempting to lead the Democratic Party in a Progressive direction

Roosevelt was also interested in running for the presidency

WASHINGTON STATE FARMERS GRANGE REVIVES PUBLIC POWER

Development of electric power was in the hands of private enterprise and municipalities
public ownership of power companies was idea whose time had come
Farmers Grange leaders proposed an initiative to be voted on in the 1930 election
which would permit formation of public utility districts (PUDs)
State Representative Homer T. Bone aided by U.S. Senator Clarence Dill
led the fight for the Grange Initiative

U.S. Senator Clarence Dill was a strong advocate for public utilities
he approached Franklin Roosevelt about the prospect of constructing a dam
on the Columbia River as he noted: **“I first spoke to Franklin Roosevelt about
Grand Coulee after dinner at his Hyde Park house in 1930 -- a year before he’d even declared he
was running for President. He was blowing cigarette smoke and bubbling with ideas on how to halt
the Great Depression.”**²

Public Utility Districts were a splendid progressive issue, but it had one weakness:
opposition from supporters of Seattle and Tacoma municipal electric systems
which hoped to run their own power lines into the surrounding country

ANNA LOUISE STRONG MAKES A NAME FOR HERSELF IN THE SOVIET UNION

Dr. Strong helped begin the first English language newspaper in the Soviet Union

The Moscow Daily News -- 1930

(she was later made editor of the newspaper)

(She married a Soviet official [1932])

and continued her writings praising Communist governments:

•*The Soviets Conquer Wheat* [1931]

•*China’s Millions: The Revolutionary Struggles from 1927 to 1935* [1935]

she also wrote an autobiography, *I Change Worlds: the Remaking of an American* [1835]

and a book entitled *The Soviet Constitution* [1937]

OPTIMISM RUNS HIGH IN THE NATION

Great Depression’s eight month old panic had subsided

there was a feeling of bewilderment about the economy but there was also optimism -- fall 1930

many expressed the belief that “prosperity was just around the corner”

Most people could accept their plight

everyone was worse off than they had been a year ago

but people could still live off their accumulated savings -- and credit was still available

it was said 1930 was bad only in comparison to [1929]

People talked about the upturn that would come -- and they believed it was inevitable

they had faith in it, and because they did, they set up a pattern of living called “hanging on”

² Crutchfield, James A. *It Happened in Washington*. P. 101.

businessmen struggled to keep going any way they could until the upturn came
those with a job hung on any way they could

they took lower wages and worked longer hours -- soon things would return to normal
those out of work remained close by so they could return to work when jobs opened up again
President Herbert Hoover's sentiment regarding federal funds for relief to the southern Great Plains

was to reiterate President Grover Cleveland's [1887] statement: **"...the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government its functions do not include the support of the people."** (Cleveland's Second Inaugural Address)

President Hoover promoted self-help and volunteerism

he said there had been "minimum actual suffering"
instead of federal food relief funding,

Hoover called on the Red Cross to meet the disaster relief need
Congressional drought bills waffled on the Senate and House floors

proposed loans for farmers required a mortgage on the upcoming crop

but with the last year's mortgage yet unpaid, most farmers did not qualify
idea of dispensing food for livestock but not citizens was discussed and loudly criticized
finally a compromise was reached:

\$45 million for seed and feed and a later appropriation of \$20 million for feeding people

STATE ELECTION CONTINUES REPUBLICAN DOMINATION

Republicans dominated the state's Congressional offices -- November 4, 1930
newly elected Congressman Ralph A. Horr, Seattle Republican
replaced Seattle Republican John F. Miller also a Seattle Republican
(Horr served one term -- [1931-1933])

Three of the five Washington state congressional representatives were Republicans

Whatcom County's Lindley Hadley, Albert Johnson of Tacoma, John Summers from Walla Walla
two exceptions were:

- Democrat National Senator Clarence C. Dill who was reelected;
- Waterville Democrat Congressman Samuel B. Hill also was reelected

(U.S. Senator Wesley Jones from Yakima did not stand for reelection this year)

Republicans also continued their domination over state politics:

- forty-one Republican state senators were elected
one Democratic state senator was elected
- eighty-nine Republican state representatives took their seats
eight Democratic state representatives took office
- Republicans also held every state executive office

INITIATIVE 57, LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING, IS APPROVED BY THE VOTERS

Voters approved an initiative to redistrict the legislature -- November 4, 1930

this proposal provided for an increase of state senators from forty-two to forty-six
and state representatives from ninety-seven to ninety-nine

Other changes included:

- state representative districts were made the same as state senatorial districts;
- each district had a minimum of two representatives;
- county lines were used primarily as boundaries for legislative districts

(A later State Supreme Court ruling upheld the use of the initiative's process for redistricting)

GRANGE INITIATIVE CREATES PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICTS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Formation of public utilities was authorized by the voters of Washington -- November 4, 1930

although the legislature had previously refused to consider the proposal

voters approved the Grange Power Bill (Initiative No. 1) by a margin of 152,487 to 130,901
many voters who were served by private power companies opposed the measure
yet it was approved by a 54 percent majority and by 28 of the state's 39 counties

Grange Power Bill created one of the strongest and most unique public power laws in the nation
it is unique because the law provides for the establishment of municipal corporations
that encompass the strongest elements of private corporations, rural electric cooperatives
and municipal utility systems

Public Utility Districts (PUDs) have the basic business structure of a private corporation:

- board of commissioners serve in the same capacity as a board of directors;
- PUDs combine the public interest benefit of a non-profit operation
with low cost public financing methods of a municipal system;
- PUDs incorporate the area coverage concept in utility service
as practiced and promoted by the rural electric cooperatives

PUBLIC UTILITIES DISTRICT (PUD) ARE FORMED IN WASHINGTON

Grange Power Bill only created laws that enabled county residents to form Public Utilities Districts
hardest part was yet to come

development of electric power had been in the hands of municipalities and private enterprise
ominous task of actually forming publicly owned utilities

and getting them into the power business met constant opposition and continual resistance

Public Utilities Districts (PUDs) usually existed within a single county's boundary

PUDs were given the authority to acquire any or all of the facilities of privately owned businesses
including both the generation and distribution of power

PUDs also were provided the power to borrow money and to tax

PUDs became the agents of building projects

(In the next ten years public utility districts (PUDs) sprouted

until [by 1940] twenty-three of thirty-nine counties had them)

WASHINGTON'S U.S. SENATOR CLARENCE DILL ADVOCATED PUBLIC UTILITIES

Democrat Clarence Dill approached then-New York Governor Franklin Roosevelt who was then considering running for president

their conversation focused on constructing a dam on the Columbia River

as Dill later reported: **“I first spoke to Franklin Roosevelt about Grand Coulee after dinner at his Hyde Park house in 1930 -- a year before he'd even declared he was running for President. He was blowing cigarette smoke and bubbling with ideas on how to halt the Great Depression.”**³

WEATHER TURNED TO SEVERE STORMS

After a (summer and fall) of drought had swept the Great Plains

record breaking heavy rains, blizzards, tornadoes and floods

swept the nation's heartland -- winter 1930-1931

yet another dirt storm later swept the mid-West

before the winds gave way to blizzards from the north

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE

Convened -- January 12, 1931

At the beginning of the 1931 legislative session

nine members of the State Tax Advisory Commission gave their report to the legislature

they recommended that in order to equalize the tax burden on Washingtonians -- 1931

the state derive its revenue from an income tax rather than from the property tax

property tax would be left to local government as their chief source of revenue

although Governor Roland Hartley favored the sales as the remedy

State Tax Advisory Commission came out opposed

they viewed the sales tax as a last resort to solving the property tax problem

This report validated the Farmers Grange's long-held support for the income tax

Grange and other proponents of an income tax felt that their best chance had come:

- Governor Hartley's commission had recommended it;
- Great Depression created a climate for action that could buoy public support

Early in the legislative session, bills were introduced in both the state House and Senate

one measure called for a personal income tax

another bill proposed an income tax on corporations

both measures passed the legislature with large margins in each chamber

they were sent to the governor's desk for signing

³ Crutchfield, James A. *It Happened in Washington*. P. 101.

END OF THE SILK TRAIN ERA

Falling silk prices and an increase in all-water shipping from Japan to New York drove silk shipping out of Seattle and the West Coast

Great Northern Railway alone had run 307 silk trains averaging more the thirty-eight a year (between [1925] when records began and [1932]) (Engine No. 2517, *Marathon*, had made its endurance run with eighteen cars [1926]) now the white flag trains of nine, ten, or more cars were gone silk trains of four five and six cars became common many special trains now carried not only silk, but berries, cherries and fresh salmon increasingly, the Great Northern Railway attached silk cars to passenger trains Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK), among the largest and most aggressive Japanese shipping firms, all but ceased delivering silk to Seattle -- 1931

END OF ROAD FOR BUILDER AND ENTREPRENEUR SAM HILL

On his way to address Oregon's legislature, Sam Hill was stricken with "intestinal influenza" he died in Portland two weeks later -- February 25, 1931

his ashes were entombed near his Stonehenge memorial on his Columbia River estate Hill's daughter Mary Mendenhall Hill, suffered from emotional and mental problems all of her life mentally ill, she was eventually declared incompetent and resided in an institution Hill's son James Nathan Branson Hill lived the life of a wealthy man but he did not live up to his father's expectations regarding ambition or academic excellence he never made any particular mark on the world father and son did not speak to each other during the last years of Hill's life Sam Hill had at least three other children with women he did not marry he provided for them by setting up trust accounts in their names (Today, *Sam Hill Memorial Bridge* carries U.S. Route 97 across the Columbia River near Maryhill)

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WORSEN FOR AMERICANS

It was now apparent the Stock Market crash [1929] would have a long and devastating impact:

- unemployment doubled to 16.3% as eight million men were out of work (women were not counted in the job market);
- consumer consumption of goods dropped an estimated seventeen percent [from 1930];
- 2,500 banks in the U.S. failed;
- many car manufacturers also went out of business as people did not have money to buy new cars;
- Chicago ran out of money and could not pay teachers for two months;
- Las Vegas, Nevada made the decision to legalize gambling

Even so, successes were to be found

Star Spangled Banner was named the United States' National Anthem -- March 3, 1931
(New York City's Empire State building, the tallest building in the world at that time
at 102 stories was completed [May 1, 1931]

New York also saw the completion of the George Washington Bridge [October 25, 1931]
which connected New York and New Jersey

GOVERNOR ROLAND HARTLEY VETOES THE INCOME TAX BILLS

Governor Hartley vetoed both the corporate and personal income tax bills -- March 24, 1931
he was vehemently opposed the income tax
in his argument in support of his veto,

Hartley claimed that the enforcement of the income tax would be too difficult
and would require huge numbers of new workers to administer
he also claimed that shrinking government and reducing costs would do far more
to help relieve the tax burden than the income tax
finally, he argued that an income tax would not withstand judicial scrutiny

CONSTRUCTION OF BOULDER DAM IS UNDERTAKEN

This enormous construction project was filled with controversy
engineers reassessed the location and moved the project from Boulder Canyon
to its present location in Black Canyon ten miles further south
even naming the dam was controversial

Hoover's Administration changed the name from Boulder Dam to Hoover Dam [1930]

Franklin Roosevelt Administration changed it back to Boulder Dam [1933]

Harry Truman's Administration restored the Hoover Dam name [April 30, 1947])

Before work could start on the project, the Colorado River had to be diverted
to accomplish this, four tunnels, each fifty feet in diameter, were drilled
through the solid rock walls of Black Canyon

Construction of the dam was ordered to begin -- late March 1931

this project was so enormous that six huge western contracting firms
created a consortium call Six Company, Inc. to submit a competitive proposal
one of these was Henry J. Kaiser & W.A. Bechtel of Oakland, California
their bid of \$48,890,955.50 was the lowest to qualify
they had won the largest labor contract let by the U.S. Government up to that time
Six Company, Inc. given incentive bonuses for finishing ahead of schedule
and would be fined for each day construction overran the assigned target date
thus began a furious pace of around the clock construction

SPOKANE INDUSTRIALIST HENRY J. KAISER LEADS THE HOOVER DAM PROJECT

Kaiser partnered with Warren A. Bechtel to form

Henry J. Kaiser & W.A. Bechtel of Oakland, California

as part of Six Companies, Incorporated this firm was one of the prime contractors
in building Hoover Dam -- 1931

Henry J. Kaiser became the head of Six Companies, Inc. [1930-1939]

(in addition to Hoover Dam the company constructed more than seventy large-scale projects
piers for the San Francisco-Oakland Bridge, Bonneville Dam, and Grand Coulee Dam)

Kaiser had only hit his stride as an industrialist

CONGRESS PASSES THE *REFORESTATION RELIEF ACT*

President Roosevelt asked for and received from Congress the Reforestation Relief Act -- March 31
this established the *Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)*

workers were supplied with food, shelter, transportation, clothing, medical care
and some education or training

250,000 immediate jobs for urban poor and unskilled men age 18-25 opened up
employees planted trees in reforestation projects, constructed dams and roads,
installed telephone lines, worked to prevent soil erosion and flood control
and developed national parks and national forests

(before its end [in 1941], 2½ million men had worked in 1,500 CCC camps
critics, then and now, claimed this was “make work”

more than forty camps were operated in Washington state

2,500 men mostly single aged eighteen to twenty-five and those with dependent families,
became “dollar-a-day men” -- \$30 a month with \$25 deducted for their families
many of these workers learned about punctuality, reliability, hard work
and they learned a trade

NEW WOOD BY-PRODUCTS GO ON THE MARKET

Forest industry did show a few gains

process of adapting wood to new by-products was accomplished without government help

Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, for example, opened its first pulp mill -- 1931
at Longview, Washington

By-products developed in the 1930s included ceiling tile and insulation

plywood, invented earlier, was improved as machinery and glues progressed
pres-to-logs made from wood shavings and chips came on the market

SEVERE WEATHER CONTINUES IN THE MIDWEST

After the blizzards of (winter) subsided (with the spring) the drought began anew and spread -- 1931
first the northern plains felt the dry spell

then the southern plains suffered from the drought -- July
(drought conditions continued for almost a decade)

SEATTLE LIBERALS DEMAND RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

In response to the Great Depression, West Seattle liberals, radicals, reformers, socialists, unionists and unemployed workers gathered at the Olympic Heights community clubhouse -- July 23, 1931 to demand that government officials increase relief assistance to the unemployed by creating public works jobs with a total expenditure of no less than \$1 million in wages

SEATTLE LIBERALS FORM THE UNEMPLOYED CITIZEN'S LEAGUE

Liberal activists around Seattle met once again to demand relief for the unemployed they named their organization the Unemployed Citizen's League (UCL) -- August 6, 1931 In addition to demanding public works jobs be provided, these activists began to organize relief measures such as harvesting corps, cutting fuel wood and fishing they also established cooperative self-help enterprises declaring that the unemployed must produce some of what they needed on their own Individual contributions of each Unemployed Citizen's League branch strengthened the movement (over the next few months, UCL branches sprang up across Seattle almost two dozen branches operated on a regular basis in the city's neighborhoods these involved thousands of men and women many of whom worked in the cooperative enterprises housed in each branch headquarters)

CROPS CAN FINALLY BE PLANTED

It was not until fall that the ground had enough moisture for planting -- late September 1931 with no rain crops began to die lack of crops meant the wind blew bare soil high in the air creating dust storms schools were closed because of dust storms, not snowstorms An early frost ended what hope remained for those trying to make a living from the soil hard times caused by the Depression, drought and frost forced those who were heavily in debt to give up and move from their farms to look for work -- leaving the land exposed to the wind even technology seemed to work against the farmers pushed by the good times [of the 1920s], farmers bought tractors, new hybrid seed, chemicals, irrigation systems and more land expanded their farming operation all bought on credit -- and all useless against the drought

ALASKA ADVENTURER EXPLORES NORTHERN ALASKA

Leslie Melvin, a 21-year-old Highline High School graduate, mushed four unmatched dogs from Martin Point on the Beufort Sea to Nome, Alaska

he covered 1,500 miles in 132 days -- October 1931 to [February 1932]

he estimated he had actually gone at least 3,000 miles

due to unplanned wrong turns, endless circling in blizzards and intentional side trips

WASHINGTON WRITER WINS A PULITZER PRIZE

Washington poets have been both productive and successful

Audrey Wurdemann, from Seattle, won the Pulitzer prize -- 1931

for her second volume of poetry, *Bright Ambush*

at that time, she was the youngest writer to ever be so honored

STATE ELECTION SHOWS LITTLE CHANGE

Although the economy was continuing to fall as the Great Depression deepened

voters made little change in the state legislature -- November 2, 1931

State Senate members remained divided Republicans forty-one; Democrats one (as in [1929])

State Representatives showed only a very slight gain for Democrats

Republican fell from ninety-one members [1929] to eighty-nine

Democrats rose from six [1929] to eight members -- 1931

TOWNS OF DISPLACED AMERICANS SPRING UP

Homelessness quickly followed joblessness as the economy continued to crumble

homeowners lost their property when they could not pay their mortgage or their taxes

renters fell behind and faced eviction

Many of the displaced squeezed in with relatives

others simply squatted -- taking over available property

they found shelter in one of the increasing numbers of vacant buildings

hundreds of thousands, no one knows how many, took to the streets

they found what shelter they could under bridges or in culverts

thousands of others moved to vacant public land

where they built crude shacks and often defied eviction efforts by local officials

these settlements took various local names: Shacktown, Shantytown and Ragtown

many locales politicized the need of the suffering by calling their camp "Hooverville"

in sarcastic honor of President Herbert Hoover who was sitting in the White House

some cities allowed squatter encampments for a time; others did not

SHACK TOWNS SPRING UP IN SEATTLE

Many of the region's jobless clustered wherever else they could find shelter

Tacoma's Shantytown was called Hollywood-on-the-Flats

locations in Seattle went by such names as:

“Indian Town” on the Duwamish tideflats;
“Hollywood” on Sixth Avenue South just South of Lander;
“Reno” North of Lander;
there were collections of shanties located on Harbor Island and under the Magnolia Bridge
Seattle’s Hooverville was one of the largest, longest-lasting and best documented shanty towns
in the nation

HOOVERVILLE COMES TO LIFE IN SEATTLE

Jesse Jackson, an unemployed logger, and twenty others started building shacks
on nine acres of vacant land owned by the Port of Seattle
located a few blocks south of Pioneer Square -- October 1931
Skinner and Eddy Shipyard Plant 2 formerly occupied the location but had closed [1920]
within a few days they built fifty shanty huts fashioned from every conceivable sort of material
When the shacks were brought to the attention of the City of Seattle,
Seattle Health Department posted notices on every shack ordering it vacated within one week
seven days later the Seattle Police arrived with cans of kerosene and burned down the shacks
Squatters immediately rebuilt
about a month later the city burned down the shacks once again
this time the residents burrowed into the ground and constructed roofs made of tin or steel
unable to burn them out, the city relented and allowed them to stay
on the condition that they adhere to safety and sanitary rules

SEATTLE’S HOOVERVILLE WAS VERY WELL ORGANIZED

Hooverville’s population continued to climb as the economic crises deepened
(census taken [March 1934] counted 632 men and seven women living in 479 shanties
they ranged in age from fifteen to seventy-three
there were 292 foreign-born Caucasians, 186 Caucasians born in the United States,
120 Filipinos, twenty-nine African Americans, three Costa Ricans, two Mexicans,
two Indians, two Eskimos, and one Chilean)
many of these were the middle-aged laborers who had provided the migratory muscle
necessary to build an expanding nation
(over its ten years of its existence, Hooverville claimed a population of up to 1,200)
Hooverville operated its own community government including an unofficial mayor
unemployed logger Jesse Jackson was the most public Hooverville resident
he became the liaison between the inhabitants and City Hall and local businesses
people began to refer to him as the mayor of Hooverville
Mayor Jackson settled fights and called ambulances

he met with city officials and played host to visiting sociologists and professors
studying “how other half lived”

Reuben Washington served as “police chief”

Hooverville enjoyed the protection of Progressive groups and sympathetic public officials

Seattle authorities attempted, without total success, to decree that no women or children
were permitted to live there

LIVING CONDITIONS IN HOOVERVILLE REFLECT THE ECONOMIC TIMES

Packing crates and scrap lumber were pressed into service as houses

roofs were made of metal pieces with joints caulked using tar scraped from city streets

shacks rented for \$5 a month

with the addition of firewood and some decorator touches the price could go up to \$30

unemployed men made stoves out of oil drums and rigged their own lanterns for use at night

Food was cooked over open fires in tin cans

wholesale bakeries dropped off truckloads of stale bread and pastries

shriveled vegetables were available for consumption at local produce houses

chickens seemed to often stray outside of their pens and get lost

stew meat of some type was referred to as “slumgullion”

it was gathered from somewhere and was of dubious quality -- questions were not asked

At night residents had a bed and blanket which they provided for themselves

perhaps a pipeful of tobacco could be enjoyed

“Mayor” Jessie Jackson had a radio at the “executive mansion”

OTHER SHANTY TOWNS APPEARED ALONG PUGET SOUND

Tacoma’s “Hollywood” shantytown was located on the tidflats at the end of the Puyallup River
near the city dump

Olympia’s, “Little Hollywood” consisted of floating houses in the mudflats

on what is now Capitol Lake

(City authorities burned down both shantytowns but they would rise again when the ashes had cooled
only to be burned again before finally disappearing for good [1953])

ALEXANDER SCOTT BULLITT IS ACTIVE IN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

As Seattle’s Hooverville and other shack towns expanded and the Depression deepened,

Scott Bullitt saw in Franklin D. Roosevelt a perfect political candidate

he said Roosevelt was philosophically an aristocrat with a noble purpose

who sympathized with the needs of working people -- not unlike Scott Bullitt himself

Bullitt became an active member of the Roosevelt campaign for the presidency

and helped unite Washington State behind him

WASHINGTON VOTERS ATTEMPT TO REPEAL STATE LIQUOR LAWS

Washington State's "blue laws" made liquor sales illegal on Sundays
beer and wine could be imbibed in taverns, but by-the-drink sales of hard liquor were forbidden
State Initiative Measure Number 61 to the voters to repeal some of Washington's blue laws
was filed in Olympia -- January 1932

PRESIDENT HOOVER ATTEMPTS TO HELP STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Great Depression had so strong a grip on the American economy that President Herbert Hoover
moved away from his hands-off policy in dealing with the crisis

Hoover now believed if the government would shore up banks and railroads
decline of industry and agriculture could be halted, unemployment reversed
and purchasing power restored

(this approach had met with some success during the Great War)

Both houses of congress pass a Bill -- January 15, 1932

that created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)

RFC was funded with \$500 million and was empowered to borrow up to \$2 billion
to in aid to state and local governments
and to assure the survival of large banks, railroads, farm mortgage associations,
savings and loan associations and life insurance companies
no money was made available for the relief of American citizens

ALEXANDER SCOTT BULLITT IS A LEADER IN THE FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT CAMPAIGN

Washington State Democratic Party leader Scott Bullitt

moved into Franklin Delano Roosevelt Hyde Park residence

there the campaign strategy was plotted in the race for the presidency -- January 1932

Scott Bullitt was selected to address the delegates of the Chicago Democratic National Convention
he was to place FDR's name in nomination

(after Roosevelt's election he was to be appointed National Chairman of the Democratic Party)

REPUBLICANS LACK ANY CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM TO ADDRESS THE DEPRESSION

Farms were vacated and factories were shut down

penniless, unemployed and displaced people arrived in cities in legions

from lumber camps, industrial plants, fishing fleets, offices, government positions, schools
and a myriad of other places that no longer provided work

these were not just the "welfare class"

but included professionals such as lawyers, medical doctors, barbers, bricklayers, carpenters
and bank clerks

many searched skidroad hiring halls looking for work
others gathered scrap metal, bottles and rags or bundled up old newspapers
to be sold for cash

RADICAL IDEAS BECOME POPULAR AMONG DESPERATE PEOPLE

Relief, unemployment compensation, and old age pensions
joined the private power versus public power debate as a major issue of state politics
Layoffs caused men to lose their self confidence
some lost faith in the American capitalist economic system
some turned to Communism (state ownership of property and the means of production)
as the solution to the crisis
Radical ideas were widespread in the nation and a few demagogues arose
who gained power by appealing to people's emotions, instincts, and prejudices
in manipulative and dangerous ways

TWENTIETH AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION PASSES CONGRESS

National and state political leaders had long discussed extending the length of time
between the election of the president and the inauguration of the president
[November to March 4]
this was known as the "Lame Duck" period as the nation waited for the president to exit
Additional concerns were expressed regarding the constitutional requirement that congress meet
in [December] after the [[November] general election
this was known as the "Lame Duck" session of Congress as retiring and defeated congressmen
were included in the [December] session although they would be gone in [January]
An Amendment to the United States Constitution passed Congress -- March 2, 1932
among other things, the "Lame Duck" Amendment reduced the amount of time between
Election Day and the beginning of Presidential, Vice Presidential and Congressional terms
as stated in Section One: **"The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on
the 20th day of January (rather than [March 4] as previously stated), and the terms of Senators and
Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have
ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin."**
This proposed Twentieth Amendment was sent to state legislatures for ratification
agreement of three-fourths of the states was necessary to implement the amendment

VICTOR ALOYSIUS MEYERS IS THE "CLOWN PRINCE OF POLITICS"

Born in Minnesota the fifteenth of sixteen children
Vic Meyers grew up to play drums professionally at a Seaside, Oregon hotel
at age twenty-one he put together a ten-piece band and recorded for Brunswick Records

they toured nationally before settling in Seattle where Meyers played on the radio
Vic Meyers' band first took up residency at Seattle's Trianon Ballroom
in the Belltown/Denny Regrade area north of downtown
Meyers' popular band played for many years at the Rose Room at the Butler Hotel
Seattle's leading dancehall was known equally well for flouting Prohibition laws
Vic Meyers left the Butler Hotel and opened the *Club Victor* back in the Regrade area of town
he was one of the city's best-known figures
still his musical popularity left him with little money
and federal "Revenuers" constantly harassed him for violating Prohibition laws
Seattle Times newspaper urged Meyers to enter the nonpartisan Seattle mayor race -- spring 1932
city editor Doug Welch saw Meyers as a joke candidate
whom he could use for satiric stories about the candidates
Times trumpeted Meyers' entry into the race with an eight-column page one headline
it also gave him daily coverage -- Meyers was happy to have the publicity
Seattle Mayor candidate Vic Meyers
chose a meaningless campaign slogan "Watch 'er Click with Vic"
to prove he was not a representative of the vested interests he campaigned in shirt sleeves
later to prove he was not anti-upper class he campaigned in a tuxedo, silk scarf, top hat,
velvet lapelled overcoat, and kid gloves
he drove a beer wagon around town, although Prohibition was still the law of the land,
as his band played *Happy Days Are Here Again*
his speeches were often parodies of his opponent's campaign talks
he came out in favor of graft
his answer to the problems of Seattle's failing streetcar system was to add hostesses
he appeared at a Shriners' candidate forum at the Olympic Hotel dressed as Mahatma Gandhi
wearing gold-rimmed eyeglasses, leading a goat, sipping goat's milk
all the while munching raw carrots
In the course of the campaign Meyers discovered his ideas were as good the other candidates'
he also got tired of complaints from the *Times*'s rivals, the *Post-Intelligencer* and the *Star*
that he was degrading the electoral process
Increasingly, he ignored the *Times*' joke writers and began to campaign seriously
John F. Dore was elected Seattle's mayor -- March 8, 1932
Vic Meyer finished sixth in a field of ten -- but he was even better known in the city

SEATTLE MAYOR JOHN F. DORE TAKES OFFICE

Before his election to office Dore tried to straddle the political fence
declaring Dave Beck and Harry Bridges were "the two greatest friends I ever had"
When he took office, Mayor Dore said Seattle Teamster leader Dave Beck

had been the most important factor in his election
(When issues became more volatile Dore was forced
to join with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) forces
he stated that he was going to pay Beck back if it was the last thing he ever did
as Beck's tactics became more and more high-handed
it was evident that Mayor Dore's decision might well put an end to his political career)

YELLOW DOG CONTRACTS STOP UNION RECRUITING

Before they were hired, employees were forced to sign "Yellow Dog" contracts
which stipulated they would not join a union or they would be fired
(Federal courts upheld the legality of yellow dog contracts and frequently struck down state laws
that attempted to outlaw them during the [1920s])
Congress enacted the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act -- March 8, 1932
this declared Yellow Dog contracts contrary to public policy and unenforceable in federal courts
this act also gave labor unions the right to organize, strike, and use other forms of leverage
against management without interference from federal courts

MORE DISASTEROUS CONDITIONS FACE MIDWEST FARMERS

Because of the late planting, lack of moisture and early frost experienced the year before [1931]
much of the wheat crop was small and weak when the winds began to blow -- spring 1932
Wheat was also beaten down by dirt from neighboring abandoned fields -- March
there were twenty-two days of dirt storms -- drifts began to build along the fence rows

UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS LEAGUE FIGHTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Members planted, harvested and distributed food through their commissaries
when county commissioners attempted to employ a paid county manager
to take over UCL commissaries, members came together to stop their attempt
With the Unemployed Citizens League central federation established and membership increasing
UCL was well on its way to becoming the nation's premiere model for similar organization
UCL branches sprang up in Tacoma, Bellingham and Spokane
as more UCL branches sprouted up the need for a central federation
to represent the entire league became apparent

UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS LEAGUE ENTERS THE POLITICAL ARENA

Democratic Governor Hartley and conservatives believed that relief for the poor and unemployed
was the responsibility of the family and community and that any able-bodied man could find work
One of UCL's political efforts involved supporting John F. Dore for Seattle mayor -- March 1932
when he won the office UCL proved it had become a political force

Communist Party members began to gain influence in the Unemployed Citizens' League damaging the UCL's credibility and causing an ebbing of members

CONGRESS FOCUSES ATTENTION ON THE POTENTIAL OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

U.S. Army Engineers "308 Report" [1926] declared that the Columbia River had the potential to be "**...the greatest system for water power to be found anywhere in the United States...**"⁴ further, the river could be controlled and managed as one system

Board of Engineers of the U.S. Army expanded the "308 Report" from eight hydroelectric dams in the Pacific Northwest to ten

for the purpose of "**...improving the Columbia River and minor tributaries for the purposes of navigation and efficient development of water-power, the control of floods and the needs of irrigation...**"⁵

these proposed dams could electrify cities and rural areas,
create reservoirs for navigation

and bring a measure of control to the Columbia River's periodic rampaging floods

This was good news for a country in the throes of the Depression

in fact, the demand for power at the time was far below the potential output of ten large dams

but the construction projects would put people to work

and hydropower would transform the nation

ALEXANDER SCOTT BULLITT DIES OF CANCER

Scott Bullitt became ill with what was announced to be the flu

but it was cancer of the liver and gall bladder

Alexander Scott Bullitt, attended by his wife Dorothy (Simpson) Bullitt

died at his home in Seattle -- April 10, 1932

Bullitt's death was an enormous setback for the state and national Democratic Party

It was a staggering blow to his party; a death that shattered any hope for cohesion and stability in the Democratic organization; there was no other figure of comparable stature."⁶

State Democratic Party leadership was taken over by organized labor

WASHINGTON STATE FARMERS GRANGE WORKS FOR A STATE INCOME TAX

Grange members turned to the initiative ballot process to bypass the legislature and the governor and to provide a means of sound taxation policy for the state

Washington State Grange had a membership of nearly 30,000 throughout the state

⁴ Bonneville Power Administration, *Fish and Wildlife Implementation Plan: Final Environmental Impact Statement*, Vol. 1, P.2-19.

⁵ Bonneville Power Administration, *Fish and Wildlife Implementation Plan: Final Environmental Impact Statement*, Vol. 1, P. 5-116.

⁶ Fayette Florent Krause, "Democratic Party Politics in the State of Washington during the New Deal" (Ph.D. diss., U of W , 1971) P. 20, 23, 39.

it was confident that it had the ability to collect the 60,000 signatures needed
to qualify an income tax measure for the 1932 election

Grange attorneys carefully drafted the language of the initiative:

“An act relating to and requiring the payment of a graduated income tax on the incomes of persons, firms, corporations, associations, joint stock companies, and common law trusts, the proceeds therefrom to be placed in the state current school fund and other state funds, as a means of reducing or eliminating the annual tax on general property which now provides revenues for such funds; providing penalties for violation; and making an appropriation from the general fund of the state treasury for paying expenses of administration of the act.”

GERMAN REPUBLIC ELECTS ITS SECOND PRESIDENT

(Still suffering economically under the terms imposed by the Treaty of Versailles

Paul Ludwig von Hindenburg was elected the second president of the Weimar Republic [1925]
constant political squabbling among the numerous political parties in the German Reichstag
resulted in an ineffective government)

German President Paul Ludwig Hans Anton von Beneckendorff und von Hindenburg
was persuaded to run for re-election -- 1932

although he was eighty-four years old and in poor health

he was considered the only candidate who could defeat Adolf Hitler

who advocated the right-wing Fascist political theory that an authoritarian government
better served the needs of a nation than did democracy or a liberal philosophy

Hitler exalted nation and race above the rights of the individual

Hindenburg won the election, but Hitler received 37% of the vote

Germany's government remained on the brink of collapse

right-wing gangs of “brownshirts” about 400,000 strong were a part of daily street violence

Germany's economy was still in crisis

In an effort to save the government from Hitler's fascist ambitions

von Hindenburg dissolve parliament twice --1932

(eventually he appointed Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of Germany [January 1933])

EUROPE FEARS THE RISE OF FACIASM IN GERMANY

Threat of totalitarian enslavement and war loomed more and more ominously

appeasement culminated in the Munich Pact which, rather than checking events,

encouraged new waves of blackmail, treaty-breaking, and aggression

During this time as Melvin Rader noted in his book *False Witness*, **“...Maxim Litvinov as the spokesman of Soviet foreign policy, eloquently denounced the policy of appeasement and insisted, time and again, that only a united force could halt the Fascists.”**⁷

⁷ Melvin Rader, *False Witness*. P. 29.

Political factions were formed in European nations to resist the growth of Fascists in Germany

France developed a Popular Front” aimed at resisting Fascism in Germany

Communist Soviet Union initiated a “United Front” strategy to oppose Fascism

this effort was focused in Central and Eastern Europe and in the United States

Depression and threat of the Fascist-Nazi movement

stirred many political philosophies to join together to take action against these threats -- 1932

if unity was imperative in domestic politics, it seemed even more necessary in foreign policy

United Front Movement was a drive to forge a wider bond of unity

to get millions of people to act together in the face of the extreme emergency

even if they belonged to different political camps and held different creeds

this belief was especially attractive to intellectuals

who felt this was the only way to prevent a second world war

FEAR SWEEPS ACROSS AMERICA AS THE ECONOMIC REALITY OF DEPRESSION HITS

Total unemployment nationwide was estimated at between twenty-five and thirty per cent

“working stiffs” were accustomed to losing their jobs

for the unskilled, jobs had always been only temporary

“white collar” workers and professionals expected much greater job security

they attached their status as well as income to their employment

in addition to investments lost in the stock market crash, money vanished as banks failed

many middle class families faced hunger for the first time

Lumbering suffered the greatest loss of income of any industry during the Great Depression

significant job losses were felt in Tacoma, Bellingham, Hoquiam, Aberdeen, and Vancouver

Other industries suffered only slightly less

shipbuilding, flour milling, grain production, meat packing, printing and publishing,

fruit and vegetable canning all suffered decline

There were no safety nets to catch laid-off workers in the economic free fall

and yet there was no violent revolution in the streets of America

AMERICA’S MIDWEST CROPLAND BECOMES A “DUST BOWL”

Many crops were damaged by deficient rainfall, high temperatures and high winds

as well as insect infestations and dust storms that accompanied these conditions

“Dust Bowl” drought of the 1930s was THE environmental disaster of the Twentieth Century

it caused crops to fail leaving the plowed fields exposed to wind erosion

fine soil of the Great Plains was easily eroded and carried east by strong continental winds

although records focus on other problems, lack of precipitation also affected wildlife and plant life

and created water shortages for animal and domestic needs

Pervasive drought conditions resulted in a rural economic agricultural depression

that was even more devastating than the crash of the stock market
which had caused bank closures, business losses, increased unemployment
and other physical and emotional hardships that rocked the nation's farmland
when normal cattle feed crops failed in Oklahoma, thistles were harvested
when thistles failed, farmers dug up soap weed to be chopped in a feed mill or by hand
to be fed to the stock -- this was disheartening, backbreaking work
Drought was of such proportions that many could not even pay their mortgages, taxes or other debts
they had to sell their farms for no profit to themselves or lose them to foreclosure
destitute farm families moved into the city looking for work that did not exist
(during the 1930s, three million people left their farms on the Great Plains
half a million of these migrated to other states -- almost all to the West)
for the poor, under-educated and unskilled, life became a humiliating experience with no hope

REPUBLICANS LACK ANY CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM TO ADDRESS THE DEPRESSION

Farms were vacated and factories were shut down
penniless, unemployed and displaced people arrived in cities in legions
from lumber camps, industrial plants, fishing fleets, offices, government positions, schools
and a myriad of other places that no longer provided work
these were not the "welfare class"
but included professions as lawyers, medical doctors, barbers, bricklayers, carpenters
and bank clerks
many searched skidroad hiring halls looking for work
others gathered scrap metal, bottles and rags or bundled up old newspapers to be sold for cash

EFFORTS TO RESTORE THE HALIBUT RUN ARE SUCCESSFUL

Study of the fish (begun in [1924] when sixteen thousand halibut were tagged and released)
had demonstrated that halibut are divided into "races"
and each race stayed within an accustomed habitat
blanket regulations covering the whole industry would, therefore, be of little value,
rather each area would have to be managed as an individual entity
Restrictions on the fishery were first imposed -- 1932
these rules were adjusted as subsequent scientific studies continued and made new discoveries
increases in the Halibut population began at once

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION MEETS IN CHICAGO

In the depths of the Great Depression with more than thirteen million Americans were out of work
spirits were not high as President Hoover was re-nominated without enthusiasm -- June 1932
Republican Party Platform reflected Hoover's desire to "stay the course"

and rely primarily on voluntarism to solve the nation's ills

Republicans proposed:

- sharp cutbacks in federal expenditures;
- continued support for high tariffs to protect American business;
- strict observance to the gold standard;
- restricting immigration;
- payment of pensions to war veterans;
- U.S. participation in an international monetary conference which was already scheduled;
- regarding prohibition, no meaningful direction was provided

Republicans realized that the Eighteenth Amendment was not working as intended,
but the platform did not endorse repeal

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION MEETS IN CHICAGO

When Democrats assembled in Chicago to nominate a presidential candidate

there was an entirely different mood than that displayed in the Republican Convention

Democratic Platform avoided specifics, but presented a sharp contrast to Republicans calling for:

- “competitive” tariff designed to generate revenue -- not to protect business;
- “sound” currency but no mention was made of adhering to the gold standard;
- extensive banking and financial reform, including regulation of stock exchanges;
- support a pension for veterans of the Great War;
- aid programs for farmers;
- reduction of federal expenditures and a balanced budget

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then governor of New York, was the frontrunner for the nomination
thanks to skillful planning by the now-deceased Scott Bullitt

and maneuvering by campaign manager James A. Farley

Roosevelt had entered politics by capitalizing on his distant relationship with Theodore Roosevelt
he gained further attention by marrying the former president's favorite niece, Eleanor

In an effort to create an air of urgency at the convention, Roosevelt broke with tradition
he did not wait for formal notification of his nomination from the convention

instead, he boarded an airplane and flew from Albany to Chicago before being nominated

Roosevelt managed to gain the nomination on the convention's fourth ballot

he delivered an acceptance speech in person -- this was the first time this is done - July 2, 1932

“I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people”

it was no coincidence that thirty year before

Teddy Roosevelt had called his reform effort the “Square Deal”

Roosevelt's legislative agenda became known as the “New Deal”

his Vice President candidate was John Nance “Cactus Jack” Garner

U.S. representative from Texas and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

(Garner would later remark that the office “...wasn't worth a bucket of warm spit.”)

WASHINGTON STATE FARMERS GRANGE INCOME TAX INITIATIVE QUALIFIES

Enough signatures were gathered to bring an Income Tax proposal before the voters -- July 1932
this proposal became Initiative 69

Campaigning began in earnest as the issue brought together a coalition of New Deal Democrats
in a state that had never had a Democratic Party majority in its legislature

Grange leaders knew that the rural vote alone would not be enough to pass I-69

they set out to educate voters about the initiative

and to gather signatures to win placement on the ballot

they worked to build support in the cities

Grange gained the support of the Unemployed Citizens League, Seattle Labor Council,

Washington Education Association, Parent-Teacher Association,

and the High School Teachers' League

(I-69 qualified for the November General Election ballot)

TWO OTHER INITIATIVES TO THE VOTERS ARE SOUGHT

Initiative 61 sought to remove most of the state's prohibition laws (blue laws) from the books

I-61 was filed in an effort to send a message to the state's congressional delegation

to repeal the nation's prohibition laws and the Volstead Act that provided enforcement

(I-61 was successfully placed on the ballot)

Initiative 64 to the voters was an effort to cap property tax rates

Washington Farmers Grange took a neutral position on the matter

however, many of their urban allies like labor and education groups opposed the measure,

they feared it would strangle schools and government with no replacement for lost revenue

(I-64 received enough signatures and was placed on the ballot)

VICTOR MEYERS HAS POLITICAL AMBITIONS

After his loss in the race for Seattle mayor, Meyers briefly went back to being a full-time bandleader

before he decided to run for the position of governor -- summer 1932

this time without the “help” of the Seattle *Times* or city editor Doug Welch

however, he did not have \$60 for the necessary filing fee

Vic Meyers decided to run for lieutenant governor because the filing fee was only \$12

Vic continued to use humor and music during his campaign

he repeated the Gandhi bit

he played the saxophone at his own campaign appearances

Meyer also campaigned more seriously

he appeared on an Indian reservation talking about how Indians were not allowed to vote

he spoke often and loudly in favor of pensions, child welfare and unemployment compensation

JOHN C. STEVENSON STORMS ONTO THE SEATTLE SCENE

Stevenson was a husky, baldheaded mystery man who first attracted attention in the Northwest as the advertising voice of the Painless Parker chain of dentists

his salary was reported to be \$1000 a week and he lived up to it

his house was one of the finest in town,

he flew a \$20,000 plane,

he piloted a cabin cruiser on Puget Sound

Stevenson built up a large radio audience -- he viewed himself as a political oracle

his performance was to criticize specific wrongs and to propose vague remedies

Stevenson filed in the Democratic primary for King County commissioner -- 1932

right-wing Democrats tried to confuse voters by running a candidate with the same last name

so the radio announcer ran as "Radio Speaker John C. Stevenson"

and was listed as such on the ballot

Stevenson was radical enough to appeal to Seattle's great mass of unemployed and underpaid

he was believable enough to appeal to the farmers who normally shunned liberal soothsayers

When he won election he was immediately the most important commissioner in the state ever

at least in his own mind -- but there were questions regarding his past

he had materialized out of nowhere and there were odd rumors about where he got his wealth

When he was about to be sworn in as county commissioner,

a citizen protested that Stevenson was not a citizen

it was said he had flown in the Royal Canadian Air Force and was a Canadian

Stevenson admitted he had flown for Canada but denied that he was a Canadian

he refused, on grounds of possible self-incrimination, to reveal the he used name in Canada

he was allowed to take office anyway

HOMER T. BONE RUNS FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE -- THIS TIME AS A DEMOCRAT

State Representative Homer T. Bone stumped the state for support

during the campaign, Bone pushed for public utilities

he noted that Tacoma municipal electric company sold electricity for less than any other city

(and still boasts the lowest electricity rates in the nation)

Bone also focused on the global arms race under way

he charged that in the event of war the Olympic Peninsula was "glaringly unprotected"

an isolationist who wanted to avoid European involvement, he delivered the slogan:

"Keep to America but Keep America Safe"

Newspapers at that time made no pretense of fairness or balance

most of the state's papers, including *The Seattle Times*, viewed public power

as Socialist nonsense and Homer T. Bone as a radical or worse
however, Hearst-owned *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and Scripps papers, including the *Seattle Star*
were Bone champions
two weeks before the election, the *P-I* ran a gushing, five-part series,
Life Story of Homer T. Bone, Career Marked By Battles for People
accompanied by sidebars liberally quoting the candidate on the campaign issues
Gushing stories by the media were no accident -- Saul Haas was Bone's campaign manager
Haas was a well-known Democratic political activist and was a newspaperman
who worked for the Scripps Newspaper Company
his former colleagues joined him in the political battle
as did the perpetual rival of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* -- the *Seattle Times*
Saul Haas had also dabbled in the new communications craze of radio
which was revolutionizing culture and politics -- Haas saw its potential
(Seattle radio station KJR declared bankruptcy at the start of the Great Depression
Haas was appointed as receiver for the radio station)
Haas envisioned a regional radio network anchored by KJR
but the plan fizzled and the station was sold to National Broadcasting Company
however, the experience hooked him on radio as an agent of reform

CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY WAS VIGOROUS

Although Franklin Roosevelt had contracted polio at age thirty-nine [1921]
and was paralyzed from the waist down, he waged a vigorous campaign
he traveled more than 25,000 miles by train across the nation
in an effort to remove any concerns about his health
crowds gathered in towns and villages to greet the ever-smiling and optimistic candidate
brass bands played *Happy Days Are Here Again* at nearly every stop
Roosevelt gradually and sketchily developed the basic form of the New Deal -- summer and fall
using the ideas of his closest advisors -- dubbed the "brains trust" by reporters
one recurring theme was Roosevelt's pledge
to help the **"forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid"**
President Herbert Hoover began his campaign convinced that the return of prosperity was at hand
he was content to allow others to take his message to the voters -- summer and fall
but as fall approached and the economy remained in the doldrums
Hoover took to the stump
he was sharply critical of Roosevelt's idea to have the federal government
act to solve the nation's problems
he viewed such solutions as contrary to American tradition
he believed that only free enterprise would restore prosperity

RADIO BECAME A CAMPAIGN TOOL

Both candidates used radio to reach the voters during the 1932 campaign

Hoover's addresses were logical and competently delivered, but lacked enthusiasm

Roosevelt had a magnificent radio voice

he was able to convey a sense of competence and hope to the listeners

Democrats focused on relief, implementing a social security system and old age issues

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION DEEPENS

Dow Jones Industrial Average of the New York Stock Exchange dropped from a high of 381 [1929] to an average of 38 -- summer 1932

Prices fell as the supply of money evaporated:

- five dollars a day provided a comfortable living;
- good apartment rented for twenty dollars a month;
- Firestone tires were \$3.49 apiece -- inner tubes 59¢ each;
- used 1929 Model A sold for \$164

But even at these prices financial survival was difficult

unemployment soared to twenty-two per cent -- most of these were the male head of families
another twenty-one per cent worked only part time

It was a time of anguish for Washington lumber

Northwest became one of the hardest hit areas for unemployment in the nation
in three years production dropped from 7.3 billion board foot to 2.2 billion

loss of lumber markets spelled disaster for corporate owners, loggers and mill hands alike
80% of the state's mills were closed -- 1932

Washington wheat price fell from \$1.83 per bushel [1920] to 67¢ [1929] to 38¢ -- 1932

308 REPORT TO DEVELOP THE COLUMBIA RIVER IS ADVOCATED BY ROOSEVELT

While campaigning for the presidency, Franklin Roosevelt gave his vision for the Columbia River
he stated in a speech in Portland the Northwest's future was tied to hydropower -- September 21

“Where a community, a city, or county, or a district, is not satisfied with the service rendered or the rates charged by the private utility, it has the undeniable right as one of its functions of government...to set up...its own governmentally owned and operated service.”⁸

in that speech he went on to say, **“We have, as all of you in this section of the country know, the vast possibilities of power development on the Columbia River. And I state, in definite and certain terms, that the next great hydroelectric development to be undertaken by the federal government must be that on the Columbia River. This vast water power can be of incalculable**

⁸ Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest* P. 376-377.

value to this whole section of the country. It means cheap manufacturing production, economy and comfort on the farm and in the household.” (Portland, Oregon)

However, in the minds of many people

it is one thing for the federal government to generate electricity
and quite another to distribute that power to customers

CANDIDATES HOOVER AND ROOSEVELT AGREE ON LESS AND LESS

Relations between Hoover and Roosevelt remained chilly

several times during the campaign, Hoover asked for public reassurances from Roosevelt
that, if elected, he would not undertake untraditional initiatives

Hoover believed the business community needed to be reassured
when Roosevelt refused to commit himself,

Hoover believed his opponent was undermining the nation’s chances for recovery

Shortly before Election Day, Hoover warned that if Roosevelt were elected, then **“the grass will grow in the streets of a hundred cities, a thousand towns; the weeds will overrun the fields of a thousand farms....”**⁹

In the end, President Hoover had the impossible task of defending failed policies and strategies

CAMPAIGNING IN WASHINGTON STATE SHOWED PARTY DIFFERENCES

Pacific Northwest had been hit very hard by the Great Depression

lumber production dropped to less than half

voters in Washington, like the rest of the nation, experiences mortgage foreclosures,
delinquent taxes, and sharply rising unemployment

years of drought brought thousands from the Mid-west into the state

Republican-controlled legislature and the governor failed to come to agreement on an income tax
citizens and corporations organized to defeat Republicans at the polls

(Governor Roland Hartley had run for re-election in the 1932 gubernatorial race

but was defeated in the Republican primary and did not make the general election ballot
largely due to his inability to adequately deal with the Depression and tax crisis)

Democrats focused their campaigns on relief, social security and old age issues

NATIONAL ELECTION IS HELD AT THE BOTTOM OF THE DEPRESSION

Last three presidents, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, had been Republicans

Republicans Party had also controlled Congress

Democrats won an historic landslide as national and state voters changed to the Democratic Party
composed of labor, progressives, liberals, Populists, Socialists, Communists and radicals

⁹ William Safire, *Safire's Political Dictionary*, P, 290.

Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt became the President-elect -- November 8, 1932
he received 57% of the national vote

double the returns of four years earlier for Democratic candidate Al Smith
when he ran for president [1928] Herbert Hoover won every county in Washington
running for reelection 1932 Hoover lost every county in the state

Democratic candidates won huge victories as expected in the "Solid South" of the Old Confederacy
but "riding on his coattails" major urban areas and the West voted Democrat

Democrats achieved sizable majorities in both houses of Congress
as they were elected to Congress in record numbers

Governors' mansions across the nation were filled with new, Democratic, residents
state legislatures swung to the Democrats

Democratic victories changed the political landscape

America's electorate had clearly provided the president-elect with a mandate for change

ELECTION RESULTS IN WASHINGTON STATE

In Washington State there was a kind of revolution -- November 8, 1932

Democrats for the first time in history wrestled control of Washington's State government
from Republicans by electing a Democratic Governor, Clarence Martin

and by electing Democratic majorities in both houses of the legislature

new liberal and radical Democrats were swept in into power

old familiar Republican officials were swept out of office

Washington State was viewed nationally a ultra-Liberal

one commentator remarked on Washington's "**Political Circus**" noting: "**A smart promoter could now put the entire state under a tent, charge admission, and get it.**"¹⁰

State-wide election results:

almost any Democrat who ran for office in Washington was elected:

Governor Clarence D. Martin, Democrat, carried every county and was elected governor

(Republican Governor Roland H. Hartley failed even to receive the Republican nomination)

Clarence Martin served two terms as governor

Lieutenant-Governor Victor (Vic) Meyers was a popular band leader in Seattle

two years before the *Seattle P.I.* had talked the popular band leader and wit in Seattle

into running for mayor of Seattle -- Meyers was unsuccessful

Meyers went to Olympia to file for the governor's race but discovered the filing fee was \$60

he dug into his pocket and found he only had \$20

since the filing for Lieutenant-Governor was only \$12 he decided to run for that office

to the amazement of all, name familiarity carried him to victory -- November 8, 1932

Meyers served five terms as Lieutenant Governor and two more terms as Secretary of State

¹⁰ Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*. P. 388.

Democratic Attorney General G.W. Hamilton had not practiced law in fifteen years
once elected he held office for five terms (twenty years)

U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone, Tacoma Democrat

carried the progressive's hopes for a new U.S. Senator

in the race against Republican U.S. Senator Wesley L. Jones

Senator Bone will serve almost two terms in the U.S. Senate before he resigned [1944]

U.S. Senator Clarence C. Dill, Spokane Democrat, was not up for reelection

Regional election resulted in all of the state's Congressmen representing the Democratic Party:

Congress -- Democrat majority from Washington

Congressman Martin F. Smith, Hoquiam Democrat

served five terms -- [1933-1943]

Congressman Knute Hill, Democrat from Prosser

served five terms -- [1933-1943]

Congressman Monrad C. Wallgren, Democrat of Everett

served four terms -- (1933-1940 resigned)

Congressman Wesley Lloyd, Democrat from Tacoma

elected from the new Sixth Congressional District

served one and a half terms -- [1933-died 1936]

Congressman Marion A. Zioncheck, Seattle Democrat

he served one and a half terms -- [1933-died 1936]

CLARENCE D. MARTIN BECOMES WASHINGTON'S ELEVENTH GOVERNOR

He was the first native-born governor of the state

born in Cheney [1886], he grew up on a wheat farm there

he graduated from Cheney Normal School and the University of Washington

"C.D." as he was known to friends, was a conservative Democrat

he probably won office, in part, due to a Republican split into pro- and anti-Hartley groups

Governor Martin recognized the value of the state's abundant resources

he was determined these should be developed and used for the good of the people

he was especially anxious that electric power resources not be exploited by private interests

Governor Martin's program also stressed:

- giving every man a chance to earn his own living
- restoring confidence in banks and reforming the banking system to protect savings
- reconstruction of the tax system by taking some of the burden off property owners
- setting up a large-scale public works program to be paid for by state government
- studying the interests of farmers

PEARL WANAMAKER RUNS AGAIN FOR THE STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES¹¹

Pearl Wanamaker was elected to the 38th District seat in the 1932 Democratic landslide given a Democratic majority in the legislature and Democrat Governor Clarence D. Martin she was able to pass the Deception Pass Bridge Bill and get it funded without tolls (Pearl Wanamaker presided over its dedication [1935])

NEWLY-ELECTED CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHEK IS UNIQUE FROM THE START

(Born Mantoni Zajaczekm he was brought to the United States as a small boy his Polish immigrant parents raised him in a Seattle First Avenue neighborhood where he grew up to be a fish monger
Marion Zioncheck went to the University of Washington Law School where he was elected president of the student body
he was known as a comedian
several college escapades ensured his reputation as a prankster
but he was so confrontational, quarrelsome and difficult that some of his fellow students shaved his head and dumped him into Lake Washington
Zioncheck began his legal career by being fined \$25 for contempt of court after calling a witness a “scab”
in another case he successfully defended his mother against a charge of kidnapping)
Zioncheck received the Democratic nomination for Congressman from Washington at age thirty-one he became involved in the local Democratic Party
and the pro-labor Washington Commonwealth Builders
he campaigned for massive federal appropriations and a five-day work week devoted to the “common man,” he was swept into office
to represent Seattle’s liberal First Congressional District
during Franklin Roosevelt’s landslide election [1932]
Washington Commonwealth Builders, the radical left-wing of the Democratic Party, helped elect Zioncheck to Congress

WASHINGTON STATE LEGISLATURE IS DOMINATED BY DEMOCRATS

State’s House of Representatives became 3/4 Democrat
an increase from eight Democratic seats to seventy overnight
one newly elected legislator from Whatcom County could not afford a train ticket to Olympia up to the time of his election another new legislator was housed in a county jail
Milton (Pierce County) Democrats crossed party lines
elected Boston Curtis, a mule, as Republican precinct committeeman
(Democrats controlled both houses of Congress and the state legislature

¹¹ Michael Hood, HistoryLink.org, Essay 9171, September 26, 2009.

for the remainder of the decade)

THREE INITIATIVES TO THE STATE'S VOTERS WERE APPROVED

Income tax Initiative I-69, passed by seventy per cent of the vote -- Yes: 322,919; No: 136,983

Initiative-64, a limit on property tax passed by a slightly smaller margin

Yes: 303,384; No: 190,619

Initiative 61 removed most of the state's prohibition laws ("Blue laws") from the law books

it was passed YES: 341,450; NO: 208,211, a sixth-two percent margin -- a landslide victory

however, some restrictions on conduct and consumption remained in place

women patrons in drinking establishments were not allowed to sit at the bar

or carry a drink from table to table [until 1969]

(Washington still retains a monopoly on the sales of hard liquor)

WINNING IS NOT NECESSARILY THE END OF THE DEBATE

Overwhelming support by voters for the income tax initiative did not ensure its implementation

as the State Tax Commission began working out an administrative plan for the new law

and began mailing out tax forms

opponents of the income tax filed lawsuits against the new law

FIGHT FOR PUBLIC UTILITIES DISTRICTS IN SNOHOMISH COUNTY

In the minds of business people it was one thing for the federal government to generate electricity and quite another to distribute that power to customers

With the passage of the Grange Power Bill [1929], rural residents throughout the state

began the process of organizing Public Utilities Districts -- 1932

As voters swept Franklin D. Roosevelt into the White House

and public power advocate Homer T. Bone crushed long-time U.S. Senator Wesley Jones

Senator Bone was a pragmatic Populist who loudly praised public ownership of utilities

while damning big business -- especially utility trusts

Bone had closely followed the advice of his campaign manager Saul Haas

who served eighteen months as the senator's secretary and studied the ways of Congress

(he also found time to roam the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) which licensed stations

further grounding himself for the future)

Public Utilities Districts (PUDs) were approved by the state's voters

residents in Grant County and in Spokane County also voted to create public utilities districts

public power advocates in Snohomish County managed to get a measure on the 1932 ballot

to create a public utilities district -- but the opposition was aggressive

those against to the idea feared the law would give PUD commissioners

power to raise taxes and condemn private property

an organization that called itself the Snohomish County Tax Reduction Association
said the effort “**simply another raid on tax-spenders and visionaries seeking public
payroll jobs or personal gain.**”¹²

mayors of ten Snohomish County communities expressed concern
that the law would allow the confiscation of property
and cause them to lose the tax revenue they received from the private utility
In the end, the measure was defeated by a two-to-one margin

TROUBLES CONTINUE FOR KING COUNTY COUNCILMAN JOHN C. STEVENSON

After a few months in office, New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman informed Olympia authorities
that Stevenson was known back in New York as John P. Stockman
he was wanted for fraud in connection with a fake stock sale
Stevenson admitted he was Stockman but that he was innocent of the charges
he fought extradition putting Governor Clarence Martin was in an uncomfortable spot
should he turn over to New York a man who was an influential Democrat and a serious rival
Martin refused extradition and eventually the charges against Stevenson were dropped

CONGRESS INITIATES THE PROCESS TO AGAIN AMEND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution establishing Prohibition
was seen as a failure corruption and lawlessness was increased instead of decreased
there was widespread support for the return of legalized liquor and related jobs and dollars
Washington state’s Initiative 61 gave a clear mandate to the state’s Congressional Representatives
to repeal Eighteen Amendment and the Volstead Act which provided enforcement powers
Twenty-first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution repealing Prohibition
was introduced into Congress -- December 6, 1932
(it was adopted and was sent to the states for ratification [February 1933])

NEW U.S. SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON STATE IS APPOINTED

Long-term Republican U.S. Senator Wesley L. Jones died in office -- December 19, 1932
eleven days after losing his election to Homer T. Bone
Elijah S. Grammer, Seattle Republican was appointed by lame duck Governor Hartley
to fill the remainder of Senator Jones’ term [expiring March 4, 1933]
Elijah Grammer will remain in office for seventy-seven days until Senator Bone was sworn in

WASHINGTON’S NEW GOVERNOR IS SWORN IN

¹² Public Power in Snohomish County, *The fight in Snohomish County*,
www.snopud.com/AboutUs/history/pubpower.ashx?p=1349

Governor Clarence Martin, "C.D." as he was known to friends,
was a fiscally conservative Democrat
he was the first "native son" governor of the state
(born in Cheney [1886] and grew up on a wheat ranch there
he graduated from Cheney Normal School [teacher's college]
and the University of Washington)

Governor Martin recognized the value of the state's abundant resources
he was determined these should be developed and used for the good of the people
he was especially anxious that electric power resources not be exploited by private interests

Governor Martin's legislative program also stressed:

- giving every man a chance to earn his own living;
- restoring confidence in banks and reforming the banking system to protect savings;
- reconstruction of the tax system by taking some of the burden off property owners;
- setting up a large-scale public works program to be paid for by state government;
- studying the interests of farmers;
- passing special laws to protect children and the unemployed;
- implementing old-age insurance

In his inaugural address, Governor Martin pointed out most of the burden of relief
had been carried by the counties, towns, and charitable societies
he said that now the burden must fall on the legislature to provide unemployment relief
Governor Martin advocated passage of a state Sales Tax to meet the critical need

WASHINGTON STATE LEGISLATIVE SESSION GOES INTO SESSION

Opening ceremonies were held -- January 9, 1933

extent of the political revolution in the state became apparent
in the State Senate, Democrats leapt from one seat to twenty-five
Republicans fell from forty-one seats to twenty-one
in the State House of Representatives Republicans dropped from eighty-nine to twenty-nine
while Democrats exploded in number from eight to seventy

So abrupt was the switch from a Republican majority to Democratic
that only a few legislators had any previous experience at all
this became the most turbulent legislative session in the history of the state

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR VICTOR MEYERS TAKES OFFICE

Seattle's popular speak-easy band leader was sworn into office -- January 9, 1933
he had been elected in the Democratic landslide
he had run for the office without even being clear on the duties of the position
including presiding over the sessions of the State Senate and making parliamentary rulings

and, if necessary, possessing the tie-breaking vote
Despite his quirks, Vic Meyers capably ran the state's volatile Senate
he presided over the most rabid session in state history -- 1933
Victor Meyers soon became adept as the President of the Senate
he established himself as a very capable leader
Vic Meyers also became known as a leader of the left wing of the state Democratic Party
this often put him at odds with the more conservative Governor Martin

WARREN G. MAGNUSON ENTERS THE STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Freshman Democratic Representative (37th Legislative District) with a Populist agenda
pushed the "Bone Bill" named for its prime sponsor (now U.S. Senator-elect Homer T. Bone)
which proposed to give municipal utilities power to seize private property (eminent domain)
to acquire power systems owned by private power companies
he was a strong advocate for expansion of the state Utilities and Transportation Commission
which protected consumers by setting maximum rates for gas, electric power, and telephones

U.S. SENATOR HOMER T. BONE IS SWORN INTO OFFICE

Liberal political leader from Washington was sworn into office as a Democrat -- January 12, 1933
although he at one time campaigned for the Socialist, Farmer-Labor, and Republican parties
he remained loyal to Democrats once elected under the label
He described the G.O.P. as the party of Grand Old Promises
he also was reported to have said God couldn't be everywhere
and He made up the Republican Party to be where He didn't want to be
Physically small -- 5 foot 6 inches and 135 pounds
he was nicknamed the "Mightiest Atom" in the Senate
Senator Bone served almost two terms in the national Senate
(Senator Bone was also the Creator of National Cancer Institute before he resigned [1944])

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT XX ESTABLISHES FEDERAL TERMS OF OFFICE

Amendment XX to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress
and approved by the required three-quarters of the states -- January 23, 1933
Article I, Section 4, of the U.S. Constitution was modified by section 2 of this amendment
and addition, a portion of the 12th Amendment was superseded by section 3
Section 1 states: **"The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin."**
Section 2: **"The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall**

begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.”
Section 3 sought to resolve some ambiguity in the Constitution regarding what to do
if the winner of a presidential election died before inauguration day,
or if no candidate won the presidency
Section 4 required the federal House of Representatives choose a President if all else failed
and the federal Senate to choose a Vice President in a parallel situation
Sections 5 and 6 identified effective dates of the Amendment

LEGISLATURE CREATED NEW TAX FRAMEWORK TO HELP SENIOR CITIZENS

House Bill 14 proposed a pension of \$30 a month for Washington citizens over age sixty
however, cash-poor counties were unable to fund the pensions
forced by Initiative 64 [1932] to limit property taxes
legislators put a lid on the amount of money that could be raised from taxes on property
State Representative Warren G. Magnuson championed the cause of seniors
he noted the state was having a difficult time generating adequate taxes to fund the proposal
as a partial solution, he proposed a temporary Business and Occupation (B&O) tax
for the privilege of engaging in business in the state
his legislation passed both the state House and Senate with no dissenting votes
and still remains a staple of the state's tax base
Additional revenue brought in by the B&O tax
along with the Income Tax that Initiative 62 [1932] had imposed
provided Washington seniors retirement income (even before federal Social Security was law)

LEGISLATORS PASS A SALES TAX

Forced by Initiative 64 [1932] to limit property taxes
legislators put a lid on the amount of money that could be raised from taxes on property
Governor Martin secured passage of the most regressive tax
a state Sales Tax of 2% on all items except a few food products
this tax is regressive because low income people pay proportionally higher taxes
than do the wealthy
Result of this regressive tax program
was that while most other states doubled their tax revenues in the 1930s
Washington only held even
federal government cushioned the state from the worst blows of the Great Depression

HUNGER MARCHES ON OLYMPIA TAKE PLACE

Olympia barricaded itself against what appeared to be a revolution
Unemployed Citizens League led a hunger march on the capital -- January 16, 1933

over a thousand men, women and children, most from Western Washington,
marched to confront newly-inaugurated Governor Clarence Martin
they demanded unemployment insurance be provided
These marches were supported by newly-inaugurated Lieutenant-Governor Victor Meyers
who opened his home to the marchers
instead of the expected revolution an organized committee of marchers
met with legislative leaders
Governor Martin was completely unsympathetic to the plight of the marchers
a second hunger march of several more thousands was diverted to Priest's Point Park in Olympia
by law enforcement officers

STATE HOUSE BILL 263 (UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF FUND ACT) PASSES

Members of the Washington House of Representatives introduced legislation
to relieve the people of the state from hardships and suffering created by unemployment
State Representative Warren G. Magnuson spoke strongly in favor of passage
however, the state constitution strictly limited bonded indebtedness
unless state was faced with the threat of insurrection
Magnuson argued the protest marches demonstrated the threat of an insurrection
he achieved passage of the nation's first unemployment relief act when State House Bill 263,
the Unemployment Relief Act, shattered the constitutional debt limit
it provided \$10 million to relieve unemployed workers
and a commission to be named by the governor to administer the funds -- January 1933
(State Supreme Court later took into consideration the massive hunger marches when it
decided HB 263 met the constitutional requirements of a potential insurrection)

WASHINGTON'S STATES RELIEF PROGRAM GETS UNDER WAY

Democratic Governor Clarence D. Martin appointed the Harvard-educated, Republican Charles Ernst
as leader of the Washington State relief program
to coordinate state depression relief efforts for those in need of public assistance
this was the beginning of state Welfare Program
and helped to shape the modern economy of the state -- 1933
Commissioners, who were appointed by the governor, faced a huge task
but Director Ernst led them to become a model of timely, professional and efficient social services

STATE REPRESENTATIVE WARREN MAGNUSON FUNDS STATE RELIEF PROJECTS

Representative Magnuson introduced a bill to divert \$200,000
from the newly-created state Unemployment Relief Act fund
for dam construction on the Columbia River at Grand Coulee

In addition to providing seed money for the construction of a Grand Coulee Dam and other projects these funds provided seed money for the Roza irrigation project to transform the Yakima Valley; Deception Pass Bridge that tied Whidbey Island with mainland Skagit County was funded; Seattle's Washington Park Arboretum was included in the funding

as Mrs. Dorothy Bullitt, who sat on the Unemployment Relief committee later explained:
“The bridge, the dam, and the irrigation projects were necessities. The arboretum wasn't, but we needed some project in the densest population area of the state.... We chose the arboretum not for growing plants and trees, but to employ untrained men who could live at home and work in the city.”¹³

(in two years the total spent on state relief, both public and private donations, was \$46,054,595)

STATE RECLAMATION FUNDS ARE USED TO ENHANCE THE STATE BUDGET

Federal Reclamation Funds had come to Washington for more than thirty years

Reclamation Fund had been established by Congress [1902] to gather funds:

- from the sale of public lands;
- from the sale of public timber;
- proceeds from mining leases;
- payments from some water users on federal projects;
- and other sources

Washington's funds had been lying idle until it had accumulated to \$1,250,000 -- 1933

legislature began to use this fund to refinance and rebuild properties

belonging to bankrupt irrigation, drainage, and diking districts

DUST STORMS SWEEP ACROSS THE NATION'S HEARTLAND

Midwest was hit by a gigantic dust storm which killed much of the winter wheat crop -- January 1933

thermometer readings dropped seventy-four degrees in eighteen hours to record lows

temperatures stayed below freezing for several days until another dust storm hit the region

(Before the year was over, 139 dirty days were recorded)

TWENTIETH AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS RATIFIED

(As required in the U.S. Constitution, three-fourths of the state legislatures

ratified all six sections of the Twentieth Constitutional Amendment [January 23, 1933])

Congress ratified the Amendment placing it into effect -- February 6, 1933

Under the original U.S. Constitution, Congress was required to convene at least once each year in [December] in a mandatory “Lame Duck” session following the election

under the new Amendment new sessions of Congress began at noon on [January 3]

unless changed by Congress

¹³ Shelby Scates, *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 38.

Inauguration day for the newly-elected president was moved from [March 4] to [January 20]

Among other things, succession to the presidency was redefined

(only to be redefined again in the Twenty-fifth Amendment [1967])

Because it was ratified seventeen days after [January 20],

President Roosevelt's inauguration could not be held as required

(Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933 as previously required)

he and Vice President Garner were the first to be sworn into office on January 20 [1937])

(since Congress meets in a session that lasts for a two-year period,

the first Congress to be sworn in on [January 3] was in [1935])

PRESIDENT HOOVER ASKS PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT FOR RESTRAINT

President Herbert Hoover renewed his requests for a pledge to "stay the course"

during the so-called "lame duck" period before Roosevelt's inauguration

Hoover was most concerned about a major banking crisis which had developed,

but Roosevelt again declined to detail his plans for the future

ROOSEVELT CONTEMPLATES DAMS ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Another survey of the Columbia River Basin was completed

its results called for construction of a hydroelectric dam across the Columbia River

at the upper bend directly north of the dry canyon located there

During his campaign for the presidency FDR had promised the Northwest two high-level dams

however, the president-elect was concerned about spending federal dollars

on two large public works projects located in a region with a relatively small population

UNITED AIRCRAFT AND TRANSPORT CORPORATION REVOLUTIONIZES AIRPLANES

Bill Boeing's company built the Model 247 which first flew -- February 8, 1933

this first modern passenger airliner was an all-metal, twin-engine airplane

was capable of carrying ten passengers plus a crew of three and 400 pounds of mail

up to 745 miles at 189 mph

loaded with innovations, it had a gyro panel for instrument flying, a variable-pitch propeller,

an autopilot, pneumatically operated de-icing equipment, and retractable landing gear

Model 247 became United Airlines first fleet airplane

Cross-country flights were now possible

flying between New York and Los Angeles took twenty hours with seven stops

this was seven and a half hours shorter than that made by any previous airliners

Boeing built seventy-five 247s

Boeing Air Transport flew sixty Model 247s,

United Aircraft Corporation flew ten,

four went to Deutsche Lufthansa and one to a private owner in China

NORTHWEST AIRLINES BEGINS TO PROVIDE SERVICE

Northwest Air approached State Representative and attorney Warren G. Magnuson seeking his help in extending the airmail route from Seattle to Billings, Montana lobbyists were needed to acquire funds for construction of airports and navigation beacons Magnuson was quoted as saying,

“All I want for Northwest Airlines is a fair advantage.”¹⁴

In addition to acquiring funding for airmail routes

Magnuson also was hired by Northwest Airlines to delay or stop a state tax on aviation gasoline

SEATTLE ART MUSEUM BECOMES A REALITY

Seattle Art Museum was a most influential institution

it was the brain-child of Richard E. Fuller who was a wealthy businessman and art collector

Fuller had a keen interest in Asian art

Fuller raised money for a city museum building to be constructed -- 1933

he donated his art collection and served as director for many years

his collection broadened from Asian art to a wider variety

that in time encompassed a small but representative collection of world art

DESPERATE PEOPLE GIVE RISE TO RADICAL IDEAS

Relief, unemployment compensation, and old age pensions

joined the private power versus power debate as major issues of state politics

Layoffs caused men to lose their self confidence

some lost faith in the American capitalist economic system

some turned to communism (state ownership of property and production)

as the solution to the crisis

Radical ideas were widespread in the nation and a few demagogues arose

who gained power by appealing to people's emotions, instincts, and prejudices

in manipulative and dangerous ways

SENIOR CITIZENS' PENSION FUND PASSES THE STATE LEGISLATURE

State Representative Warren Magnuson sponsored a proposal

to allow pari-mutuel betting on horse races

(winners divide the total amount bet in proportion to the amount they wagered individually

after deducting management expenses)

Section Nine of the bill stipulated that five percent of the gross handle (amount wagered)

¹⁴ Shelby Scates, *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 87.

must be collected as a tax, and that eighty percent of this tax
would be used to support the old age pension fund in the state treasury
Representative Magnuson's legislation passed -- February 23, 1933
he then located the land on which to build Longacres Race Track and became an investor
Washington's horse breeding and racing industries were under way

WASHINGTON'S GOVERNOR CLARENCE MARTIN CLOSES BANKS

In the United States at the time, all U.S. currency was backed by gold
across the country hundreds of thousands of people demanded gold for their bank deposits
increasing numbers of bank customers in Washington State
closed their accounts and completely withdrew their funds demanding gold
this "run on banks" could not be met with the amount of gold in the U.S. treasury
Washington State Senate Bill Number 185 was introduced -- March 2, 1933
this authorized the governor to declare a bank holiday
to force the temporary closure of all banks in the state
reflecting the crisis at hand, Senate Bill 185 passed both houses before the end of the day
Governor Martin immediately declared statewide "bank holiday"
for Friday, Saturday, and Monday [March 3-6]
Each of the forty-eight states of the union declared a statewide "bank holiday" -- Saturday, March 4

WASHINGTON STATE'S CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION IS SWORN IN

Incumbent Fifth Congressional District Democratic Congressman Samuel B. Hill
was joined by the five newly-elected Democrats of Washington's congressional delegation

- Marion A. Zioncheck -- Seattle attorney and leader of the left-wing of Seattle Democrats
represented the First Congressional District
- Monrad C. (Mon) Wallgren -- businessman and member of the Washington National Guard
represented the Second Congressional District, Everett
- Martin F. Smith -- Hoquiam attorney and municipal judge
represented the Third Congressional District
- Knut Hill was a Benton County teacher and founding member of the State Grange
he was elected to represent the Fourth Congressional District centered in Prosser
- Wesley Lloyd -- Tacoma newspaperman, attorney and National Guardsman
who represented the Sixth Congressional District

NEWLY ELECTED CONGRESS CONVENES

Congress met in session -- March 4, 1933
including newly-elected Democratic U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone
and five newly elected Democratic Congressmen from the state

People in the nation demanded action, almost any action, to counter the Great Depression

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT IS INAUGURATED

President Herbert Hoover and President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt

rode together down Pennsylvania Avenue in stony silence to the swearing-in ceremony

Roosevelt waved enthusiastically to the crowds

Hoover, convinced a national disaster was about to occur, stared straight ahead

FDR (as he came to be known) called for collective action in his inaugural speech -- March 4, 1933

“I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. ... Our greatest primary task is to put people to work.... We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed....

He borrowed from the words of Henry David Thoreau: **“Let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”**

President Roosevelt with an overwhelming mandate and a supportive Congress

outlined his political agenda which he called the “New Deal”

he called for sweeping social change to lift the country out of the worst Depression in its history:

- tax supported welfare,
- Social Security,
- unemployment insurance,
- minimum wage,
- regulation of banks and protection of deposits,
- federal farm supports,
- massive public construction

That evening the inaugural ball featured a band from Washington State

Lieutenant Governor Vic Meyers led his musicians late into the night

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT DECLARES A BANK HOLIDAY

Exactly what that New Deal entailed, neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else could say

after the president-elect took office, each day brought dramatic new developments

beginning with his proclamation of a bank holiday

to halt the general collapse of the nation’s banking system

Supporting the action previously taken by of all forty-eight states,

FDR declared a national “bank holiday” -- March 5, 1933

(originally to end [March 9] it was subsequently extended through Monday [March 13])

HITLER RISES TO POWER WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS OF FDR’S INAUGURATION

(Germany had suffered from an economic depression imposed on them in large part

by the term of the Treaty of Versailles which ended the Great War)

(Adolf Hitler ran against elderly German President Hindenburg and came in second

(Fire destroyed the German Reichstag (government) Building [February 27, 1933]

crippling the legislative branch of Germany's government

Hitler blamed the fire on Communists)

(Hitler induced a confused and frightened President Hindenburg to sign a decree [February 28, 1933]

entitled *For the Protection of the People and State*, that suspended all of the basic rights

and imposed a death sentence for arson, sabotage, resistance to the decree

and disturbances to public order

arrests could be made on suspicion alone

people could be sentenced to prison without trial or the right of counsel)

Last German federation election in the Weimar Republic during Hitler's lifetime was held -- March 5

Nationalists (Nazi Party) gain fifty-two seats in the Reichstag (parliament)

for a total of 288 of 647 -- not enough to establish a dictatorship

but enough to pass the Enabling Act which effectively gave Hitler the power of a dictator

ADOLF HITLER RISES TO POWER IN GERMANY

Germany's Reichstag conferred absolute power upon Adolph Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich

within twenty-four hours of FDR's inauguration

any effective control over Hitler was eliminated

Adolf Hitler's grip over the German people tightened -- Germany's Third Reich was born

within a week Dachau concentration camp on the grounds of an abandoned munitions factory

received the first of thousands of critics of The Third Reich

book burnings became commonplace in pre-war Germany [beginning May 10, 1933]

works of world-class authors as well as those of Jewish writers were burned in huge bonfires)

BANKS ATTEMPT TO GENERATE CASH

Banking's Clearing House Association was a regional association of banks throughout the U.S.

this association's primary function was to process and route checks and money between banks

in response to the closing of banks across the country,

Clearing Houses decided to issue "certificates" to temporarily replace U.S. currency

Seattle's Clearing House was located at the Alaska Building in Downtown Seattle

(southeast corner 2nd Avenue and Cherry Street)

Seattle's Clearing House immediately started printing 2,275,000 certificates

in denominations of \$20 (printed in orange), \$10 (printed in brown), \$5 (printed in green),

and \$1 (printed in blue)

(2,275,000 certificates were printed totaling \$15,000,000 -- Monday March 6, 1933

these certificates were never issued)

SOME BANKS IN WASHINGTON OPEN THEIR DOORS

Six days after the banks in Washington had locked their doors
some King County banks opened for business -- Wednesday March 8, 1933
they allowed access to safety deposit boxes,
they allowed stores to exchange currency for change,
they allowed customers to make deposits,
customers also were finally allowed to cash personal or payroll checks
but only if there was an urgent need and then they could not exceed \$25

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS GOES INTO SESSION

Fully one-quarter of Americans who needed jobs were unemployed -- many had been for two years
this was at a time when loss of a job usually meant the loss of all means of existence
there was no "safety net" to provide necessary services or support for families in need
after years of relentless downward pressure on wages, millions of those who were still employed
could earn a wage far short of meeting minimal family budget requirements
what were needed were jobs -- the work was not important, the income was
significant or insignificant, necessary or unnecessary, meaningful or menial -- any job
relief was the issue even if the job was superfluous
FDR began to initiate action to address the expanding financial crisis
this became known as Roosevelt's "Hundred Days" -- March 9 [to June 16], 1933
federal programs which resulted became known as the "New Deal"
these will fundamentally change the role of government and the life of every American

BANKS IN THE NATION CLOSE THEIR DOORS

On its first day in session, Congress passed the Banking Act of 1933 -- March 9
which established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)
this virtually assured an end to bank failures in America

All banks locked their doors -- March 9, 1933

to stop the "run on banks" in which depositors withdrew their money
for fear of losing it through bank closures
customers could not even get access to their safety deposit boxes
only the Post Office would cash checks -- and only federal paychecks
or checks drawn from the United States Treasury

In King County, company checks replaced cash for most transactions
almost all of the larger retail establishments accepted most payroll checks
and checks from known companies as payment for purchases -- but not personal checks
change was given by writing store checks
many small stores operated on a cash only basis

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ATTEMPTS TO CALM THE FEARS OF THE NATION

FDR broadcast the first of thirty evening radio speeches given between 1933 [and 1944] -- March 12
these broadcasts to the American people attempted to reassure them
and offered his hopes and plans for the country
he sometimes began his “fireside chats” with “Good evening, friends”
in his first chat he emphasized that “we only had fear itself to fear”
Roosevelt’s fireside chats made extremely effective use of radio in reaching the public
they were enormously successful and attracted more listeners
than did the most popular radio shows during this “Golden Age of Radio”
(To this day every president, and a member of the opposition party,
offer a radio speech to the nation every Saturday)

U.S. SENATOR HOMER T. BONE BECOMES A COMMITTEE CHAIR

Washington Senator Bone became chair of the Senate Committee on Patents
which was a low-profile position but he readily shifted his public power fight to the national stage
he enjoyed the enthusiastic support of President Roosevelt
Bone saw the Columbia River as a mighty public resource

“BANK HOLIDAY” ENDS AS BANKS BEGAN TO REOPEN

Federal government allowed banks to conduct business -- Tuesday, March 14, 1933
Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane banks opened for regular business
Banks in the rest of the state, including rural King County, opened the next day

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (“CCC”) IS CREATED BY CONGRESS

Congress passed the *Reforestation Relief Act* -- March 31, 1933
which established the *Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)*
Urban poor and unskilled aged eighteen to twenty-five were put to work in state forests and parks
these were mostly single men or men with dependent families
workers planted trees; constructed dams and roads, and installed telephone lines
more than forty camps were constructed in the state -- 2,500 men were employed
they became known as “dollar-a-day men” for their earnings -- \$30 a month
with \$25 from their pay to be sent home to their families
all learned to be responsible employees who showed up for work each day -- many learned a trade

ATOMIC THEORY IDENTIFIES AN ENORMOUS NEW SOURCE OF ENERGY

Work was being conducted in Europe by physicists based on the theories of Dr. Albert Einstein
applying his famous equation defining the equivalence of mass and energy ($E = mc^2$)

It was theorized that nuclear energy is possible because some elements in nature can be split by a process called “fission” (splitting an atom)

in that process energy would be released as heat

it was also theorized that elements could be exploded with an enormous burst of energy

estimates were offered that changing the hydrogen atoms in a single glass of water into helium

“would release enough energy to drive the *Queen Mary* across the Atlantic and back at full speed.”¹⁵

During the [1920] and [1930s] European nuclear physicists uncovered the secrets of the atom

led by such scientific pioneers as Dr. Albert Einstein, Dr. Leo Szilard and Dr. Enrico Fermi

NOTED PHYSICIST DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN COMES TO AMERICA

Albert Einstein was German-born [March 14, 1879] to a family of non-observant Jews

he enrolled in the four year mathematics and physics teaching diploma program

at Polytechnic in Zurich, Switzerland [1896]

he completed his thesis and was awarded a PhD from the University of Zurich [1905]

and was appointed director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics

before becoming a professor at the Berlin Academy of Sciences

Dr. Albert Einstein, a theoretical physicist, developed the theory of general relativity

unleashing a revolution in physics -- he is often regarded as the father of modern physics

and is considered to be one of the most prolific intellects in human history

While visiting American universities -- April 1933

Einstein learned that the new German government had passed a law barring Jews

from holding any official positions including teaching at universities

Dr. Einstein decided to immigrate to the United States because of the rise to power of the Nazis

under Germany’s new chancellor, Adolf Hitler [October 17, 1933]

he did not go back to Germany

(Dr. Albert Einstein settled in the U.S. and became an American citizen [1940])

Other Jewish scientists also fled to America

among them were Nobel laureates and professors of theoretical physics

with so many scientists now forced by circumstances to live in America

great scientific advances loomed on the horizon

FIRST ELECTRIC GUITAR IS INVENTED¹⁶

(Paul H. Tutmarc [born May 29, 1896] was earning money

by singing and playing the guitar and banjo by the age of twelve

he started playing Hawaiian-style steel guitar when he was fifteen,

¹⁵ David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*. P. 656.

¹⁶ Peter Blecha, HistoryLink.org, Essay 7479, September 18, 2005.

and eventually hit the road traveling with a vaudeville troupe on the Chautauqua circuit
Tutmarc was touted on Tacoma's KMO radio as the "Silver Toned Tenor"

and he began making appearances at Tacoma's Broadway Theater [1926]
after moving to Seattle [1928], Tutmarc began to perform on KJR radio
and on the Orpheum and Pantages theatrical circuits

Paul Tutmarc worked the Seattle theaters as a tenor soloist with a number of top dance orchestras
including the town's premiere bandleader, Vic Meyers [1929]

Tutmarc began experimenting in his basement workshop with his partner Arthur "Art" J. Stimson
on a secret project that resulted in his Spanish-style guitar being amplified

both were surprised by the beautiful tone the amplifier produced [winter 1930-1931]

Both Tutmarc and Stimson soon realized the importance of their discovery

but they were told they could not get a patent for their invention

because the telephone company had already patented similar devices

disappointed, Tutmarc put his electric guitar dreams on hold while Stimson, apparently,

headed off to Los Angeles where he said he intended to try to interest others in the idea

Dobro Manufacturing Co. patented an All-Electric model of electrified Spanish-style guitar

Art Stimson had sold the company the patent for the measly sum of \$600

Dobro Manufacturing Co. began marketing their electric guitar -- spring 1933

Casting caution aside, Tutmarc forged ahead marketing his own brand of superior electric guitars

he vastly improved his on his old design through experimentation

UNIONS CONTINUE TO SUFFER DUE TO THE DEPRESSION

Great Depression ate into companies' profits

in response many corporations reduced wages and laid-off workers

union benefit plans were reduced

assembly lines were speeded up causing exhaustion and accidents

fewer men working resulted in declining union membership numbers -- April 1933

Great Depression maintained a tight grip on the American, and now the world, economy

those men who held a job could not afford to pay union dues

Longshoremen unions languished as their membership numbers remained low -- April

Seattle had 110 paid-up International Longshoremen's Association members

Grays Harbor and Everett struggled to hold their union charters

along the Pacific Coast employers used the "shape-up system"

in which companies hired only workers of their choice -- and then only for the day

Union leaders looked anxiously for an upsurge indicated by increasing numbers of workers

FDR REMOVES THE GOLD STANDARD AS A BACK STOP FOR AMERICAN MONEY

President Roosevelt's administration announced the United States would go off the gold standard

FDR issued Executive Order 6102 making private ownership of gold illegal
with the exception of jewelers, dentists and coin collectors
private owners could not redeem gold certificates (former money) for gold
Federal government started printing Federal Reserve Bank notes for its currency -- April 19, 1933
Federal Reserve Notes became the new (some said “funny”) money
value of the dollar declined in the world market while silver, commodities, and stocks climbed
net effect was to stimulate the domestic economy and make more goods available
inflation began to lift the nation’s economy

CONGRESS PASSES TWO HUGE RELIEF MEASURES THAT ARE SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT

At FDR’s request the *Federal Emergency Relief Act* is enacted
unemployment reached fourteen million -- over one quarter of the nation’s work force
Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was established by Congress -- May 12, 1933
\$500 million was appropriated for relief to support those in need
with half to be given immediately as direct relief to those unable to obtain jobs
other half was to be distributed to state and city governments for local relief projects
to be matched at \$1 of federal money for every \$3 of local money spent
President Roosevelt appointed Harry Hopkins as the Federal Relief Administrator
Congress also enacted the *Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)* to provide immediate relief to farmers
by establishing farm subsidies for some agricultural products
this paid farmers to not grow specific crops and to leave their ground fallow
it was designed to raise farm prices by cutting production
and paid farmers for reducing acreage in the hopes that diminished supply
it would provide farmers with higher market prices
it also provided funds for loans to farmers to meet their mortgage payments
AAA was enthusiastically hailed by wheat farmers
many of whom stayed in business solely because of government support

CONGRESS ESTABLISHED THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA)

This publicly-owned corporation was authorized to build dams and provide cheap public power
to promote economic development in the impoverished Tennessee River Valley -- May 18, 1933
TVA was to construct and operate dams and power plants along the Tennessee River
to generate and sell electricity, establish flood control, provide for irrigation,
develop navigation and begin the manufacture and sale of fertilizer products
(six dams were completed before the United States became involved another World War)
This project was strongly opposed by private power companies
who saw the competition as unfair, socialistic and even Communist
(TVA became the forerunner of the Bonneville Power Administration in the Pacific Northwest)

CONGRESS PASSES THE *FEDERAL SECURITIES ACT*

Federal Government became responsible to register and approve all issues of stocks and bonds
issuers of these securities were forced to make a full disclosure
of all pertinent information about an issuing company
for the first time the federal government regulated Wall Street -- May 27, 1933

OYMPUS NATIONAL MONUMENT BECOMES OYLMPIC NATIONAL PARK

President Franklin Roosevelt transferred Olympus National Monument
to the National Park Service -- June 10, 1933
Washington Congressman Mon C. Wallgren worked to add 800,000 acres to the park
logging companies, chambers of commerce, and Governor Clarence D. Martin
thought the park was much too large -- if it was needed at all

CONGRESS PASSES THE *HOME OWNERS REFINANCING ACT*

This act established the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) -- June 13, 1933
to provide money for mortgages and other aid to home owners for expenses
such as taxes, and money for maintenance and repairs to their property
(more than one million homeowners had been served when HOLC was dismantled [1936])

CONGRESS PASSES THE *NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA)*

This last piece of New Deal legislation was passed on the last day of the one hundred day
special Congressional Session
National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the signature piece of legislation of the New Deal,
came into effect to lift the industrial economy out of economic depression -- June 16, 1933
this was the president's principal weapon against the Great Depression
this law authorized the president to regulate industry and permitted cartels and monopolies
in an attempt to stimulate economic recovery and establish a public works program
NIRA permitted corporations in each industry to establish production quotas
it allowed individual industries to legally control production and prices
it also set a floor under wages and limited hours of work
NIRA had two main sections (or "titles") and established two new relief agencies
which Congress funded with \$3.3 billion:
•National Recovery Administration (NRA)
•Public Works Administration (PWA)
NIRA Title I created the *National Recovery Administration (NRA)*
this was devoted to industrial recovery, fair competition and trade union rights
it also permitted regulation of working standards

Section 7(a) of the bill protected collective bargaining rights for unions
NIRA Title II created the *Public Works Administration (PWA)*
this was established to identify projects and funding opportunities
and funded the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)
NIRA was to expire [June 1935]

TITLE I: NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) ASSISTS BUSINESS AND LABOR

General Hugh Johnson was named Director of the National Recovery Administration (NRA)

NRA was to stimulate competition for the benefit of both producers and consumers

and reduce unemployment by implementing various codes and establishing fair trade agreements
individual industries were allowed to legally control production and prices

as anti-trust laws were suspended in favor of codes demanding fair competition for business
National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) recognized that the trade-union movement
had been weakened by the Great Depression

contract negotiations seemed useless and strikes appeared to be suicidal

Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) encouraged the growth of unions

it stated that **“employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing”**

however, nothing compelled employers to sign a labor agreement (Code) in the first place

employers and employees did not negotiate labor provisions as equals

unions might submit proposed labor codes

and government representatives might even recommend their adoption,

but employers did not have to sign any code that did not please them

while the NIRA Code Section 7(a) encouraged union organizing,

the Act had no mechanism for resolving labor problems

compliance by business was voluntary

those who cooperated with the NRA received the Blue Eagle **“seal of approval”**

(NRA was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court [May 1935])

TITLE II: PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) DIRECTS BUILDING PROJECTS

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was appointed Public Works Administration (PWA) Director

PWA’s goal was to provide employment, stabilize purchasing power

and contribute to a revival of American industry

This agency supervised the building of new roads, trails through national forests, public buildings,
concrete sidewalks, picnic shelters, low income housing, wildlife refuges and wildlife ranges,
highway bridges, post office murals and the Federal Writer’s Project,

this novel program put unemployed writers to work producing a series of state guidebooks
and other projects which provided employment

“HUNDRED DAYS CONGRESS” CHANGES AMERICA

President Franklin Roosevelt had entered office with enormous support from the voters

Americans of all political persuasions demanded immediate action

Roosevelt responded by a special session of Congress

FDR proposed a remarkable series of new programs

When the “Hundred Days Congress” adjourned from its special session

it had passed all fifteen bills requested by President Roosevelt

(Except during the “Great War” the federal government had never been so involved

in so many aspects of American life as during the era of FDR and the New Deal)

Ever since, presidents have been judged against FDR for what they accomplish in their first 100 days

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) REPRESENTS PRIMARILY CRAFT UNIONS

As a result of federal National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) pro-labor legislation

American labor movement was encouraged by protections guaranteed under the NIRA

labor undertook a wave of union organizing not seen in almost two decades

Ranks of organized workers expanded rapidly

but this nearly totally unrestrained growth resulted in friction

between advocates of craft unions and industry-wide unions

American Federation of Labor (AFL) attempted to defend their jurisdiction over craft workers

as it sought to enforce work rules, maintain control over apprenticeship programs

and exclude fewer skilled workers from union membership

craft unionists were opposed to organizing workers industry-wide, that is,

representing all of the production workers in a particular industry

rather than organizing into separate unions divided along craft lines

thus AFL’s focus was placed on representing craft unions of skilled workers organized by skill

this was believed to be the most effective way to represent workers

and to defend the advantages union members had secured through their skills

unrepresented semi-skilled were being organized by the AFL only slowly

American Federation of Labor leaders were opposed to granting semi-skilled production workers equal status with skilled workers

or representing unskilled workers in the AFL at all

idea of “one big union” as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World was unthinkable

COMPANIES FORM THEIR OWN UNIONS FOR THEIR EMPLOYEES

Employers reacted to the labor rules established by National Industrial Recovery Act Section 7(a)

company unions under the control of company management were quickly established

businesses announced that these were the only proper representatives of their workers

American Federation of Labor (AFL) craft unions responded by holding strikes
as they demanded to be recognized as the organization of the workers' choosing
who would represent them in negotiations with the company
Large numbers of workers were summarily fired for striking

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION CLAIMS ALL SEAMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

International Seamen's Union (ISU) during its forty-year existence [1899-1937]
was a federation of affiliated self-governing unions
that were divided into Atlantic, Great Lakes and Pacific regions
Throughout its existence, ISU remained under the control of its longtime president, Andrew Furuseth
ISU's decline must be attributed to the nineteenth-century sailing ship mentality Furuseth imposed
and to his rejection of alliances with any other worker's groups

PACIFIC COAST LONGSHOREMEN FEEL THE NEED TO ORGANIZE

Pacific Coast longshoremen had long suffered from unsafe working conditions
long hours and split shifts magnified their dangerous task of handling heavy cargo
they had only an ineffective organization to represent them
or to handle their grievances against employers
worst of all, they had no fair chance to secure what few jobs were available
employers hired those who were willing to pay bribes or were relatives or were favorites
those who favored unions most definitely were not hired
Since the early [1920's], company unions had dominated the maritime and dock industries
then worker militancy, led in Washington State by William T. Paddy Morris, asserted itself
International Longshoremen Association (ILA) locals were chartered
(in Everett and Grays Harbor [1929], Portland [1931] and Seattle [1932]
when San Francisco, the key to the coast, was organized -- 1933
longshoremen were ready to move
Fink halls kept shipping companies in control of labor in the longshore and maritime industries
on the Pacific Coast only Tacoma ILA Locals 38-3 and 38-30
maintained a closed shop (where only union members were employed)
With passage of National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) union organizing encouragement
there was a possibility of establishing a new employer-employee relationship

LONGSHOREMEN ORGANIZE UNDER THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA)

After passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) Section 7(a)
International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) renewed its efforts
to reestablish itself on the West Coast by chartering new local union affiliates
Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) took on new life

Pacific Coast District ILA delegates met in a special district conference in Seattle -- July 2 through 5
fifty-six delegates from Washington and Oregon ports were in attendance
to review the tentative Shipping Code proposed by the Tacoma longshoremen
delegates added or eliminated, as they saw fit, various clauses or conditions
affecting practically every line of work on the waterfront
they prepared a tentative "Shipping Code" of operation of their own to address methods
to stimulate local economic recovery and meet the needs of working people
Proposed Shipping Code with their revisions was then sent to the various Northwest locals
for their acceptance, modification or rejection
in a referendum vote, the Proposed Shipping Code was overwhelmingly approved
by the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) members
to be presented to waterfront employers
Longshoremen, warehousemen, salmon canning workers and inland boatmen
became actively involved in organizing the docks along the Pacific coast waterfronts

COMMUNISM INFILTRATES ORGANIZED LABOR

Influence of communism within the American labor movement
significantly altered the course of labor history
two men stand out as unique figures on the West Coast: Harry Bridges and Harold Pritchett
Bridges led the San Francisco International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
Harold Pritchett led the British Columbia Shingle Weavers' Union
both men played an integral role in shaping the labor movement during the Great Depression
Bridges and Pritchett were aliens -- non-citizens of the United States
both were heavily influenced by the Communist Party
they formed their unions into militant protectors of labor
both faced persecution from anti-union red-baiters who fought labor's every move
both faced intense scrutiny by the U.S. Government
Both were tried before the anti-communist tribunals of the time
both faced deportation

LONGSHOREMEN IN SAN FRANCISCO TAKE A DIFFERENT TRACK

One group of longshoremen who came to be known as the "Albion Hall group"
(named after their meeting place) attracted ILA union members from a variety of backgrounds:

- former Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) members,
- members of the Communist Party,
- and others with no clearly defined politics

Communist Party members in San Francisco also were trying to organize an alternative
to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and American Federation of Labor (AFL)

they attempted to organize longshoremen, sailors and other maritime workers
into an all-inclusive union: the Maritime Workers Industrial Union (MWIU)
a revolutionary industry-wide alternative to the International Longshoremen's Association
and other American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions
Albion Hall group was sympathetic to the Communist's MWIU effort
International Longshoremen's Association organizer Harry Bridges
also was sympathetic to much of the MWIU's program
but he chose to join the new San Francisco Longshore and Warehouse Union

HARRY BRIDGES IS ACTIVE IN THE SAN FRANCISCO ILA UNION MOVEMENT

Born Alfred Renton Bridges in Melbourne, Australia

Bridges went to sea at age sixteen as a merchant seaman and joined the Australian sailor's union
Bridges entered the United States [1920] and joined the Industrial Workers of the World [1921]
he participated in an unsuccessful nationwide seamen's strike
Bridges left the sea for longshore work in San Francisco [1922]

Harry Bridges was a member of the "Albion Hall group"

(federal government later spent more than a decade trying to deport or convict Harry Bridges
on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party
but they were never able to produce any hard evidence that he was)

When International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) elections were held in San Francisco,
Harry Bridges and fellow members of the Albion Hall group
held two of the three business agents positions
they also made up a majority of the San Francisco ILA executive board
San Francisco ILA organizer Harry Bridges was a militant, allegedly Communist, radical

HAROLD PRITCHETT JOINS THE TIMBER UNION MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Pritchett initially worked in the Canadian sawmills when he joined the labor movement
he immersed himself in the writings and doctrine of Communist authors

lumber camps proved to be fertile ground for the ripening of Communist ideals
Harold Pritchett joined the communist movement [1924]

encouraged by discussions with fellow workers and regular reading of the writings of Karl Marx

Pritchett became a politically astute union activist
Pritchett left the sawmills and moved on to become a shingle weaver
first as a shingle packer -- then as a shingle sawyer

It did not take long for him to attain a position of union leadership -- he rose quickly in the ranks
three years after joining the labor fight,

Pritchett became an official in the Shingle Weavers' Union [1927]
Pritchett quickly became a leading figure in the Northwest's union community

he rose to prominence when he chaired the Fraser Mills Strike Committee [1931]
Pritchett was elected president of the Vancouver, B.C. Shingle Weavers local [1932]
Harold Pritchett's actions and those of the Communists
added militant vitality to the American Federation of Labor (AFL) movement

UNION STRATEGY FOR ORGANIZING TO REPRESENT THE INTEREST OF MEMBERS

Working people have three basic economic weapons:

- "primary economic strike" usually occurs to protest wages, hours, or working conditions
- "sympathy strike" (secondary boycott)
is a refusal to cross another union's picket line or handle a "scab" (nonunion) product
- "general strike" is labor's ultimate weapon as all workers in an area walked off the job
this demonstrates the supreme act of solidarity

Union activists could be divided into three categories:

- "conservatives:" are those who have been worn down by many defeats
they are cautious, sticklers for contractual obligations or fearful of rank and file members
they are often undemocratic in their paternalism toward the company
- "militants:" may have suffered defeats which taught a lesson
but the lesson was of better and stronger preparation and not retreat
- "radicals:" such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and Communists
who have their own agenda which might or might not coincide with other activists

PACIFIC COAST SHIPPING INDUSTRY IS NOT INTERESTED IN UNION MOVEMENTS

Government stimulus efforts had allowed for financial gains in the shipping industry
shipping companies saw an increase in the volume of goods distributed throughout the nation
longshoremen had not shared in the increased profits generated for shipping companies
Shipping industry was already permitted under the Shipping Act of [1916]
to organize and negotiate agreements of their own regulating competition among ship owners
they had little to gain from the labor rights granted to other industries under NIRA code
Maritime industry leaders were asked by the federal government
to voluntarily prepare codes of operation which would stimulate economic recovery
and at the same time recognize the needs of working people

REPUBLICANS DID NOT SIT IDLY BY AND WATCH A "WELFARE STATE" BEGIN

Some Republican Seattle community leaders took a pledge
to rid their city of political corruption, labor unions, vice and gambling which flourished there
they formed the New Order of Cincinnatus (NOOC)¹⁷
named for the legendary Roman hero who was called from his plow

¹⁷ Dryden, Cecil. *History of Washington*. P.279.

to lead his people against the enemy (circa 500 BC)
after conquering the Aequians and making the country safe, he returned to the plow
NOOC was composed mostly of middle-class professional supporters
they restricted their membership to men ages twenty-one to thirty-five
they called for a **“rebirth of political idealism among the younger citizens of America ...
Cincinnatus advocates a Spartan-like devotion to honesty, efficiency, and ability in government.”**
Organized along military lines the group advocated a vastly increased state-level police force
which consisted entirely of men under age forty trained by a state police school
who enlisted for a military-style four-year term rather than being free to resign at any time

ROCK ISLAND DAM IS THE FIRST HYDROELECTRIC PLANT ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

(While politicians debated, construction began [1929] by Chelan County Public Utilities District
Puget Sound Power and Light Company took over the project)
building the first dam on the Columbia River at Rock Island was completed in 1933
about twelve miles downstream from Wenatchee near the geographic center of the state
This was to be the first dam on the mainstem of the Columbia River
it was not a multiple-purpose dam -- its sole purpose was to generate electricity
four generators were placed on line -- reservoir behind the dam is called Rock Island Pool
three fish ladders formed pools ten by twenty feet
each step is about one foot higher than the one below

FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN HYDROELECTRIC POWER

Impressive as the private and municipal power developments had been
Army Corps of Engineers' [1926] 308 Report had been revised several times
these studies concluded it was feasible to construct dams on the Columbia River
308 Reports stated there was room for the federal government in power generation
United States Bureau of Reclamation was at first interested in irrigating arid lands
they soon developed a vital interest in hydroelectric power production
this paved the way for the federal government to develop hydroelectric power
President Roosevelt saw these huge projects as opportunities
public works projects would put people to work and raise America from the Great Depression
FDR wanted hydroelectric dams built
he committed the federal government to completing Boulder (later Hoover) Dam
on the Colorado River near the Nevada-Arizona border begun under Hoover's Administration
Columbia River contained forty percent of the nation's potential for hydroelectric generation
this enormous potential did not escape President Roosevelt's attention
U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone was instrumental in promoting construction of dams
on the Columbia River

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT PROPOSES A LOW DAM ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceived of the low dam first as a work relief project he believed the high Grand Coulee Dam's estimated cost of four hundred million dollars would overburden the shrunken national economy
irrigation also would bring too much additional cropland into production
at the very time the New Deal was spending money to destroy agricultural surpluses
Public Works Board appropriated \$63 million for a 290-foot dam
it would furnish considerable electric power but would have little value for irrigation
plans for developing the Columbia Basin were put on hold since a low dam
would not support the kind of irrigation system that had been envisioned
Washington State had previously provided \$377,000 toward the construction project
Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation was given the task of building a low level dam
rather than the rather than to the Army Corps of Engineers
this decision increased the likelihood that high level dam could be completed at some point.
Engineer Frank A. Banks was placed in charge of the low level 290-foot dam project

PROCESS OF PURCHASING LAND FOR THE LOW LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM BEGINS

Grand Coulee is located in central Washington 597 miles from the mouth of the Columbia River
about ninety miles northwest of Spokane
near the place where an ice floe dammed the river during the last Ice Age
ice had forced the river to rise from its historic channel and flow to the south,
where it carved a giant canyon -- the Grand Coulee
eventually the ice retreated and the river returned to its old channel
Bureau of Reclamation undertook purchasing land for the proposed low level dam site
as far as 151 miles upstream (almost to the Canadian border) for use as the future reservoir zone
Within the zone were eleven towns and cemeteries, two railroads, four sawmills,
three state highways and about one hundred and fifty miles of country roads, fourteen bridges,
and four telegraph and telephone systems along with power lines
all of this infrastructure had to be purchased or relocated along with a total of 3,000 residents
Government appraisers valued the land and offered to purchase it from the effected residents
many refused to accept the offers and Reclamation filed condemnation suits
Relocation of the Colville Confederated Tribe and Spokane Tribe members occurred as well
although by treaty they possessed year-round and seasonal settlements within the reservoir zone

WORKERS IN NON-SKILLED INDUSTRIES ALSO WANT UNION REPRESENTATION

Industrial unionists believed that organizing by craft was unworkable in many industries
steel and automobile workers had developed skill and expertise in their work, but no craft

dividing workers into a number of different crafts represented by separate organizations would weaken the workers' bargaining power within the industry and leave the majority, who had few traditional craft skills, completely unrepresented woodworkers, for instance, were an eclectic group comprised of loggers, shingle weavers, lumber and sawmill workers, plywood and veneer workers, pile drivers, coopers, furniture workers, boommen and rafters they were all shunned by the elitist attitude of the American Federation of Labor most found themselves unrepresented in any union

AFL ALMOST TOTALLY IGNORES UNSKILLED LABORERS

Skilled workers "craft unions" were claimed by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) many union activists criticized the policy of delaying the organization of semi-skilled workers they demanded new International Unions be started immediately to accept unrepresented loggers and saw mill hands

LOGGERS AND MILL HANDS CANNOT ACHIEVE STABILITY FOR THEIR INDUSTRY

Partly because of their lack of restraint under the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) unionism throughout the Northwest timber industry languished since the end of the Great War as a result Industrial Workers of the World disappeared -- 1933 this left unprotected many unrepresented logging and lumber employees National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was, in fact, a glaring failure in the Pacific Northwest's largest industry -- timber lumber management wrote their own codes which had the force of law as the antitrust laws were set aside companies were allowed to set prices and to regulate production in a cooperative arrangement there was some difficulty in getting the labor codes established but this task was simple compared to seeing them observed lumber management had always been fiercely individualistic now they produced what they wished regardless of the agreed upon code

PUSH IS MADE TO ORGANIZE LABOR BY INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

American Federation of Labor (AFL) had long permitted formation of a few industry-wide "federated" unions which were affiliated directly with the AFL while the AFL included a number of industrial unions, such as the United Mine Workers and the Brewery Workers, craft unionists held the power they used that power to forcefully stop any drive toward industrial organizing Advancing economic depression demanded industrial union membership be organized

John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers president, and a number of other labor leaders came to the conclusion that their own unions would not survive if the great majority of workers in their industries remained nonunion they started to press the AFL to change its policies and organize by industry It was proposed to use federated unions to organize workers on an industry-wide basis --1933 these labor locals would pay dues and have bargaining representation but not have voting status in the AFL AFL did not promise to allow those unions to maintain a separate identity indefinitely industrial unions could be broken up later and their members redistributed among the craft unions that claimed jurisdiction over their workers Organizing drives were confused and bitter as embattled union factions sought new members no agreement regarding aims or methods used in recruiting existed among the leaders or workers It was obvious that unions were growing but no strong coordinated leadership had yet developed

DAVE BECK ORGANIZES SEATTLE TEAMSTERS UNION MEMBERS

Dave Beck organized everything on wheels in Seattle under the loose organization of the American Federation of Labor this alliance coincided with the AFL plan to maintain “craft unions” under its national leadership Beck’s technique was to organize the businessman by convincing them that they could make more profit by paying higher wages and thereby creating labor stability he successfully convinced hotels to contract only with unionized laundry services this forced Seattle laundry companies to unionize to win business

TEAMSTERS UNION IS SUCCESSFULLY ORGANIZED IN WASHINGTON STATE

Dave Beck’s Seattle Teamsters became one of the craft unions in the American Federation of Labor Beck was determined to work within the framework of capitalism as he rose through the ranks of the Teamsters union he became convinced both employers and unions would benefit from a closed “union” shop Benefits, to Beck’s mind, would flow both directions -- all would gain:

- union advances provided to members by a closed shop were obvious;
- employers, too, would profit as they could be assured that labor contracts would be honored and the industry could charge higher prices to offset cost of doing business with the unions

Militancy marked the rise of Dave Beck’s Teamsters Union employers who did not sign union contracts with the Teamsters Union saw their businesses die as truck drivers refused to deliver to them Beck used strong arm methods against those companies which survived the boycotts Beck’s Teamsters fought against not only corporate bosses

they easily drove out the Communist influence in their union
Dave Beck was on the way to becoming one of the most powerful men in America
Beck's efforts were so successful and his public stature so great
that he was offered the position of Secretary of Labor
by President Roosevelt (and later Truman and Eisenhower)
(he declined all three offers to remain part of the labor movement)

TEAMSTERS UNION EXPANDS BEYOND TRUCKING

Dave Beck organized many businesses that had little to do with trucking
his labor empire extended to include not only truckers
but department-store workers, automobile salesmen, cannery workers, undertakers, cowboys,
dry cleaners, and filling-station operators to name only a few
Beck consolidated many previously independent local unions and members of other unions
by inducing them to join the Teamsters Union

MARITIME INDUSTRY LEADERS HOLD A MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Pacific Coast District ILA leaders, including Tacoma Longshore organizer Paddy Morris
went to Washington, D.C. with the membership's Shipping Code recommendations
as proposed under the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) Section 7(a)
When the ILA men arrived in the nation's capital city they discovered maritime employers
already had prepared their own version of the Shipping Code
and refused to even meet with longshore representatives
Attempts by the National Recovery Administration (NRA) bureaucracy
to bring the shipping companies to the conference table
to discuss the Shipping Code with the union men were futile
Shock of the employers' attitude toward them at the Shipping Code hearings
added to the hostile attitude of longshoremen

CEREMONIES ARE HELD AT THE GRAND COULEE CONSTRUCTION SITE

As a crowd of 3,000 watched Governor Clarence D. Martin drove the ceremonial first stake
for the project at the base of the dam site -- July 16, 1933
this stake was held by Chief Jim James of the San Poil Tribe
while a few members of the Colville tribe looked on
Washington's U.S. Senator Clarence Dill, often called the "Father of Grand Coulee,"
turned the first spade full of dirt
Job hunters began to line up at the employment agencies

EASTERN WASHINGTON RESIDENTS WANTED A HIGH LEVEL DAM

Work was begun on the low-level dam project -- July 17, 1933

Residents living in the dry Big Bend region wanted to develop farmland

they were not satisfied with the low dam being built

even though U.S. Senator Dill promised that the dam's foundations

were being laid in such a way that the structure's height could be increased

in the vague future they would get their water -- maybe

OPPOSITION TO ANY HYDROELECTRIC DAM ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER STIFFENS

Washington Water Power, a private company, noted there was already a surplus of Northwest power

they believed the money could be better spent on irrigation projects in Eastern Washington

Private power interests tried to kill the high dam

Washington Post called its construction a misuse of federal power

Bellingham Herald called it a "folly" as there was no industry to use the power

POLITICAL LEADER SAUL HAAS RETURNS TO SEATTLE -- AND STATE POLITICS

Saul Haas had accompanied newly-elected U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone to Washington, D.C.

there he served as the senator's chief-of-staff

and orchestrated the senator's position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Patents

into a platform for conducting a national fight in support of public power

Saul Haas left his position in Senator Bone's office

he took an appointment as Collector of Customs for the Pacific Northwest -- July 1933

Haas became a powerful figure in Washington State Democratic politics

he served as state director for the Democratic National Campaign Committee

both he and Senator Bone took an interest in a Democratic rising star: Warren G. Magnuson

LONGACRES HORSE RACING TRACK OPENS

Washington Jockey Club was issued a permit to own and operate a one-mile track [June 20, 1933]

3,000 men were hired to work around the clock constructing the facility

Longacres racetrack, racing strip, red and silver grandstand, clubhouse, thirty-three barns,

a judges' stand, and pari-mutuel windows were all completed in only twenty-eight days

Longacres boasted the latest in racing equipment -- a Bahr starting gate

which kept each horse in a separate stall at the start

Opening day at Longacres -- August 3, 1933

drew a crowd of crowd estimated at 11,000 to the mile-long track

they paid \$1.10 each for a place in the stands

eight races were scheduled and the sunny weather provided fans a full view of Mt. Rainier

first race was a claiming event for two-year-olds carrying the track's minimum purse of \$400

Governor Clarence Martin was there for the first “parade to post”
Racing season lasted forty days through [September 17, 1933]
new racetrack was an escape and diversion during the Great Depression,
and it generated much needed tax revenue for the state’s funding of the old age pension
Longacres was the first track on the Pacific Coast to successfully operate
under the pari-mutuel system of betting

NATIONAL LABOR BOARD (NLB) IS ESTABLISHED TO HANDLE LABOR DISPUTES

General Hugh Johnson, director of the National Recovery Administration (NRA)
saw that his hope for a self-policing system to enhance business competition did not work
clearly, formal governmental machinery was needed to handle the sudden wave of labor activity
Johnson created the National Labor Board (NLB) and FDR announced its formation -- August 5
Roosevelt issued no executive order defining the Board's powers, duties or procedures
but he did assert that the board should

“consider, adjust, and settle differences and controversies” arising in labor disputes

National Labor Board consisted of seven members

three members represented labor

three members represented industry

chairman of the NLB was United States Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York

Although NLB’s mandate was vague, its procedures undefined and enforcement powers nonexistent

Senator Wagner, one of the primary authors of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)

was determined to make the board work along self-policing lines

previously announced by General Johnson

National Labor Board quickly settled on a strategy of suggesting elections

as a way of determining majority status and breaking the representation deadlock

SHIP OWNERS REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE THE SEAMEN’S UNION

International Seamen’s Union (ISU) gathered signatures of 12,000 organized and unorganized sailors
who indicated the union was to represent them

many of the signers pledged to join the union as soon as they were financially able

International Seamen’s Union presented the pledges to the National Recovery Administration (NRA)

as proof of their legitimacy

Then, without waiting for a ruling from the NRA to force the ship owners to negotiate,

Pacific District maritime unions made up of the International Seamen’s Union,

Sailors’ Union of the Pacific, Marine Firemen’s Union, Marine Cooks and Stewards Union

presented their demands to Pacific Coast ship owners -- August 31, 1933

they received no response from management

STATE SUPREME COURT RULES THE INCOME TAX UNCONSTITUTIONAL

By a five to four decision the State Supreme Court ruled in *Culliton v. Chase* “**a flat (income) tax would be permissible in Washington, a graduated net income tax would violate the constitution’s new uniformity provision because ‘income’ was ‘property’ and property was to be taxed uniformly.**” -- September 8, 1933

in effect, an income tax itself was not illegal -- it was a *progressive* income tax that was illegal thus “income” became equivalent to “property,”

the poorest farmer’s land was seen as equally taxable as a wealthy person’s bank account

Washington State Grange was outraged at the decision

Grange News editorialized that “**The courts are ruling America. The fact is that a government of the people, by the people, for the people has perished from this state if such a decision as that invalidating Initiative No. 69 is allowed to stand.**”

CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON THE LOW LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM

Work was begun on the low level dam -- a much smaller project than the proposed high dam

it would help to control floods and provide water for irrigation but only on a small scale

hydroelectricity would be produced but at a reduced capacity

significantly, it would not raise its reservoir high enough

to allow for irrigation of the Grand Coulee plateau

but the dam’s design provided the it to be raised and upgraded in the future

Construction began at the base of the dam site -- September 9, 1933

LONGSHOREMEN REBEL AGAINST MANAGERMENTS’ HIRING PRACTICES

Fink Halls had long been an issue for the International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA)

members of the union’s fink hall committee met with ship owners representatives -- September 13

union members asked for a wage increase, an ILA agreement, and control of dispatching jobs

employers refused the proposal

they insisted that any new agreement must come from New York

they also repeated their determination not to deal with ILA at all

fink hall hiring was still used to keep the old Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) members

from longshore hiring lists

After implementation of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA),

ex-Wobblies began to join the ILA bringing with them the conviction

that militant economic action was the surest way to gain union demands

Communists, especially at the port of San Francisco, also became active in the ILA

SAN FRANCISCO BECOMES THE KEY PORT CITY ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Fanned by the fiery rhetoric and actions of Harry Bridges

and the Communist sympathizer of the Albion Hall group
International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in San Francisco
rapidly expanded their membership -- fall 1933
San Francisco longshoremen resented their employers' attitude
regarding labor's proposed Shipping Code
longshoremen demonstrated their fighting mood

SAN FRANCISCO LONGSHOREMEN HAVE THEIR OWN BEEF (DISPUTE)

Harry Bridges organized and led a successful five-day strike -- October 1933
to force Matson Line to reinstate four longshoremen who had been fired
for wearing International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) buttons on the job
threats that unless the company rehired the four men
longshoremen locals at other ports would refuse to handle Matson Line cargo

U.S. GOVERNMENT INTERVENES IN THE LONGSHORE-SHIPOWNER DISPUTE

Pacific Coast shipping owners refused to respond to demands to define working conditions
from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
Pacific Coast ILA, at the request of the federal government, sent a delegation
to shipping code hearings held in Washington, D.C.
At the Washington, D.C. meeting -- November 4, 1933
ship owners proposed wages be increased by 30¢ to 40¢ an hour -- up from 75¢
and a forty-eight work-week averaged over four weeks be imposed
Pacific Coast ILA representatives asked \$1.00 and \$1.50 overtime,
and a thirty-four hour week consisting of six hours for week days and four hours on Saturday
since wage amounts offered were relatively close
differences between the two proposals centered on the number of hours worked per week
Pacific Coast ILA's proposal was supported by the U.S. Department of Labor
and the department also proposed government hiring halls to replace the hated fink halls
Shipping owners refused to even accept the Pacific Coast ILA as the bargaining agent for labor
since management could not be forced to negotiate with labor
even pressure from the U.S. government could not bring a successful resolution

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION (ILA) MEMBERS ARE FRUSTRATED

Shipping management's refusal to accept the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association
as the bargaining agent for longshoremen tried the patience of union leaders and members
Maritime managers refused to meet with longshore representatives
employers would not discuss a proposed union Shipping Code
because maritime employers already had prepared their own version of the code

and would not even discuss possible changes

CONGRESS CREATED THE *CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION* (CWA) TO PROVIDE JOBS

President Roosevelt unveiled the temporary relief agency -- November 8, 1933

this was the New Deal's first dramatic expansion of public employment

Civil Works Administration coordinated a system of district directors and county boards

which administered a number of federally instituted and financed programs including

Civilian Conservation Corps, National Re-employment Service, Migrant Services,

Surplus Commodity Distribution and Projects of the Civil Works Administration

it operated a Rural Rehabilitation Division as well as commodity production and work centers

projects were implemented primarily by local government agencies

which took several million relief recipients off of the federal "dole"

(Approximately three and a half million workers were on the job by [December 15, 1933])

DUST STORMS BEGIN IN AMERICA

South Dakota experiences the nation's first very strong dust storm -- November 11, 1933

violent winds striped the topsoil from drought affected farms

within two days, dust from the storm had reached all the way to Albany, New York

this is the just one of a series of bad dust storms that year

(and the number and severity of dust storms increased over the next two years)

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION ORGANIZES UNION MEMBERS

Following labor's loss of face in the failed shipping code hearings held in Washington, D.C.,

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) leaders displayed a fighting mood

Pacific Coast District ILA held a special convention in Portland -- November 22-25, 1933

to discuss Shipping Code proposals of the Labor Department and to plan strategy

Longshoremen condemned the Department of Labor proposal to implement government hiring halls

as a simple renaming of the fink halls

Delegates instructed the district secretary to invite the employers in the five major west coast ports

to meet and bargain collectively with the Pacific Coast ILA as a single unit

if they refused to negotiate as a coastwide unit [by December 10],

Pacific Coast ILA would send out a referendum ballot on whether or not to strike

Seattle ship owners replied to this threat was that an election would first be necessary

to determine who actually represented their employees

Pacific Coast ILA complied with management's demand

in a representation vote of more than 8,000 union and nonunion longshoremen

over ninety percent of the ballots cast identified the ILA as their representative

that should have proved conclusively that the ILA represented Pacific Coast longshoremen

CITY OF SEATTLE WANTS INTO THE LIQUOR BUSINESS

Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ending prohibition was assured even before the last state necessary could approve the amendment

Seattle City Council prepared an emergency ordinance

council members provided for the sale of beer and wines of up to sixteen percent alcohol content sale was prohibited within two miles of the University of Washington and within 500 feet of any grade or high school

Police Chief L. L. Norton stated his officers would enforce the ban around the University as soon as the City Engineer determined the boundaries of the “dry” area

this boundary was apparently hard to define as the ban was not enforced

Not provided for in the ordinance was the sale of beverages of more than sixteen percent alcohol city leaders received a ruling that an old state law

would still allow drug stores to sell liquor of all descriptions for medicinal or scientific purposes without a prescription

some drug stores began to construct elaborate displays

domestic wine was priced at \$1.25 to \$1.75 a bottle

sixteen-year-old whiskey sold for \$3.00

In Vancouver, B.C., an estimated 4.5 million gallons of liquor, mostly bourbon and rye whiskey, were stored in warehouses awaiting official permission to ship to Seattle and San Francisco

WORK ON THE LOW LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM CONTINUES

Federal government awarded an excavation contract

to David H. Ryan Company for \$534,000 -- November 30, 1933

Ryan subcontracted the west side excavation to Goodfellow Brothers of Wenatchee

Roland Construction Company of Seattle worked on the east side

First a coffer dam was built on the west side to hold the Columbia River away from its bank

after that was completed the project was undertaken on the east bank

STATE LEGISLATURE GOES INTO SPECIAL SESSION

Washington’s legislature convened to regulate alcohol in the state -- December 4, 1933

legislators quickly approved a state monopoly on liquor sales -- the Steele Act

it established a comprehensive structure for state regulation of the sale of liquor

and created a three-member state Liquor Control Board

besides regulating the manufacture and distribution of all alcoholic beverages,

liquor Board could license restaurants and hotels to sell beer and wine by the glass

State Liquor Control Board quickly established a code of laws (sometimes called “Blue Laws”)

regulations were adopted that included a specific prohibition:

- on Sunday sales of any kind of alcoholic beverage,
- previously-sold drinks be picked up at midnight on Saturday night
- beer with an alcohol content of 3.2 percent could be sold in stores, restaurants, and taverns within two miles of the University since it was believed that this was not intoxicating

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT XXI REPEALS AMENDMENT'S XVIII ON PROHIBITION

Prohibition, failing fully to enforce sobriety and costing billions, had rapidly lost popular support
 Pennsylvania and Ohio ratified the proposed Twenty-first Amendment earlier in the day
 when Utah became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Amendment

this met the requirement of the approval by three-fourths of the states' legislatures
 Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was officially voided -- December 5, 1933
 considering the measure in congress for a final time

some old-line "dry" U.S. Senators attempt to filibuster the bill

House members invade the Senate chamber, chanting "Vote! Vote! We want beer!"

Amendment XXI to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress

and approved by the required three-quarters of the states -- December 5, 1933

Section 1 states: **"The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed."**

Section 2 kept all other liquor laws ("Blue Laws") in force

PROHIBITION COMES TO AN END

Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the proclamation ending fourteen years of federal prohibition

Washington, along with other states had already, passed laws to control sale and use of liquor

there seemed to be little effect in Seattle when liquor became legal as the first night was quiet

Seattle Post-Intelligencer noted in a front page article December 6, 1933: **"You walked into a bar on lower 3rd Ave. There were nine people in the place. A venerable bartender stood with folded arms, looking at the wallpaper. 'Brandy and soda? Yessir. No, the crowd's nothing extra tonight. In fact,' he says confidentially, 'it's very slow tonight. Must be the rain'."**

STATE REPRESENTATIVE WARREN G. MAGNUSON RECEIVED SPECIAL ATTENTION

At the end of the Special Legislative Session, House of Representatives Speaker George Yantis made note of twenty-eight-year-old State Representative Warren G. Magnuson

"You remember I told you I was going to have to count on you for a lot of work related to revenue and taxation and also on the unemployment problems. You were a very important factor in the session and delivered the goods every time.... I extend my personal appreciation [and] I wish you every success.... You have the ability and the character to deliver at all times."¹⁸

¹⁸ Shelby Scates, *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 40.

WASHINGTON STATE RELIEF PROGRAM RECEIVES A HUGE BOOST

Civil Works Administration (CWA) projects were sponsored primarily by state governments
it was intended to be a short term program designed to carry the nation over a critical winter
every attempt was made to fit the projects to the local people in need of work

Civil Works Administration (CWA) funds provided by the federal government
put some people to work as National Forests received attention -- December 1933

crews developed a ski park at Snoqualmie Pass

(currently the Snoqualmie Pass ski areas that exist today)

three crews of CWA workers made improvements to Mt. Rainier National Park

first crew of sixty-eight men and one woman worked in the Ohanapecosh District

(employed from December 8, 1933, to [April 6, 1934])

they developed the campground and built an approach road

they lived in facilities belonging to the road contractor

and the Ohanapecosh Hot Springs Company

second crew organized river bar cleanup and construction for flood control

and made improvements to the Carbon River Road

(this crew of 108 men worked from December 15, 1933 to March 31, 1934)

and lived at the Manley-Moore Lumber Company facilities near Fairfax)

third crew of about 174 men and six women worked in the Longmire area

about forty-two of those (including the women) lived in towns or on farms

near the Nisqually entrance to Mt. Rainier National Park

remainder lived in existing facilities at Longmire

this group was divided up into more than a dozen work crews,

they were employed on diverse projects such as

lumber milling, building construction and repair work

total expenditure of CWA monies at Mt. Rainier National Park came to \$80,292.23

three-quarters of that money was spent on the salaries for the workers

One of the most successful cooperative efforts funded by CWA

was the development of the United Producers of Washington cannery

an affiliate of the Unemployed Citizens League

Additional projects involved a joint effort by CWA and Washington State University

to survey part-time farming in Lewis, Thurston, Douglas, Spokane, Chelan, Walla Walla,

Clallam, Mason, Cowlitz and Pierce counties

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT DELIVERS HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

FDR broke with tradition

he delivered his speech orally before a joint session of congress -- January 4, 1934

he was capitalizing on his popularity with congressmen and United States senators
as many had ridden to office on his coattails [1932]
he utilized radio to broadcast his speech across the nation
Roosevelt's proposed legislation went beyond the [1933] National Industrial Recovery Act
which had proven inadequate in relieving the suffering caused by the Great Depression
as millions were still unemployed
he asked congress for ten and a half billion dollars
to advance recovery programs over the next eighteen months
Roosevelt hoped to create some 3,500,000 "emergency public employment" jobs
his work projects targeted **"the greatest unemployment needs as shown by present relief rolls"**
he proposed these job would be **"useful" work...not just for a day, or a year, but useful in the
sense that it affords permanent improvement in living conditions or that it creates future new
wealth for the Nation.**"¹⁹

WASHINGTON STATE RELIEF PROGRAM REORGANIZES

With the infusion of federal support and money from the Civil Works Administration (CWA)
relief director Charles Ernst reorganized his commission
into the Washington State Emergency Relief Commission -- January 1934
while the Director and Commissioners were responsible to the state legislature and the governor,
most of the funds were derived from federal sources
to which federal policies, regulations and procedures applied
Ernst was quick to create the infrastructure necessary to take advantage of federal funding
for new programs and benefits provided by the Roosevelt Administration
Washington State Emergency Relief Commission using Civil Works Administration funds
hired professionals in a variety of fields
"white collar" professionals produced surveys of coastlines, harbors, and public buildings
engineers, surveyors and draftsmen developed a topographic survey of King County
for improvements in sewer and drainage systems
records in the City of Seattle Archives include field notes, correspondence, computations,
resumes of project staff, budgets and progress reports
labor relations experts and efficiency professionals
made the program appear more like public employment than work relief
Civil Works Administration funds also employed artists, musicians and actors
women taught classes in modeling and decorative design
they also were employed in primitive workshops sewing garments for the needy unemployed
crews of CWA workers maintained and improved the University of Washington campus
in fact, the annual Campus Day events,

¹⁹ Congressional Record, January 4, 1934, P. 96.

which involved students and staff in campus improvement projects,
were cancelled because so much work had been done by CWA staff
CWA also helped develop Lincoln Park in Seattle
by clearing underbrush and building trails, seawalls, playgrounds and tennis courts
Civil Works Administration funds administered by Washington State Emergency Relief Commission
also employed construction workers
crews repaired roads, made concrete slabs for street paving and built bridges
and repaired trolley cars
they organized flood repair work on the Cedar River and helped construct airports

NEW ORDER OF CINCINNATUS (NOOC) EXPANDS BEYOND SEATTLE

New Order of Cincinnatus had built the NOOC into an organization
with seventeen divisions in Washington State each headed by a “captain”
statewide officers were “majors” and “colonels”
Fifty Cincinnatans marched to city hall -- early 1934
to file for three candidate petitions on the Seattle city council
all of them were dressed in white shirts and green and yellow headpieces
(the colors of Seattle's Roosevelt High School)
they used a slightly rewritten version of *Stout Hearted Men* as their anthem
This obvious “proto-fascist” style of the march created tension within the organization
Seattle NOOC Councilman Frederick Hamley's diary indicated
that he and his fellow councilman David Lockwood
generally disliked this aspect of the group and focused mainly on local municipal issues
some NOOC members proposed that members routinely stand and salute their leader
when he entered the room
this was successfully defeated by Hamley and others

WORKING CONDITIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST DOCKS ARE TERRIBLE

Loading and unloading ships was physically exhausting and dangerous work
there was no drinking water or plumbing provided on the waterfront
one major purpose of forming a union is to look after the welfare of the membership

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION (ILA) ARE IN DISARRAY

Efforts to organize the Pacific Coast longshoremen continually led to no positive result
with the exception of Tacoma where ILA Locals 38-3 and 38-30 were respected
by both the ILA international office and other Pacific Coast longshoremen
John Bjorklund and Paddy Morris led Tacoma's efforts to organize the ILA

JOHN C. "JACK" BJORKLUND IS ELECTED NORTHWEST DISTRICT ILA SECRETARY

Bjorklund had quickly become something of a legend on the waterfront

as a member of Tacoma's International Longshoremen's Association Local 38-3

"Big Jack" was the brawniest, and some say smartest, cargo longshoreman in Tacoma history

(Bjorklund had served as a member of Tacoma's "flying squad" in the [1916] strike

his specialty was going up against the employers' thugs)

his physical feats in the holds of ships where he broke out cargo were legendary

so, too, were his bartending skills which combined mixing drinks and keeping order

Throughout all of his working years Jack Bjorklund had shown unswerving loyalty

to the International Longshoremen's Association and its men

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) DEMANDS A RESPONSE FROM SHIP OWNERS

Delegates representing several maritime unions met in Seattle

International Seamen's Union (ISU), Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) chartered by the ISU,

Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOU)

and Marine Cooks and Stewards Union

at the meeting about 7,500 union members were represented -- January 11, 1934

it was decided to establish an umbrella union to represent maritime industry

this amalgamation was known as the Pacific District International Seamen's Union

Union leaders' efforts to negotiate a labor code for the Pacific District International Seamen's Union

ended in failure as employers simply refused to recognize the longshoremen, maritime employees

or maritime officers' unions

Pacific District International Seamen's Union appealed to the National Labor Board (NLB)

to compel the employers to recognize the union

National Labor Board (NLB) replied that it had no jurisdiction over the shipping industry

until a shipping code was signed with the ship owners -- an impossible requirement

Pacific District International Seamen's Union disappeared

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) BECOMES A REALITY

Public Works Administration gave contracts to private firms who did all the hiring of every worker

for every man hired on a PWA project

nearly two additional workers were employed indirectly

Public Works Administration concentrated on the construction of large-scale public works projects

PWA funded and administered the construction of more than 34,000 ventures

such as highways, roads and streets, canals, tunnels, bridges, sewage systems, airports,

housing areas, public buildings, universities, warships for the Navy

and 70% of the new schools and one-third of the hospitals built between 1933 -[1939]

PWA accomplished the electrification of rural America

by constructing large electricity-generating dams
Every year PWA consumed roughly half of the concrete and a third of the steel of the entire nation
PWA spent over \$6 billion and helped to bring industry back toward pre-Depression levels
it lowered unemployment and created an infrastructure that resulted in elevating American pride

CONGRESS PASSES *THE GOLD RESERVE ACT*

(Executive Order 6102 [April 5, 1933] had made owning or trading in gold illegal)
Gold Reserve Act passed -- January 30, 1934 required that all gold and gold certificates
held by the Federal Reserve be surrendered
and become the property of the United States Department of the Treasury
to be stored in Fort Knox and other locations
this act also changed the price of gold from \$20.67 per troy ounce to \$35

CONGRESS PASSES *THE FARM MORTGAGE REFINANCING ACT*

This law established the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation -- January 31, 1934
to oversee the dispersal of \$2 billion to assist farmers in refinancing their mortgages

HARRY BRIDGES AND THE SAN FRANCISCO ILA PROPOSES BARGAINING TALKS

ILA leader and alleged Communist Harry Bridges established a negotiating committee
for the San Francisco International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
to hold talks with employers along the Pacific Coast
this committee gave an ultimatum to employers -- February 1, 1934
ILA would be in control of all talks between the two parties
no government intervention was to take place

CONGRESS ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH ONGOING LABOR DISPUTES

National Labor Board had been created to implement National Industrial Recovery Act Section 7(a)
however, the only power the NLB had to achieve successful labor relations
was to withdraw an employer's privilege to display the Blue Eagle Emblem
given to show cooperation with the agency
Frustrated with the inability of National Industrial Recovery Act Section 7(a) to resolve labor crises
U.S. Senator Robert Wagner, National Labor Board chairman, introduced a bill -- February 1934
to set up a permanent agency to mediate labor disputes
this new board would be empowered to conduct representation elections
and to stop "unfair labor practices" by issuing cease-and-desist orders
purpose of this bill was to encourage collective bargaining
and prohibit employers from interfering with the right of employees to organize
Congress passed Public Resolution No. 44 which authorized the President

to establish a new board as part of the [1933] National Industrial Recovery Act

LABOR ATTEMPTS TO UNIFY ITS FORCES

Delegates from eight coastwide organizations met in San Francisco -- February 18, 1934

Masters Mates and Pilots; Marine Engineers; Sailors Union of the Pacific; Radio Telegraphists;
Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOU);
Marine Cooks and Stewards; and the Ferryboatmen's Union,

Five delegates represented the International Longshoremen's Association also were in attendance
three from Washington state unions -- Art Will: Puget Sound;

Ed Krumholz; Grays Harbor and Willapa Bay; and M.D. Rogers: Columbia River
E.B. O'Grady represented Southern California

Harry Bridges, who represented Northern California, was the principal organizer of the Federation
Teamsters did not accept an invitation to participate

U.S. AIR MAIL CONTRACT IS CANCELLED

U.S. Post Office had organized the nation into four regions each with its own airmail delivery service
four regional carriers, including Boeing's United Air Lines and Transport Corporation,
operated regional monopolies

members of the public and politicians resented what they viewed as corporate profiteering
Postmaster General Jim Farley became concerned that airmail companies

were getting together to set prices they would charge the government to carry mail -- 1934
Because of the apparent lack of competitive bidding FDR, over the protests of his Postmaster General
ordered the Post Office Department to cancel all airmail contracts -- February 19, 1934

WILLIAM BOEING RETIRES TO PURSUE OTHER INTERESTS

William Boeing stepped down as head of the Boeing Company -- 1934

he was an accomplished horseman, pleasure sailor, and deep-sea fisherman
he donated his former home in Seattle to the Orthopedic Hospital

Boeing moved to a farm in Fall City, Washington and to other business pursuits
including real estate, Wall Street, and horse breeding and racing

he and his wife became regulars at the nation's race courses
their horse, Air Chute won the Premier Handicap at Hollywood Park [1938]
(Slide Rule took third in the 1943 Kentucky Derby)

Bill Boeing supported charitable organizations like Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle
during the Great Depression, more than ninety percent of the care Children's delivered was free
this practice left the hospital in the red
each of those years, a committee of the women trustees went to Boeing
who wrote a personal check for the deficit

on the condition that his involvement remained anonymous
(his contributions were not revealed until more than fifty years after his death
by then Children's Hospital and Regional Medical Center
had become one of the top pediatric institutions in the nation)
(William Boeing died September 28, 1956 just three days before his 75th birthday
he was pronounced dead on arrival at the Seattle Yacht Club,
having had a heart attack aboard his yacht)

U.S. ARMY FLIES THE AIRMAIL

As a temporary measure, the President directed the Army Air Corps
to take over all U.S. airmail operations using military airplanes and pilots
Army Air Corps made its first airmail flight -- February 20, 1934
in the first five weeks, twelve inexperienced and ill-equipped Army pilots died

CONGRESS PASSES THE *CROP LOAN ACT* TO HELP FARMERS PUT IN CROPS

Farm Credit Administration was funded with \$40 million -- February 23, 1934
to extend credit for planting and harvesting
farmers used about 95 percent of the money for the 1934 crop

PACIFIC DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION IS FORMED

Longshoremen were ready to press their influence all along the Pacific Coast
forty-four ILA locals held charters in the Pacific Coast District -- March 1934
from San Diego, California, to Juneau, Alaska
Invitations were sent to all Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association locals
to attend a convention in San Francisco
International Brotherhood of Teamsters did not accept the invitation to participate
Fifty-four International Longshoremen's Association delegates from seventeen West coast ports
assembled in San Francisco to organize the Pacific coast -- February 25, 1934
in addition six small longshore locals, five in the Pacific Northwest, sent proxy votes
These delegates represented 35,000 union workers along the Pacific coast
Harry Bridges, principal organizer of the convention, represented Northern California
E.B. O'Grady represented Southern California
three delegates were from Washington state unions:
Art Will represented Puget Sound;
Ed Krumholz represented Grays Harbor and Willapa Bay;
M.D. Rogers represented the Columbia River area
William "Bill" Lewis was elected president of the Pacific District ILA
John C. "Jack" Bjorklund was elected Pacific Coast District ILA Secretary

Discussions centered on efforts to gain higher wages, union hiring halls, shorter working hours, better working conditions and enforcement of closed-shop (union only employment) laws
Delegates to the convention formed the Pacific District International Longshoremen's Association
they were determined to force their employers, the ship owners, to bargain with them
Convention delegates immediately elected seven men by area to negotiate with waterfront employers
Tacoma Local 38-3's John (Jack) Bjorklund was named head of the ILA negotiation team
and the lead negotiator for the longshoremen

PACIFIC COAST WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS FORM AN ORGANIZATION OF THEIR OWN

Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco was created by ship owners to represent them
Thomas G. Plant was named chairman of the employers' organization and its chief negotiator
however, only employers from San Francisco were represented -- not other Pacific coast ports

UNIONS MAKE THEIR DEMANDS KNOWN TO THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in San Francisco
presented their proposed shipping code
to the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco -- March 1934
most important was demand was for a single labor contract for the entire Pacific Coast
almost as important were changes in hiring (fink) halls
that up until then had been controlled by employers
longshoremen demanded hiring halls be controlled by the unions
jobs were to be allocated by seniority and only to union members (closed shop)

WORK BEGINS ON THE LOW LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM

To mile long conveyer belt -- at that time the longest in the world
was built to haul away excavated earth and rocks at the construction site -- March 1934
this innovation was faster and more efficient than using trucks
To secure the foundation to the river bottom, workers drilled 660-foot to 880-foot holes
into the granite and filled any fissures with grout, creating a grout curtain
Excavated areas would sometimes collapse from overburden
to secure these areas from further shirting and continue excavation, 3-inch diameter pipes
were inserted into the mass and chilled with cold liquid from a refrigeration plant
this froze the earth and secured it so construction could continue

LONGSHOREMEN ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE WITH SHIIPING EMPLOYERS

When the Pacific District International Longshoremen's Association seven-man negotiating team
met with representatives of the Waterfront Employees Union of San Francisco -- March 5, 1934
ILA negotiation team Chairman Jack Bjorklund spoke first

he told the bosses that the coast was 100 per cent organized
and they demanded to bargain collectively as a single unit
Thomas Plant, President and chief negotiator for the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco,
kept continually stalled any meeting with the longshoremen's negotiating team
finally, Tom Plant sent word that they would discuss only San Francisco issues
with the ILA negotiation committee
ILA Chief Negotiator Jack Bjorklund responded that every time Pacific Coast longshoremen
tried to make any advances in wages, or improve hours or working conditions
they were told **"that was entirely a matter for San Francisco to decide"**²⁰
Finally, management negotiator Tom Plant indicated a willingness
to discuss wage and working conditions but no other issues
When Bjorklund again demanded district-wide recognition and a coast wide closed shop
waterfront employers adamantly refused to bargain coast wide
Tom Plant told the ILA negotiator "that was absolutely out of the question"
Plant then assaulted the longshore negotiators with a half hour speech about radicalism
he claimed sixteen of the convention delegates were Communists

ILA NEGOTIATIONS TEAM REPORTS BACK TO THE ILA CONVENTION

ILA negotiators returned to the ILA Convention where they made a final report
negotiation Chairman Jack Bjorklund reported the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco
was willing to talk about wages and working conditions,
but would not address the closed shop issue or a coastwide agreement
ILA convention delegates instructed their negotiating committee to demand
recognition of the whole ILA Pacific District as labor's official collective bargaining agent
or the convention would take a strike vote

SEATTLE'S MAYOR DORE RESORTS TO "RED BAITING" TO GATHER VOTES

As Election Day approached, Seattle Mayor John F. Dore's supporters used the "Red scare" tactic
Harry H. Lewis, former American Legion commander and strike-breaker
charged that Lieutenant Governor "Vic" Meyers was receiving the support of
"Communists scheming to seize control of the city government"
Lewis continued: **"It is difficult for Seattle citizens, good Americans, to believe, but it is true that these Communist termites already have bored into some labor unions, into your schools, your churches, and even your homes. Their policy is the sitdown strike, the picketing of hospitals and cemeteries. Do you want to turn the city government over to their ghoulishness, or retain a loyal American, Mayor Dore?"**²¹

²⁰ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 130.

²¹ *The Nation*, March 26, 1938 Vol. 146, No. 13, p. 354-355.

But this red herring had been so overworked that it did Dore little good
members of the voting public, knowing his record, could not take him seriously
as a crusader for Americanism
chief effect of this propaganda was to disgust the average Democratic and Republican voters alike
Mayor Dore was defeated by Charles L. Smith (62,185 to 46,469)

BARGAINING IS GOING NOWHERE

Paddy Morris, Acting Chairman of the Convention, became so upset with management's dallying
that he stepped down from the podium to advise the delegates: **"You want to be sure that you do
this one thing, and that is that you get every damned member in the local to vote if you think the
time has come to strike, try and educate your fellow member to that effect also. FOR IF WE DO
TAKE A STRIKE VOTE, FOR GOD'S SAKE MAKE IT A BIG REPRESENTATIVE VOTE. DO
THE JOB WELL AND NOT HALFHEARTEDLY."**²²

To demonstrate their intention to negotiate, convention delegates
set a date for a strike vote to be taken [March 23, 1934]

Jack Bjorklund instructed local affiliates to return home and poll their memberships
to analyze support for authorizing the calling of a strike

ILA Convention leaders sent a telegram to President Roosevelt: **"We have today passed resolutions
giving the shipowners and operators until March 7, 1934 to meet with us."**²³

Jack Bjorklund informed the employers of the ILA Convention's [March 7] deadline

Pacific District International Longshoremen's Association Convention adjourned -- March 6, 1934
delegates traveled to their home ports to prepare for the strike that seemed inevitable

LONGSHORE UNION ATTEMPTS ONE FINAL EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE

Final negotiation session was held -- March 7, 1934

Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco refused once again to bargain

Pacific District International Longshoremen's Association put out a strike ballot

longshoremen would use their strongest weapon: economic action

they had shared no part of the economic recovery in the shipping industry
rising cost of living threatened their average wage of \$40 a month -- a bare subsistence
mechanization decreased jobs as much as thirty percent on some docks

larger loads and work speedups increased accidents and injuries

Maritime union members and nonunion sailors watched intently as the strike threat developed

there was a great deal of speculation regarding the longshoremen's chances of success
and many wondered how the sailors would respond to ILA picket lines

²² Markholt Otilie, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 69.

²³ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 129.

PACIFIC DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION IS PREPARED

With the longshoremen ready to strike the next morning,

Chairman of the National Labor Board Senator Robert Wagner

appealed to the San Francisco ILA District not to strike -- March 22, 1934

International Longshoremen Association President Joseph P. (Joe) Ryan sent a telegram

directing West Coast Locals to comply with the National Labor Board chairman's request

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT INTERVENES IN THE ILA STRIKE EFFORT

President Roosevelt wired ILA Pacific District President William (Bill) Lewis -- March 22, 1934

urging him to call off the strike until an impartial board could be appointed

to conduct hearings and make a recommendation for settlement of the controversy

With the deadline only hours away,

Bill Lewis polled district executive board members up and down the coast

Lewis wired Roosevelt: **“Strike order by virtually unanimous vote of longshoremen of the Pacific Coast represent the deepest conviction of 12,000 workers that justice could not be had except by showing our economic strength.**

“In compliance with your request, however, we are postponing strike action at this time under your pledge to appoint an impartial commission to conduct hearings and make recommendations, believing that the evidence of the justice of our cause is bound to change present unbearable conditions.” ²⁴

Bill Lewis received a great deal of criticism from his membership for postponing the strike

most adamant were the Communist longshoremen from San Francisco

who tried to exploit the situation: “LONGSHORE STIKE BETRAYED!”

their newspaper, the *Voice of America*, proclaimed in a banner headline

MEDIATION BOARD IS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

In an effort to resolve labor disputes between West Coast shipping employers and longshoremen

FDR appointed a Mediation Board to hold hearings in Washington, D.C. -- March 28, 1934

representatives of waterfront employers from Seattle, San Francisco and Portland attended

San Pedro (Los Angeles) employers refused to attend

FEDERAL MEDIATION BOARD ISSUES ITS RULING ON THE LONGSHORE DISPUTE

After meetings in Washington, D.C. concluded -- March 31, 1934

Federal Mediation Board made three recommendations:

- that Regional Labor Boards hold representation elections;
- that joint hiring halls be operated in each port;
- that an arbitration board would determine wages and hours for the entire coast

²⁴ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 74.

FEDERAL CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA) PROGRAM COMES TO AN END

Some New Deal officials feared that public employment would become an expensive “habit” and place an impossible drain on the federal treasury

over the course of its existence, CWA spent over a billion dollars

although initial plans projected a maximum cost of \$400,000,000

Civil Works Administration came to an end -- March 31, 1934

however, four million unemployed workers had been placed on hastily begun federal projects and were paid regular wages

they had, among other projects,

built or improved 500,000 miles of road, laid twelve million feet of sewer pipe

and constructed nearly 40,000 schools; 3,700 playgrounds and 1,000 airports

all of this in less than five months

FEDERAL MEDIATION BOARD PROPOSALS ARE REJECTED BY EMPLOYERS

Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco rejected

all of the recommendations of the Federal Mediation Board -- April 3, 1934

they reiterated their position that each port must be treated separately

they did agree to recognize and bargain with the ILA, but only for San Francisco

they also proposed establishing a joint hiring hall for that port

AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION IS EXPANDED BY CONGRESS

In an effort to further stabilize farm prices for commodities, the Jones-Connally Farm Relief Act was passed -- April 7, 1934

beef, dairy cattle, rye, grain sorghum, flax, peanuts and barley

were added to the list of basic farm products covered by the Agricultural Adjustment Act

UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS' LEAGUE EXPANDS ITS REACH

Non-Communist members of the Unemployed Citizens' League (founded in Seattle [1931])

broadened the organization's goals to attract new members

and distance itself from the Communist Party

Rev. Fred Shorter served as pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church in Seattle -- 1934

he gathered together like-minded Christians, Socialists, former Fusionists (Populists) and liberals including Congressman Marion Zioncheck

Rev. Shorter, Congressman Zioncheck and other independent liberals and radicals

changed the Unemployed Citizen's League name to the Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI)

FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES ARE INCORPORATED

Federal government incorporated the Federal Prison Industries as a wholly owned enterprise -- 1934
Federal Prison Industries ran more than thirty types of industrial operations²⁵
products were sold only to other government agencies
they did not compete with private enterprise on the open market
intent of the program was to provide employment and vocational training, as well as income,
for federal inmates
profits were used to pay prisoners' hourly wages
plus monetary awards for performance and good conduct
this money was usually held until the prisoner's release
or it was given to needy family members
Honor farm housing for 200 inmates was added to the facility -- 1934
along with all the necessary buildings and equipment for livestock and a dairy operation
First dial telephone arrived on McNeil Island --1934
(but there was no phone service to the prison employee's private residences until [June 1957])

COMMONWEALTH BUILDERS, INC. (CBI) FOCUS ON SOCIAL CHANGE

This organization was inspired by writer, journalist and political activist Upton Sinclair
who campaigned for the governorship of California
Sinclair had proposed the California-based EPIC (End Poverty in California) program
Sinclair's beliefs centered on the old utopian ideals
Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) was dedicated to ending the Great Depression
to accomplish their goal they began working with state and federal Democratic leaders
advocating socialist remedies to end economic woes

LONGSHORE UNION MEDIATION BOARD TALKS ARE MOVED

After the failure of the Washington, D.C. talks to resolve the longshoremen's dispute
Federal Mediation Board reopened talks in San Francisco -- April 16, 1934
Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco was unwilling to meet the wage demand
moreover, the employers wanted assurance that there would be no interruption of work
from the longshoremen before they agreed to reopen talks
Because of the stalemate, negotiations were once again broken off
labor's loss of face in the Washington, D.C. [March] meeting and San Francisco [April] meeting
increased the fighting mood of the International Longshoremen's Association membership

LONGSHORE UNION MEDIATION BOARD TALKS REOPEN IN SAN FRANCISCO

Mediation sessions held in San Francisco produced very little result between May 2 and May 5
during discussions, minimal gains were achieved at best

²⁵ Daryl C. McClary, HistoryLink.org, Essay 5238, April 17, 2003.

such issues as hiring halls and wages and hours remained deadlocked
Longshoremen notified the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco
“that unless something definite shall have been arrived at”²⁶ by [Monday evening May 7]
negotiations would be discontinued
ILA Chief Negotiator Jack Bjorklund asked ILA Pacific District President Bill Lewis
to contact west coast locals and instruct them to vote immediately on whether to strike

LONGSHOREMEN ARE NOTIFIED THEY ARE NOT TO STRIKE

United States Postal Service delivered letters to every registered longshoreman
in the Puget Sound area -- May 6 and 7, 1934
from International Longshoremen’s Association President Joseph P. (Joe) Ryan
each union member was notified that if he did not report for work [May],
he would be deregistered by the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

STRIKES ARE AUTHORIZED BY THE PACIFIC COAST LONGSHOREMEN

San Francisco ILA members went ahead with their strike authorization vote -- May 7, 1934
San Francisco’s 1,500 union members voted to strike beginning at [8:00 a.m. May 9]
Tacoma was the only “closed shop” (union only) port on the Pacific Coast
there was no fink hall at the Port of Tacoma as the International Longshoremen’s Association
had successfully maintained a longshoremen’s union hiring hall
Tacoma longshoremen voted to authorize calling a strike
as in San Francisco the strike was to begin [8:00 a.m. May 9]
Joint Northwest Strike Committee composed of Jack Bjorklund, Joe Ryan and Dave Beck

PACIFIC COAST ILA MEMBERSHIP POLLING RESULTS

Vote to authorize calling a strike was reported from the Pacific Coast longshore locals
International Longshoremen’s Association Chief Negotiator Jack Bjorklund
had the strike vote results from every ILA local on the Pacific coast
except Seattle and San Pedro
votes cast showed strike authorization was approved by a 6,633 to 633 vote -- morning May 8
Authorization to strike had been granted by the members of the Longshoremen’s union
San Francisco, Tacoma, Portland, San Diego, Everett and Aberdeen
reported overwhelming majorities supported a walkout

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN’S ASSOCIATION NATIONAL POLICY OPPOSES STRIKE

National organization of the ILA was in conflict with the West Coast longshoremen’s efforts
Senator Robert F. Wagner, chairman of the National Labor Board, sent a telegram

²⁶ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 75.

to ILA Pacific Coast District Secretary and Chief Negotiator Jack Bjorklund asking that the strike be deferred -- May 8, 1934
International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) President Joseph P. (Joe) Ryan ordered that the strike be cancelled
Pacific District ILA President Bill Lewis sent a cryptic telegram to Jack Bjorklund expressing his frustration: **"IMPOSSIBLE TO DEFER TOMORROW'S ACTION (STOP) THIS IS THE SENTIMENT OF THE ENTIRE COAST."**²⁷

PACIFIC COAST LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION STRIKE PLAN IS DELIVERED

ILA's plan was to shut down all ports on the West Coast for as long as it took to achieve their goals
union recognition, union hiring halls, and a coast wide agreement were the major issues
hours and wages were not "deal making" issues
When he announced the strike authorization vote results,
Negotiation Committee Chairman Jack Bjorklund advised the locals
to select strike committees and to not attempt individual settlements on their own
Shipping employers concentrated on keeping open San Pedro, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle
Tacoma cargo would be diverted to Seattle where no strike vote had yet been taken

ILA UNION MEMBERS GEAR UP FOR THE IMPENDING STRIKE

Longshoremen called on other labor unions to boycott firms using struck ships to carry their freight
Tacoma's ILA warned members not to buy major items on monthly installments
and advised them to establish credit at a grocery store and butcher shop

EMPLOYERS ALSO GEAR UP FOR THE IMPENDING STRIKE

All along the coast stevedore bosses worked their gangs extra hours
to finish loading and clearing vessels before the strike began
Shipping employers published a full-page newspaper ad
addressed to the longshoremen of the San Francisco area
Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco again warned against the strike

SEATTLE LONGSHOREMEN'S STRIKE VOTE MEETING IS HELD

ILA leaders were determined to paralyze shipping in the Seattle harbor
until employers met their demands
Seattle ILA called a union meeting for the evening of May 8, 1934
Local 38-12 President Pete Erickson called Seattle longshoremen to order
"About 1,500 men attended the meeting, including many nonmembers. Delegations from Everett and Tacoma urged the Seattle longshoremen to strike. By eight o'clock people began to

²⁷ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 132.

drift away, not wanting to be counted. ‘Bolt the door!’ (Seattle local ILA) President Erickson shouted, and the meeting continued. Sentiment wavered. Some wanted to wait for strike authorization from (ILA) President Ryan, who had urged postponement. A wire from Senator Homer T. Bone, former labor attorney, also pleaded for delay.”

The first vote showed 60 percent against striking, but the local president kept the meeting in session while waiting for news from San Pedro (the port for Los Angeles). Near midnight (Chief Negotiator) Jack Bjorklund arrived with a wire that a meeting of 1,000 men in San Pedro voted to strike. The crowd cheered the news. Then someone asked if the telegram was a true copy. Bjorklund replied that they would have to take his word. After more discussion, at one o’clock in the morning, by voice vote the meeting reconsidered the previous action and voted to strike. On the docks nearby, gangs worked all night to finish loading vessels.

With this shaky support in the largest Northwest port, the strike was on.”²⁸

DUST STORMS SWEEP ACROSS THE MIDWEST PLAINS

Extremely dry conditions were recorded over almost eighty percent of the United States -- 1934

Dust storms lasting for two days removed massive amounts topsoil

in one of the worst such storms of the “Dust Bowl” -- May 9, 1934

dust clouds blew all the way to Chicago where dirt fell like snow

rural people were homeless, dirty, and without food or water

they needed to go to where they could be safe

(Two days later the same storm reached the eastern seaboard

depositing dirt on Buffalo, Boston, Cleveland, New York City, Washington, D.C. and others

that winter [1934-1935] “red snow” fell on New England

[1935] was another dry year and [1936] was a record drought year as were [1939] and 1940))

PACIFIC DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN’S ASSOCIATION STRIKE BEGINS

Pacific Coast ports from Bellingham to San Diego were struck -- 8:00 a.m. Wednesday, May 9, 1934

beginning one of the first and one of the largest industry-wide strikes in U.S. history

along the Pacific Coast more 12,500 longshoremen failed to return to work at the start of the day

almost 1,700 miles of coastline was laid under siege by labor

in Portland 1,100 failed to report to work

in San Francisco 3,000,

in San Pedro 1,800

in Washington state:

2,000 in Seattle including nonunion men, and 700 in Tacoma

small ports also struck solidly:

250 in Grays Harbor and Everett, 150 in Olympia, and so on

²⁸ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 76

this was a defining moment in the longshoremen's union movement

(in all, nearly 35,000 union members over the period of the strike were off the job,
hundreds were injured, and eight were killed during the strike)

Unlike the five previous longshoremen's strikes

this time replacement workers (scabs) were driven away from the docks
in the effort to keep the job sites closed to shipping

Union newspaper the *Labor Advocate* summed up the crisis faced by unionized labor:

“They listened to the promises of the NRA [National Recovery Administration]; they harkened to the pleading of Senator Wagner; they obeyed the request as a command of President Roosevelt and they got in return -- nothing.

“The end had been reached at last. The patience they had so enduringly shown, the control they had so determinedly manifested had reached the end. The strike became not merely a necessity. It had become the only step that manhood could take against oppression, repression and industrial serfdom.”²⁹

Struck waterfronts remained relatively quiet the first day

in Seattle the union put out a token force of 300 pickets

encouraged by the reluctant vote, Seattle Waterfront Employers believed the longshoremen
would change their minds about striking

in Portland ILA placed members into squads and shifts as they prepared to picket in force

STRIKE IN TACOMA CLOSES THE PORT

Tacoma Longshoremen had long maintained a union hiring hall

when they refused to put workers on the job the Port of Tacoma was tied up -- May 9, 1934

Large groups of longshoremen peacefully picketed three idle ships in the Tacoma harbor

another 300 men assembled at the ILA union hall at 2:30 p.m.

to hear reports on the closures all along the Pacific Coast

Tacoma longshoremen held daily meetings and maintained four-hour picket watches

Waterfront employers in Tacoma made no move to recruit scabs to work the five idle vessels there
nor did they request extra police

TACOMA LONGSHOREMEN GET THEIR MESSAGE OUT

Tacoma ILA Press Committee was composed of Paddy Morris, Robert Hardin, Ernest Tanner
and T.A. “Tiny” Thronson

throughout the strike, KVI radio featured Tiny Thronson

who presented *Longshoremen on the Air* every Thursday, Friday and Saturday evening

Tiny stressed the efficiency of Tacoma longshoremen

²⁹ *Labor Advocate*, May 11, 1936.

which had brought millions of dollars of business to the community, **“If by any chance the union should be broken, its members will be scattered over the country, inexperienced men will take their places, ships will be diverted elsewhere, and grass will grow on the Tacoma docks.”**³⁰

TACOMA NEWSPAPERS ADVOCATE THEIR OWN EDITORIAL POSITION

Tacoma News Tribune emphasized the impact of the strike on lumber mill and industrial workers it claimed 700 Tacomans and 16,000 Pacific Northwest workers were laid off during the first week of the strike

Weekly *Tacoma Labor Advocate* newspaper contrasted the **“‘Forbearance, patience, tolerance and eagerness for peace by the men,’ with the ‘truculence, evasion, stalling and delays by the waterfront employers’.”** and also **“...declared the bosses drove the men ‘to strike in the hope that the unemployed will rally to take the places of the men and defeat the strike’.”**³¹

TACOMA LONGSHOREMEN DO NOT TRUST THEIR EMPLOYERS

When the steam schooner *Lake Francis* docked at the Defiance Mill in Tacoma -- May 10, 1934 seven of her crew members struck, leaving only the Masters, Mates and Pilots union members to move the vessel to Seattle

Tacoma strikers feared the National Guard would be called out to open the port and end the strike Tacoma's Central Labor Council called for an immediate General Strike if the National Guard was called out

Governor Clarence D. Martin refused to use troops

Tacoma employers gave up any attempt to open the Tacoma port with scabs it was decided to close the port and let the strike pursue its course Tacoma's port stood idle and quiet

WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS RECRUIT STRIKE-BREAKERS IN SEATTLE

Seattle ship owners met little opposition as they recruited strikebreakers (scabs) to work the fourteen vessels tied to three piers in port -- May 10, 1934 employers towed a laid-up vessel to dock to serve as “floating boarding houses”

Many Tacoma longshoremen considered Seattle the weakest link on the coast

SEATTLE LONGSHOREMEN RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM OTHER UNIONS

Masters, Mates and Pilots Union served notice they would refuse to handle barges in Seattle

Employers were again stunned and longshoremen heartened

when Dave Beck, Secretary of the Joint Council of Teamsters, announced that eight Seattle Teamster locals would not cross ILA picket lines

³⁰ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 137.

³¹ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 138.

to pick up or deliver merchandise at the docks while the strike was in progress
Longshoremen, although skeptical, very much appreciated the support
as it greatly bolstered the strength of the longshoremen

NO SOLUTION TO THE STRIKE IS FORTHCOMING

While ship owners and strikers battled for ascendancy on the waterfront,
politicians scurried around frantically trying to get the strikers back to work
this strike presented a painful dilemma for elected officials who wanted to please everyone
Roosevelt Administration had to make good on vague promises or lose needed labor support
unwilling to exert any real pressure on the shipping industry to bargain with its employees,
federal officials resumed the mediation shuffle
National Labor Board telegraphed a request that ILA President Joseph P. Ryan -- May 11
to come to San Francisco immediately
Northwest representatives of the ship owners
acting on instructions from the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco
delivered an ultimatum to Washington and Oregon mayors and governors
their firms would discontinue service to Seattle and Portland
unless they received adequate protection for their property

TACOMA'S AND SEATTLE'S STRIKE SITUATION DIFFER

Strikers controlled the port of Tacoma
as the port was completely shut down (or locked out depending on the perspective)
Port of Seattle continued to be a problem for the ILA as 200 scabs worked six vessels
tied-up at three Piers -- May 11, 1934
Sheriff Claude Bannick claimed that radicals had threatened to burn the dock
he deputized 100 guards to provide protection for ship owners' property
Recruiters employed about 100 students, most from University of Washington fraternity houses,
to scab the strike at five cents an hour over the regular union scale
University student body members demanded the scabs be suspended from school
and the U. of W. *Daily* noted editorially: **“Judas sold his soul for thirty pieces of silver,
according to the Bible, and the university students today are offered the chance to sell their self-
respect and the good will of the university for ninety cents an hour.”**³²

SMALLER PORTS IN WASHINGTON MAINTAIN THEIR STRIKE EFFORT

Everett longshoremen came out solidly for the strike
At Grays Harbor employers tried unsuccessfully to load three vessels
One nonunion gang worked at Port Angeles

³² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 81.

Anacortes longshoremen refused to cross ILA picket lines of strikers brought in from Bellingham

PACIFIC DISTRICT ILA STRIKE EFFORT IN SEATTLE IS ENHANCED

Although Tacoma strikers controlled their port, ominous news came from the rest of the coast where disaster threatened the strike -- especially in Seattle

Tacoma's International Longshoremen's Association held a special meeting

chaired by Tacoma Strike Committee Chairman Paddy Morris -- 5:00 a.m. Saturday May 12, 1934

ILA members recalled bitter memories of the [1916] defeat

they believed that if they could close Seattle the strike had a chance of success

Paddy Morris along with his old friend in Everett Tom Mason were the likely organizers of a "Flying Squad" raid on the Seattle docks to firm-up the strike there

Morris organized 600 Tacoma members into Flying Squads

Henry Brown, Victor Olson, Fred Sellers and George Soule led the groups of men

Tom Mason recruited 150 Everett ILA men

Secrecy was considered essential to the success of the raid and staying out of jail

even the Tacoma Strike Committee did not know what the Flying Squad was doing

TACOMA AND EVERETT FLYING SQUAD RAID ON THE PORT OF SEATTLE

When the 1934 ILA strike was only three days old, the Tacoma and Everett Flying Squads participated in a "scab-clearing" raid on the Seattle docks

Six hundred Tacoma ILA members piled into trucks and headed for Seattle -- May 12, 1934 where 150 Everett longshoremen joined them

George Soule of the Tacoma Flying Squad led his men onto the Seattle docks -- about 8:30 a.m.

raiders stormed and wrecked wooden barriers that blocked access to the piers

and rushed McCormick Piers 6 and 7

where the steamers *Lake Francis* and *Silverado* were loading

Flying Squad split into two groups one led by Soule and the other by "Big" Ed Harris

they rushed to the steamers *Lake Francis* and *Silverado*

where the throng boarded the vessels and hauled off scabs

in the ensuing fight they smashed several nonunion heads

and threw the foreman of Pier 7 into the water when he resisted

Groups of strikers moved south along the waterfront leap-frogging from dock to dock

driving scabs away from the employer's piers from Nelson Dock to the Bell Street Terminal

sympathetic seamen, teamsters, loggers and other workers swelled the ILA ranks

Seattle Post-Intelligencer headlined the action May 12, 1934: **"2,000 Longshore Strikers Raid 12 Ships; Stop Work 'No Troops Now,' -- [Governor] Martin"**

in the accompanying story, the *P-I* reported: **"The raiding mob struck at twelve ships in the harbor during the day and halted work on all but one of them. In most cases the mob was orderly,**

giving the workers a chance to leave their jobs voluntarily. A committee of strikers would board a ship and request the strike-breakers to leave. When they agreed the strikers would form two lines and the workers would have to walk a gauntlet while the mob jeered and shouted imprecations....

There was no police interference at any dock while the raids progressed, the officers on duty mingling with the mob and marching with the members from dock to dock. The mob was too large for the officers to check.”³³

Raiders moved through the port of Seattle

P-I continued: “From the McCormick docks the raiders went to the *Cadretta* of Nelson Line and the *Kirkpatrick* of the Northwestern Company. After a long argument on the *Dorothy Luckenbach* and *Moldanger*, the scabs left voluntarily. At the Pacific Steamship terminal, sixteen armed guards fell back when they saw the size of the crowd and allowed the strikers to take twenty-five scabs off the *Ruth Alexander*, which sailed for California partially loaded. Scabs on the *Kansan* at the American-Hawaiian dock left readily, and the Isthmian steamer *Steel Maker* discharged her scabs before the raiders arrived. The captain of the *Steel Mariner* threatened to kill the first man who set foot on his ship. The ship had no scabs on board. Scabs working the *Europa* in the East Waterway quit without resistance.

“At Alaska Steamship’s Pier 2, where the *Yukon* had finished loading that afternoon, the raiders demanded that the eighty-five scabs housed on the *Redondo* come ashore threatening to break down the gates to get them. After the company finally agreed to discharge the scabs, the strikers sent them through the crowd with a warning not to return to the waterfront. Finally, the raiders headed for the Grace Line *Santa Rosa*, loading at the Bell Street terminal. As the strikers arrived, the big steel door began to roll down. Boosted up by his fellows, a Tacoma longshoreman held the door on his shoulders while the raiders scrambled under into the covered dock area. A handful of police tried unsuccessfully to stop them as they battered down two doors with heavy timbers and fought their way to the ship’s side. The scabs fled through the port opening in the liner. Hearing the uproar, the mates appeared with drawn guns and threatened to shoot anyone who attempted to follow the scabs. The strikers retreated without their quarry. Cases of citrus fruit broke and scattered in the melee, and police arrested two men during the raid.”³⁴

Tacoma Flying Squad spent a great deal of time in Seattle and visited other Washington ports as well to fortify the ranks of their coworkers whenever employers threatened to open a port with scabs

RESPONSE TO THE FLYING SQUAD RAID IN SEATTLE

Seattle Waterfront employers held an emergency meeting during the raid -- May 12, 1934

they decided to suspend work until their scabs could be protected

Seattle Waterfront employers met with Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith

and King County Sheriff Claude G. Bannick -- afternoon, May 12, 1934

³³ *Labor Advocate* May 18, 1934.

³⁴ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 82-84.

waterfront bosses demanded assurances of protection for their property
Mayor Smith wired Governor Clarence Martin to send National Guardsmen
instead Governor Martin met with Seattle and Tacoma waterfront officials
and Chamber of Commerce officials from both cities
governor announced he had, along with the governors California and Oregon,
sent a joint appeal to President Roosevelt asking him to “intervene and arbitrate”
Governor Martin invited five of the waterfront employers to accompany him
to a session with interested labor leaders later that afternoon

GOVERNOR MARTIN AND SHIP OWNERS MEETS WITH LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

At the governor’s meeting with union leaders -- late afternoon, May 12, 1934
shipping bosses announced they were shutting down the Port of Seattle
until police could make the docks safe
employers again urged the governor to use National Guardsmen to open Washington’s ports
union representatives asked the governor not to take sides

SUPPLIES FOR ALASKA PRESENT A PROBLEM FOR THE ILA

Water transportation was the only link between the United States and Alaska
Alaska Steamship Manager Thomas B. Wilson brought up the issue of food supplies for Alaskans
ILA leader Paddy Morris rejected Wilson’s plea to have longshoremen load ships
he believed other shipping companies would take advantage of the opening
but strikers had to find a way to feed Alaska without giving in to the employers

COASTWIDE ILA STRIKE SPILLED OVER INTO CANADA

Pacific District Waterfront Worker’s Association Vancouver, B.C. members voted to strike -- May 12
if negotiations with the British Columbia Shipping Federation
did not yield a satisfactory agreement
Plugging a loophole in the strike across the border Vancouver and Victoria longshoremen voted
to refuse to **“handle trans-shipments from Seattle or to Seattle from struck ships”**³⁵

PRESSURE BUILDS IN THE SEATTLE STRIKE

Seattle’s Mayor Charles L. Smith declared a state of emergency in the city
he ordered 100 extra police officers be sworn in for waterfront duty
once again Mayor Smith asked Governor Martin to call out the National Guard
he also wired Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes asking for federal troops
to assure shipping to Alaska would continue
Mayor Frank H. Richmond of Walla Walla offered to send scabs from eastern Washington

³⁵ *Labor Advocate* May 18, 1934.

to load shipments of wheat
Labor won a victory when Governor Martin decided not to interfere
until all efforts to reach a peaceful settlement had been exhausted

SUPPLYING ALASKA CAUSES PROBLEMS FOR THE UNIONS

Special meeting of Seattle Longshoremen's Local 38-12 was held -- evening of May 12, 1934
members voted to load the steamer *Victoria* with supplies bound for Alaska
longshoremen would work a six-hour day at a rate to be agreed upon at the end of the strike
Seattle International Seamen's Association (ISU) agreed to sail the vessel to Alaska
under union conditions

TEAMSTERS TURN THEIR BACKS ON THE ILA STRIKE EFFORT

Dave Beck's Seattle Brotherhood of Teamsters had refused to cross ILA picket lines to handle freight
U.S. Senator and National Labor Board Chairman Robert Wagner
requested Seattle Teamsters returned to work
Beck and the Teamsters' leadership agreed to cross the ILA picket lines
in spite of the membership's commitment to honor the picket lines -- May 14, 1934

ANOTHER FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EFFORT IS MADE TO RESOLVE THE ILA STRIKE

As reported by the *San Francisco Examiner* -- May 15, 1934

“for the first time in history not a freighter left a Pacific Coast port”

Governors of Washington, Oregon and California appealed to FDR to intervene in the strike
their plea brought Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McCrady to San Francisco
to settle the strike

McGrady, after meeting with both sides declared, **“Communists are throwing a monkey wrench into the situation.... There is an element among the longshoremen that lives on strike and does not want a settlement.”**³⁶

there was more than a little truth in the observation: **“The Communists had hoped to use the strike to recruit members and gain control of the maritime unions. To that end their shrill propaganda saturated the waterfront, supporting the strikers but attacking all elected officials and activists who did not submit to their direction.”**³⁷

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STRIKE EFFORT IN SEATTLE WAS FRAGILE

In the Port of Seattle the effectiveness of the strike call varied from ship to ship
twenty-five-man crews of the Associated Oil tanker *H.M. Whittier* quit
Steel Maker sailed for San Francisco after the crew refused to strike

³⁶ *San Francisco News*, May 19, 1934.

³⁷ Ottilie Markolt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 102

American-Hawaiian *Columbian* sailed when the crew chose to stay aboard

LOADING OF THE STEAMSHIP *VICTORIA* IN SEATTLE

Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith attempted to restore law and order on the docks -- May 15, 1934
he dispatched sixty-five police officers to Alaska Steamship Company's Pier 2
where the *Victoria*, bound for Alaska, would load with food and necessary supplies
About 2,000 strikers allowed all military and mail trucks to pass
but Teamsters Union members delivering cargo to the pier were turned around
they would not cross the ILA picket lines and police made no effort to interfere
Employers stopped the loading effort aboard the *Victoria*

STRIKERS IN SEATTLE FACE A DILEMMA

Alaska survived on goods brought by ship from Seattle
ILA had demonstrated the *Victoria* could not be loaded using scabs
if the strikers allowed the ship to load they would lose control of the docks
if they stopped the ship from being loaded they would be accused of letting Alaskans starve
Shipping employers were forced to admit the situation was hopeless
for a second time an agreement was reached to allow the *Victoria*
to load food and necessary supplies
watching the mercy shipment being loaded one union member stated, **"We saw 7 ton steel girders, a ten ton ore screen, and a hundred dredge buckets.... They were loading bricks, cement, coal, drilling mach[inery] steel rails, hay, chain, wood pipe, cable, lumber, and many other things that would be hard to digest."**³⁸

TACOMA CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL RESISTS EFFORTS TO USE THE NATIONAL GUARD

Tacoma's Central Labor Council held a meeting -- May 16, 1934
to discuss how to deal with the National Guard if they were called out
minutes of the meeting noted: **"Moved and seconded that if troops are used to beat Longshoremen's strike, Council call general strike, and that letter be addressed to Chamber of Commerce notifying that if they are successful in their efforts to have troops called out to try to break strike, Labor Movement will retaliate with general strike. Motion carried unanimously."**³⁹
Dave Beck's Teamster majority on the Seattle Central Labor Council defeated a similar resolution for a general strike in Seattle

MARITIME UNIONS JOIN IN THE PACIFIC COAST STRIKE

International Seamen's Union ((ISU), Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP)

³⁸ Otilie Markolt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 85.

³⁹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 85.

and Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOU)
along with Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOU)
voted to strike -- May 16, 1934

Sailors and other maritime union members walked off the job
4,000 seamen and officers struck all noncontract ships
striking maritime union members demanded union preference in hiring
and employer recognition of their respective unions

As quickly as a union meeting could be held to authorize that action
Pacific coast maritime workers tied up vessels up and down the coast

Not all sailors struck
in Bellingham seamen did not tie up the Pacific American Fisheries fleet
or the steam schooner *Lumberman*

Seattle Marine Engineers refused to strike, however, regardless of the association's official stand
engineers sailing out of Seattle left their vessels along with unlicensed seamen

PACIFIC COAST SHIP OWNERS MAINTAIN A POLICY OF SEGREGATION

International Seamen's Union ((ISU) demanded those aboard ship be treated as equal participants
Contrary to International Seaman's Union (ISU) practice in other districts

Pacific Marine Cooks and Stewards Union was segregated into black and white stewards
qualified white crewmen joined the Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards
qualified black crewmen had a choice of two unions to join:

- Colored Maritime Employees Benevolent Association of the Pacific
- Admiral Line's own company union of African American members

this practice resulted in a virtually all-white Marine Cooks and Stewards Association
on the Pacific Coast

At the beginning of the strike, Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards
proposed to the Admiral Line's black stewards that they join the walkout
Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards promised equal shipping rights
and a minimum of two official black leadership positions if the union won

Admiral Line's company union of black stewards split into factions
some black members remained loyal to the company union -- a few scabbed the strike
most black workers, however, chose to leave the company union
they joined the Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards
(by the end of the strike some 300 black stewards had joined the union)

Newly admitted black members of the Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards
took a militant role on the waterfront during the strike as did white unionists

LICENSED OFFICERS JOIN WITH OTHER STRIKING MARITIME UNION MEMBERS

Licensed officers, Masters, Mates and Pilots, formed the last link in the chain of maritime solidarity
many officers shared the union convictions of unlicensed seamen
others realized that if they did not support the strike and sailed with scabs
they would immediately face unsympathetic seas with untrained sailors under their command
and the deadly hostility of union ship crews after the strike ended
both motives induced them to walk out -- May 17, 1934
Masters, Mates and Pilots in San Francisco voted to strike for recognition, better wages
and improved working conditions

MARITIME UNION STRIKE TIGHTENES ITS GRIP ON PUGET SOUND SHIPPING

In Seattle seamen and engineers struck the *Alaska*, the Sunset Pacific tanker *Brandywine*
and the Grace liner *Charcas* -- May 17, 1934
Striking seamen rushed the Todd Dry Dock gates when a truck entered
they swarmed over three Luckenbach vessels, the *Edward*, *Florence*, and *Jacob*,
and persuaded the crews to quit
At Tacoma, crews of the tanker *Topila* and *S.S. Golden Cloud* struck

MARITIME STRIKE IS PAINTED WITH A "RED" BRUSH

Reporters blamed "Reds" (Communists) for everything -- May 18, 1934
employers, reported the newspapers, held out to save the country from revolution
one paper operated by the shippers stated the union demands **"merely cloak an attempt on the part of labor captains of a radical complexion to seize prestige and power, if not to undermine the social order, the operators gave little if any consideration to an acquiescence to the strike demands, despite the straits to which the industry was reduced."**⁴⁰

SEATTLE MAYOR CHARLES L. SMITH ELEVATES STRIKE HYSTERIA

He declared Seattle was **"ruled by a Soviet of longshoremen"**⁴¹ -- May 18, 1934
He invoked forty Washington cities to confer on a united course of action to break the strike
mayors of Wenatchee, Ellensburg, Colfax, and Mount Vernon attended
they duly resolved to urge the governor to call out the National Guard
this dismal response to the Mayor Charles L. Smith's invitation was another victory for labor
most public officials would not be panicked

SUPPLIES SAIL OUT OF SEATTLE BOUND FOR ALASKA

Victoria sailed for Alaska without the help of the National Guard -- May 18, 1934
her cargo appeared to be supplies for all occasions

⁴⁰ *Pacific Shipper* May 21, 1934.

⁴¹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 85.

SOUP KITCHENS AND SUPPORT FOR STRIKING UNION MEMBERS

Ship owners had money, political influence, and the power to award or withhold jobs

Strikers had numbers, skills that transformed ships and cargo into profits,

and support that took form in each community

Labor unions had little financing for the strike effort:

- maritime unions had no strike funds built up;

- most longshoremen's locals were less than a year old

their treasuries were pinched by the conferences and conventions that proceeded the strike;

- seagoing unions, with their few dues paying members, had lived from hand to mouth for years just to keep their halls open;

- Sailors' Union of the Pacific voted at the outset to pay no strike benefits to their members

Most trade unions of the American Federation of Labor could offer only limited help to members

depression had depleted their membership and drained their resources, also

After two weeks of meal tickets in restaurants, Central Labor Councils in Seattle and Tacoma mobilized a relief and support effort

Seattle International Longshoremen's Association -- May 23, 1934

opened a commissary for groceries for those with families

and a soup kitchen in the union hall to feed 400 to 500 unmarried strikers

fish donated by the Alaska Fishermen's Union became a mainstay

black cooks and stewards from the Admiral Line helped in the soup kitchen

Longshoremen slept in their own beds at night, but most seamen and sailors were single transients who lived between voyages in waterfront hotels

they, too, must have a place to sleep as well as food

Strike relief for maritime workers centered on the Seattle Sailors' Union of the Pacific Building at the foot of Seneca Street

where a range and gas stoves were installed on the vacant third floor

cooks and stewards solicited contributions and prepared the food

which sailors transported to the picket lines

some strikers ate at relief station for the unemployed

some fortunate sailors kept their hotel rooms on credit

but almost 100 slept in the union building on the third floor on paper or sacks

another fifty slept downstairs in the main hall on benches or four chairs pulled together

only a few had blankets or cots

many maritime workers slept in cars

Although the Teamsters union continued to block use of the ultimate weapon, a general strike,

they donated \$1,000 a month to the striking longshoremen

other unions also contributed generously

ILA UNIONS ESTABLISHES THE JOINT NORTHWEST STRIKE COMMITTEE

Alaska Fisheries Company's cannery ships were preparing for the fishing season

Seattle's ILA Local 38-12 refused to work loading the fishing fleet

Tacoma asked all ILA locals in the Pacific Northwest to meet to discuss

releasing the Pacific Alaska Fisheries Company's cannery ships

Joint Northwest Strike Committee was formed -- May 24, 1934

it was comprised of sixty-six delegates representing twelve ILA Locals in Washington State and the Columbia River basin

its initial purpose was to figure out what to do with Alaska cargo

but it came to serve as a strategy board for Northern ILA Locals

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN ASSOCIATION (ILA) PRESENT JOE RYAN COMES WEST

Faced with a strike on the Pacific Coast that he did not support, President Ryan invited himself west en route to San Francisco, he stopped in Tacoma and Seattle

where he complimented the men for putting up a "magnificent fight"

Employers, feeling pressured by the federal government's National Recovery Administration (NRA), negotiated with Joe Ryan and ILA Pacific Coast District representatives

TENTATIVE OFFER FROM WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS IS PRESENTED TO THE ILA

International Longshoremen's Association President Ryan's negotiations

with the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco resulted in a tentative agreement being reached -- May 28, 1934

employers in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles had all agreed:

- to recognize the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) for collective bargaining purposes;
- to establish a committee in each port to operate a joint hiring hall;
- there would be no discrimination against union or nonunion men;
- employers would be free to select the men and the men were free to select their jobs

"and within those principles the employers would cooperate in spreading work"⁴²

This offer fell far short of the ILA's demands:

- it did not provide for a coastwide agreement,
- it did not provide for a union hiring hall,
- it completely ignored all of the Maritime Unions that had joined in the strike effort

LONGSHOREMEN REJECT AN OFFER FROM EMPLOYERS TO END THE STRIKE

When the tentative agreement was sent to the ILA locals for ratification

⁴² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 106.

longshoremen decisively rejected the proposal
Tacoma's Jack Bjorklund, Pacific Coast ILA Secretary, returned to Tacoma from San Francisco
for a meeting with Joint Northwest Strike Committee members -- May 29, 1934
ILA President Ryan's proposal outraged the members of the Tacoma local
after hearing the report of the negotiators

strike committee members voted unanimously to reject the offer
and, further, to concur in the action of the Tacoma ILA local which had gone on record
**“as being absolutely opposed to any proposition being even entertained ...which first does not
recognize our original demand...[an] absolutely ‘closed’ or ‘Union Shop’...and FURTHERMORE-
-that this Conference go on record as standing 100 per cent behind our original demands.”**⁴³

PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT ILA MEMBERS SELECT A NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

Joint Northwest Strike Committee representing Washington and Columbia River ports
selected Seattle delegates George R. Clark, Robert Collins, and William Craft
to carry out the day-to-day responsibilities regarding the strike
they served as the Joint Northwest Strike Committee bargaining team

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH BUILDERS, INC. (CBI) BECOMES POLITICALLY ACTIVE

Commonwealth Builders Inc., (CBI) was the Left-wing branch of the state Democratic Party
they believed that each worker should produce the equivalent of what he or she consumed
they pledged to end poverty by having the state take over idle farms and factories
these progressives supported plans to establish cooperative farms and factories
employees would produce goods to be sold in state-owned stores
in turn employees could exchange script for these same goods
people would be involved in “production for use” instead of “production for profit”

Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) sought to elect state officials
they recruited candidates to run in the Democratic Party primary election
their campaign slogan read: “Production for Use”

However, the success of the Commonwealth Builders, Inc,
attracted the attention of Northwest Communist Party leaders Morris Raport and Howard Costigan
both took on an ever-increasing role in CBI's leadership

PROPOSAL TO BUILD BONNEVILLE DAM IS APPROVED

(U.S. Army Corps of Engineers published the 308 Report [1929]
which recommended ten dams on the Columbia River but no action was taken
until the Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration and the initiated the New Deal)
this proposal to build dams was supported by public power advocate U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone

⁴³ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 106.

Congress appropriated f \$51 million to construct a hydroelectric dam and lock to raise ships
United States Army Corps of Engineers supervised construction of Bonneville Dam
located forty miles east of Portland

Bonneville Lock and Dam was named in honor of French-born

U.S. Army Captain Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville [April 14, 1796-June 12, 1878]
an early fur trapper, and explorer in the American West Army (from [1832] to [1835])

BONNEVILLE DAM IS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST AMBITIOUS ENGINEERING PROJECTS

Construction work began at the Lower Cascades of the Columbia River

concrete dam stretched across the Oregon side of Bradford Island

and connected to a piece of bedrock called "Bonny Rock" -- June 1934

coffer dams were to be built in order to block half of the river and clear a construction site
where the foundation could be located

Spillway Dam for the powerhouse to be constructed is located on the Washington side

it features eighteen gates stretching 1,450 feet long and sits 197 feet above bedrock

these gates hold back water fifty-nine feet above the water below the spillway

total length of the concrete dam (three structures) is 3,463 feet

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began construction on Bonneville Dam and Lock -- June 1934-[1938]

first powerhouse 1,027 feet long and seventy-seven feet in height

was located near Bradford Island on the Oregon side

its ten generators had a capacity of producing 526,700 kilowatts of electricity

In addition to the dam and powerhouse, the Bonneville Dam project

featured a ship lock seventy-six feet wide and 500 feet long to lift boat traffic above the dam

with a vertical lift of fifty-nine feet -- the greatest lock lift in the world at that time

using this lock, ocean-going ships could reach The Dalles, Oregon (beginning in [1938])

Two types of fish ladders were installed

one is a fishpool ladder

another is a fishlock which works like a ship lock

More than 17,000 men working around-the-clock tamed the roaring Columbia River

construction provided jobs and other economic benefits to the Pacific Northwest

these workers reshaped the Pacific Northwest's economy

by ensuring an abundant supply of inexpensive hydroelectricity

Roosevelt's New Deal even paid folk singer Woody Guthrie to pay homage to the dam

that turned the region's "**darkness into dawn**," in the song *Roll On, Columbia*

HIGH LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM (BIG BEND) PROJECT IS CONSIDERED

Public power advocates urged construction of a high dam on the Columbia River at Grand Coulee

national interest in the larger proposed project began to increase

FDR authorized a high dam to replace the approved low dam -- June 1934

a master plan was developed that called for a hydroelectric and irrigation project

it called for construction of a multipurpose dam across the Columbia River

at the upper bend directly north of the dry canyon that was intended

to provide hydroelectric power, irrigation, flood control, navigation and recreation

this labor-intensive project would provide cheap hydroelectric power for heavy industry

and for consumers

President Franklin Roosevelt avoided having to obtain congressional approval for the project

by financing it through the Public Works Administration (PWA)

(this strategy backfired [1935] when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled

that only Congress could authorize the construction of dams across navigable rivers)

ISSUE OF ALASKA SHIPPING IS DISCUSSED

Joint Northwest Strike Committee bargaining team convened in Seattle Mayor Charles Smith's office

to discuss with representatives of the ship owners the problem of supplying Alaska -- June 5, 1934

These negotiations were stormy which reflected the seriousness of the issue

however, power conflicts within the longshore locals also added to the difficulties

Seattle and Communist-laced Everett locals refused to let their negotiators sign an agreement

without first reporting to the members of their locals

To complicate negotiations, Dave Beck's Teamsters threatened to cross the ILA's picket lines

CONGRESS PASSES THE *SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT* OF 1934

This was a sweeping piece of legislation which extended the government regulation of securities

"primary market" securities (stocks, bonds, and debentures [promissory notes])

had been regulated by the *Securities Act* [of 1933]

Newly-passed *Securities Exchange Act* regulated "secondary trading" -- June 6, 1934

frequently securities are traded between persons unknown to the issuer through brokers or dealers

trillions of dollars are made and lost each year through trading in the secondary market

Securities Exchange Act also created the *Securities Exchange Commission* to regulate the industry

Joseph Kennedy was named the first chairman of the commission

TENTATIVE AGREEMENT TO SUPPLY ALASKA IS REACHED WITH THE ILA

Joint Northwest Strike Committee successfully concluded contract negotiations

to supply Alaska -- June 8, 1934

Representatives of Alaska Steamship, Northland Transportation, Wills Navigation,

Santa Anna Steamship, and Arctic Transportation signed for the employers

International Longshoremen's Association President Joe Ryan

and Pacific Coast ILA Secretary Jack Bjorklund

signed for the International Longshoremen's Association

Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith signed as a witness

This agreement granted the International Longshoremen's Association a closed (union only) shop and further provided that all longshore crews would be dispatched from ILA halls

wages were set at the Tacoma pre-strike scale (the highest in the state)

with any increase resulting from the strike to be paid retroactively

longshoremen would not be required to handle any unfair cargo

or any cargo transshipped from any unfair vessel or dock

hours were established as demanded by the ILA shipping code:

six-hour day, thirty-four-hour week

this agreement applied only to **“vessels and cargo to and from Alaska direct, or to local products from British Columbia”**⁴⁴

Owners, in turn, received assurances that if they conformed to the terms of the agreement their ships would be granted safe passage

However, the sailors' unions still needed to sign an agreement before ships could sail for Alaska or return to Pacific Northwest ports

marine unions demanded a wage increase from Alaska operators before they would sign

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) pickets promised to keep the ships tied up

until the last maritime union penned the agreement

ALASKA AGREEMENT IS SETTLED

Finally Seattle ILA Local 38-12 followed by Everett ILA Local 38-76 relented and signed

this agreement covered only about 1,200 of the 35,000 strikers on the coast -- June 9, 1934

500 longshoremen, 600 unlicensed seamen, 125 licensed officers

many strikers resented the Alaska agreement

because it breached their demand for a coastwide settlement

others, with equally strong convictions, approved of it

Communists were especially opposed to the agreement

Seattle longshoremen were told in a Communist leaflet: **“Ryan, Lewis, Morton, Morris and the rest of the misleaders have succeeded to split the mighty united front of the longshoremen and seamen... Their action has already proved that they intend to ‘settle’ the strike by signing separate agreements with each company, by calling on Mayor Smith of Seattle to intimidate the men, and finally by accepting the old wage scale, and leaving the final settlement to an arbitration board set up by Roosevelt's strikebreaking NRA machine.”**⁴⁵

MEETING IN TACOMA ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE THE STRIKE THERE

⁴⁴ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 116.

⁴⁵ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 117.

Tacoma Mayor George A. Smitley and the city council

formed the Tacoma Citizens Emergency Committee to support the waterfront employers
and force the port open

Smitley invited ILA President Joe Ryan, Pacific Coast District Secretary Jack Bjorklund
and Paddy Morris to an executive session of the city council -- June 11, 1934

City officials offered their good offices to settle the strike

but after the meeting Ryan told the *Tacoma News Tribune*

there was nothing the mayor or council could do: **“It must be done from San Francisco.”**⁴⁶

ILA JOINT NORTHWEST STRIKE COMMITTEE CONTACTS SEATTLE MAYOR SMITH

Seattle Mayor Charles Smith had tried to interest San Francisco Mayor Angelo Rossi

in a summit conference of Pacific Coast mayors to discuss common action

Mayor Rossi was not interested

Motion was passed by the Joint Northwest Strike Committee informing the Seattle mayor

he must stop interfering in the strike or the agreement to ship supplies to Alaska was in jeopardy

this motion was temporarily suspended until the mayor had an opportunity to respond

TACOMA WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS PLOT TO OPEN THEIR PORTS

Waterfront employers met and generated a plan in “strictest secrecy” to open their waterfront

Tacoma’s Chambers of Commerce created the Tacoma Citizens Emergency Committee

to be ready to act when the mayor opened the port

this became an additional voice raised in opposition to labor’s efforts

FEDERAL INTERVENTION IN AIR MAIL CONTRACTS

U.S. Senator Hugo Black gained a reputation as a tenacious investigator

he chaired a senate committee that looked into contracts awarded to air mail carriers

he uncovered what he termed abuses of “fraud and collusion”

in an effort to correct these problems Senator Black introduced the Air Mail Act of 1934

Air Mail Act of 1934 passed congress -- June 12, 1934

its main provision broke up the aviation holding companies

these were large corporations that owned both aircraft manufacturing companies and airlines

this act also stated the federal government would set airmail contracts, routes, and schedules

fix subsidy rates and airmail payments;

and regulate the airways and license pilots

furthermore, the temporary, low bids to carry airmail that had been accepted from the airlines

were locked in place

all of the airmail carriers began to lose money -- still, airline service grew quickly

⁴⁶ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 142.

SEVERAL MARITIME UNIONS TAKE A STRIKE VOTE

Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) sent two delegates

to a San Francisco Labor Council meeting -- June 13

where the mood in opposition to accepting arbitration as a solution to the strike
grew increasingly heated

Coast wide organized labor leaders at the meeting originally expressed no desire for a General Strike
but sentiment in support of that effort grew rapidly

STRIKING ILA AND MARITIME UNION MEMBERS UNITE

At the invitation of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) locals

delegates from the International Seamen's Union (ISU), Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP),

Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOW)

and Marine Cooks and Stewards met with the ILA

to organize and coordinate the strike effort all along the Pacific Coast

Striking International Longshoremen's Association and Maritime union members on the West coast

formed the Joint Marine Strike Committee -- June 13, 1934

which was comprised of seven unions -- each striking for their own demands:

- International Longshoremen's Association (ILA);
- Masters, Mates and Pilots (MMP);
- Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA);
- Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP);
- Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wiper's Association (MFOW);
- Boilermakers Local 6 of San Francisco;
- Machinists Local 68 of San Francisco and Machinists Local 234 of Oakland

In a five-to-four vote the Joint Marine Strike Committee elected

charismatic, pro-Communist ILA leader Harry Bridges of San Francisco as Permanent Chair

HARRY BRIDGES LEADS THE JOINT STRIKE EFFORT

Joint Marine Strike Committee composed of longshoremen and maritime union members

coordinated their efforts under the leadership of Harry Bridges

Longshore organizer Harry Bridges was a militant, left-wing, pro-Communist radical Australian

he had organized work slow-downs to stop "shape-up" practices

(hiring men from those who showed up each morning at one of the pier heads)

he also led disputes over handling "hot" (non-union) cargo

Bridges was well known and proud of his radical left-wing philosophy

although he claimed he was never a member of the Communist Party

ANOTHER ATTEMPT IS MADE TO OPEN THE PORT OF SEATTLE

Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith announced an effort to open the port -- this time by force if necessary he decreed a "state of emergency"

Seattle Police Chief L. L. Norton was replaced by George F. Howard -- June 15
Mayor Smith announced he would guarantee police protection
to anyone loading or discharging cargo in Seattle

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Pickets met the police effort
confrontations turned increasingly violent as Seattle strikers battled with police and strikebreakers

TALKS OPEN ON AN ILA-MANAGEMENT COASTWIDE AGREEMENT

Undaunted by the failure of his first tentative agreement to end the strike

International Longshoremen Association (ILA) President Joe Ryan -- June 16, 1934

traveled to San Francisco Ryan where he entered into a new round of talks with employers
but this time with the assistance of two Brotherhood of Teamsters leaders

Seattle Teamsters President Dave Beck, and Mike Casey, San Francisco's president

Everyone knew this would be a last-ditch effort to end the strike

before force would be used to open the West Coast ports

Both Beck and Casey thought the strike had lasted too long

they believed the strikers should take what they could get from the employers

Ryan emerged from his meeting with Waterfront Employers Union President Tom Plant

with another settlement -- this one was very similar to Ryan's [May 28] agreement

but this time Beck and Casey guaranteed Teamsters unions would cross the ILA picket lines
if any longshoreman failed to return to work under the provisions of the new settlement

PROPOSED COASTWIDE CONTRACT IS REJECTED BY THE LONGSHOREMEN

ILA President Joseph P. Ryan called on the San Francisco ILA locals to ratify the agreement
but the strikers turned him down

Ryan immediately flew to Portland, Oregon and met with longshoremen there

ILA members listened quietly -- and then shouted down his proposal

Ryan next traveled to Tacoma where he met with the Joint Northwest Strike Committee

he pleaded with the committee to ratify his second settlement

strike committee members listened politely like the San Francisco and Portland strikers

Ryan's proposal was voted down without a single vote in favor

Up and down the Pacific Coast sailors expressed indignation that they had been left out the proposal
in port after port longshoremen and striking maritime unions formally pledged to each other

they would not to settle the strike separately

When the Teamsters failed to carry out their threat to cross longshore picket lines,

ILA President Ryan declared he would no longer be involved in any further negotiations

by necessity, the initiative passed to Joint Northwest Strike Committee

BIDDING ON THE LOW LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT BEGINS

Finding companies to bid on the construction project was difficult

because of the size of the undertaking even various parts were too large for most companies:

- Native American graves had to be relocated;
- temporary fish ladders had to be constructed;
- landslides posed disastrous threats;
- protecting and cooling concrete both were formidable problems

businesses were forced to consolidate to make reasonable bids

Final contract bidding for construction of the low level dam began in Spokane -- June 18, 1934

four bids were submitted

one bid was received from a lawyer with no financial backing

another bid was from actress Mae West

it consisted of nothing more than a poem and promise to divert the river

Six Companies, Inc, then building Hoover Dam submitted a bid of \$34.5 million

lowest bid was from a consortium of three companies known as MWAK:

- Silas Mason Company of New York,
- Walsh Construction Company of Davenport, Iowa
- Atkinson-Kier Company of San Francisco,

this was known by the acronym MWAK (Mason-Walsh-Atkinson Kier) Company

they had submitted a low bid of \$29.39 million

which was fifteen percent lower than Six Companies, Inc. had proposed

MWAK was given the project -- June 18, 1934

INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT PASSES CONGRESS

Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act) was the most important turning point in federal policy toward American Indians since the early nineteenth century

former policy was based on the principle of providing tribes limited control over their affairs

through a government-chartered corporation: Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)

this law assumed that Indians traditions were as much communal as individual

Wheeler-Howard Act was the keystone of the "Indian New Deal" -- June 18, 1934

Indians who wished to organize into tribes could obtain a Charter from the federal government

this Charter gave tribes limited powers of self-government through tribal councils

and entitled them to a variety of health and economic benefits from the federal government

it provided a \$10 million fund to run indefinitely for the purpose of making loans to Indian tribes

to provide for the purchase of millions of acres of land to permit Indians

to attain a standard of living equal to that of non-Indian rural people

purchases were to be made from the tribe but belonged to the individual,
yet the title to the land was held by the federal government
further allotments were prohibited and restricted lands remained restricted
it provided a scholarship loan fund of \$250,000 a year be established
it provided for employment of qualified Indians in the Indian Service
regardless of any civil service status

Tribes accepting the act could exercise veto power over the spending of their own tribal funds
these tribes were given the authority to incorporate for business purposes to buy up inherited land
and to arrange for voluntary exchanges and consolidations of land among tribal members

Bureau of Indians Affairs (BIA) was responsible for administering the Charter
but the Charter would not be applied to any group without its consent
reservation economic development and social programs fell outside the control of the BIA
this reversed BIA land policy

for the first time in living memory BIA reservation superintendents
began to lose their positions as de facto colonial administrators
with almost total power over their charges

While the restoration of tribal autonomy gave new life to Indians institutions
it led to confusion concerning rights and responsibilities
although Indians were entitled to vote in federal, state and local elections
technically in certain cases they were exempt from local taxation
and on their reservations natives were exempt from state laws

Wisdom of reorganization was bitterly debated by Native Americans
not all of the tribes that accepted the terms of the Indians Reorganization Act saw striking changes
some, however, made progress in educational and health benefits
and in an improved standard of living

Yakima, Umatilla and Klamath Indians of the Pacific Northwest rejected the new act
their opposition was based upon a tradition of distrust of the federal government
many Indians hated the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs and wanted to abolish it
not give the agency control over their tribal identity

Colvilles, Nez Perce, and Spokanes rejected the Charter as well
many Indians who voted negatively believed that a chartered tribe
would have fewer rights than a treaty tribe

if the federal government could ever be persuaded to live up to its treaty obligations
Result of these objections was that tribal land continued to slip away from the Indians
into the hands of white owners

LONGSHOREMEN AND MARITIME UNIONS FORM A PACT

Harry Bridges' Joint Marine Strike Committee

was composed of ILA members and Maritime union members on the West coast

Both groups signed and exchanged pledges of mutual support in any strike effort -- June 18, 1934

“We, the undersigned organizations, individually and severally, hereby agree to refuse to return to work until such time as a satisfactory agreement is arrived at between employers of labor in the marine industries as the organizations signatory to this agreement. We also direct that a joint committee from each of the organizations signatory to this agreement shall become the negotiation committee, who shall institute and complete negotiations between employers of labor in the marine industry and the organizations signatory to this agreement, subject to ratification of all crafts and strikers involved.”⁴⁷

PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT JOINT STRIKE COMMITTEE FORMS ITS BARGAINING TEAM

Pacific Coast District Joint Strike Committee members were named

Tacoma's Paddy Morris and Jack Bjorklund, Cliff Thurston from Portland

and William J. Lewis of San Francisco made up the new negotiating team

Frustrated ILA and maritime union members, however, passed a referendum instructing the new team

to add to the original demands of ILA recognition, closed shops and union hiring halls,

a new proviso that employers must also reach a satisfactory settlement

with other maritime unions

Employers emphatically rejected the latest ILA Pacific Coast District proposal

LEGISLATION TO RESOLVE LABOR DISPUTES IS PASSED BY CONGRESS

This new law empowered the President to establish investigation and arbitration boards

during labor disputes -- June 19, 1934

National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) was the first of these

it was created to was bring the contesting sides together and settle the strike

HARRY BRIDGES BECOMES A LEADER IN THE SAN FRANCISCO STRIKE

San Francisco ILA members rejected a second contract offer

from the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco

that had been negotiated by their leadership

Harry Bridges became the chief spokesperson in negotiations for the Joint Marine Strike Committee

however, Bridges was not the controlling leader of the strike

STRUGGLE TO OPEN WASHINGTON'S PORTS CONTINUES

Up and down the Pacific coast employers were adamantly determined

to break the strike, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the Maritime unions

Tacoma Citizen's Emergency Committee and Mayor Charles Smith of Seattle

⁴⁷ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 127-128.

tried to open their respective ports

efforts were concentrated on Milwaukee Dock in Tacoma and Smith Cove's Pier 40 in Seattle Tacoma Citizen's Emergency Committee placed an advertisement in the *News Tribune* promising 5,000 workers who had lost their jobs because of the strike

that they would be able to work again when the Port of Tacoma reopened

this ad concluded: **"600 TACOMA LONGSHOREMEN HAVE NO RIGHT NOR WILL THEY BE PERMITTED TO DICTATE THE FUTURE TO 106,000 PEOPLE."**⁴⁸

CLASH AT SEATTLE'S SMITH COVE

Eighteen ships were waiting to be unloaded at Piers 40 and 41 (today's Pier 90 and 91) at Smith Cove (located where cruise ships tie up today in Seattle) unlike his counterparts in Oregon and California,

Governor Clarence Martin refused to mobilize the National Guard Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith decided to force open the Seattle waterfront -- June 20, 1934 *Seattle Post Intelligencer* headlined that **"POLICE WILL OPEN PORT TODAY!"**

Seattle shipping owners made their move

Seattle Police Chief George F. Howard addressed 560 assembled peace officers (300 city police, 200 deputies, 60 members of the Washington State Patrol)

"We are not looking for trouble, but we are prepared for it.... See that your guns are in good shape. But use them only in the last extremity for the protection of life and property...A strike council was appointed in this city weeks ago. The man at the head of it is one of the most prominent communists on the Pacific Coast. That's all."⁴⁹

Strike breakers appeared at Smith Cove's Pier 40 -- 8:00 a.m., June 20

in a long caravan of cabs, trucks, and busses as police and armed guards escorted 200 scabs employers also brought in forty-eight scabs from West Seattle

on an old steamer, the *Admiral Rogers*, guarded by two coast guard cutters when she arrived, the *Admiral Rogers* tied up in Smith Cove at the end of Pier 40 one fire engine company stood by with hoses at the ready

Mounted police charged with clubs and teargas and broke through the striker's picket lines about 200 pickets were routed from the entrances to the piers and warehouses

Crew of sailors hired by shipping owners shifted the *Admiral Rogers* from Pier 40 to Pier 41 to serve as mess hall and lodging for scabs

TOWARD NOON PICKETS AGAIN GATHERED AT SEATTLE'S SMITH COVE

Approximately 100 pickets turned back trucks loaded with food and supplies for police and scabs longshoremen persuaded a City Light line crew not to install a flood light for the police

⁴⁸ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 144.

⁴⁹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 133.

Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) sent stew, buns and coffee for the pickets
More than 600 unarmed pickers moved toward Pier 40 and 41
100 of the strikers sat down in front of a Great Northern switch engine headed onto the pier
to shift freight cars so scabs could unload the cargo of silk aboard the *President Grant*
after talking with strikers the engineer returned to the switch yard
Two hundred police protected company property along Pier 40
while fifty officers guarded the scabs at the end of the dock two blocks away
employers expressed satisfaction with the day's work

TACOMA SHIPPING OWNERS ARE DEDICATED TO OPENING THE PORT

Efforts to open the port of Tacoma had failed

Tacoma Citizens' Emergency Committee issued a statement -- afternoon June 20, 1934

“The frustration this morning of our initial effort to open the port has not caused us to change our minds in the least. The port must open.”⁵⁰

MEETINGS TAKE PLACE IN TACOMA AND SEATTLE

Seattle Central Labor Council met -- evening of June 20, 1934

Seattle longshoremen Local 38-12 sent a delegation to the council meeting

they asked the Seattle labor council to **“go on record favoring a general strike if police and armed guards were not withdrawn in twenty-four hours”⁵¹**

Teamster leader Dave Beck urged Seattle longshoremen to break ranks with their union
and negotiate “their own best deal” with Seattle shippers

after a long debate, Seattle Central Labor Council adjourned without a vote on the motion

Teamsters and other conservative labor leaders had defeated the general strike proposal

Tacoma Central Labor Council also held a meeting -- evening of June 20, 1934

labor council members condemned the Tacoma Citizens' Emergency Committee's
“advocacy of violence and lawlessness”

they recommended using the Alaska Agreement as the best solution to the waterfront strike

TACOMA SENDS REINFORCEMENTS TO SEATTLE'S SMITH COVE

Overnight, Tacoma longshoremen arrived at the Seattle docks

to reinforce the Seattle picket line at Smith Cove -- June 21, 1934

Strikers succeeded in turning a train away from the docks before 8:00 a.m.

and a second train around 11:00 a.m.

Seattle Mayor Charles Smith and Police Chief George F. Howard visited the scene

pickets sat down on the railroad tracks once again

⁵⁰ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 144.

⁵¹ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 144.

sixteen mounted officers rode into the strikers swinging clubs -- three strikers were injured
Cars with supplies for police went onto the dock
someone had mixed salt with sugar and delivered it to police spoiling their coffee
Several men selling magazines refused to stop walking along the pier
pickets began to beat them up before the salesmen convinced the pickets they were not scabs
Coast Guard cutter and harbor patrol boat kept two of the picket's launches away from the docks

UNION LEADERS DECIDE TO STOP LOADING SHIPS BOUND FOR ALASKA

Outraged by Seattle Mayor Charles Smith's betrayal of his promise of "neutrality" in the dispute,
Joint Northwest Strike Committee asked the Seattle Central Labor Council
to inform city officials that if police were not removed from Smith Cove
all work would stop on the Alaska ships at 4:00 p.m. June 21, 1934
Seattle Mayor Smith refused to remove the police
Joint Northwest Strike Committee pulled men off the Alaska ships ending loading operations
however, they were not able to shut down the entire port
as some cargo began to move in fits and starts

EFFORT TO KEEP PORT OF TACOMA CLOSED

Tacoma Mayor George A. Smitely and Public Safety Commissioner Frank T. Callender
received a written request from Tacoma Port Commissioners
asking that police remove striking longshoremen from port property -- June 21
Port commissioners also asked for police protection for steamships which needed to load or unload
There was an additional effort by Commissioner Callender to obtain state patrol officers
to guard the docks but this effort was blocked by Governor Martin

CONFRONTATION ON THE TACOMA DOCKS

Tacoma's mayor and the Tacoma Citizen's Emergency Committee tried to force open the waterfront
Strikers were alerted by a sympathetic Tacoma policeman, who warned them that a Greyhound bus
filled with scabs was coming from Seattle to Tacoma -- about 5 a.m., June 22, 1934
also, the mortarship *India* loaded with scabs circled Tacoma's Commencement Bay
expecting to receive a signal to land
When a Greyhound bus from Seattle pulled into the Tacoma bus depot
at Fifteenth and Pacific Avenue
a dozen strikers watched thirty-one special deputies disembark -- 4:30 a.m.
These strikebreakers were transferred to waiting trucks already loaded with bedding and food
and other supplies such as guns, baseball bats, hand grenades and tear gas bombs
all purchased by the Tacoma Citizen's Emergency Committee
longshoremen inside the union hall did not challenge the scabs

Tacoma police escorted the special deputies together with some local recruits
through a foggy murk to the Milwaukee Dock

waiting at the pier to meet the strike breakers were a Flying Squad and 400 Tacoma strikers
Special deputies climbed out of trucks into the waiting crowd of strikers -- 5:00 a.m.

Milwaukee Dock gates were nailed shut so that scabs could not pass through to the piers
After a brief tense but firm meeting of unarmed Tacoma strikers, Seattle s cabs, and local police
took place beside the trucks

law officers disarmed the scabs of an assortment of guns, clubs, baseball bats, blackjacks,
tear gas canisters and hand grenades

all of the special deputies decided to give up -- they discarded their arm bands and badges
Tacoma police escorted the strikebreakers back to the Greyhound depot

where they boarded a charter bus for the return trip to Seattle

Port of Tacoma remained closed as demanded by the strikers

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN MOVE INTO TACOMA

While the Tacoma docks remained under siege,

Tacoma Saw mills were operated with scabs protected by armed guards

Concentrating on the regional strike in Tacoma

Weyerhaeuser executives convinced Governor Clarence Martin

that only intimidation by union radicals kept workers off their jobs

governor was told by lumber company owners that the labor agitators were from the outside

AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE PORT OF TACOMA

Longshore pickets suddenly disappeared from Port of Tacoma docks -- 8:00 a.m. Sunday June 24

Tacoma port commissioners and longshore leaders had met secretly [Saturday afternoon]

this meeting had resulted in a closely guarded pact between the two sides

Tacoma Police Chief Harold Bird told newspaper reporters that port commissioners

did not seem to be interested in having additional protection anymore

Tacoma Citizens' Emergency Committee thought the Tacoma Port

had successfully evicted the pickets

Citizens Committee asked about using the docks at the regular port commissioner meeting

however, this request was ignored

NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW ALASKA AGREEMENT

When the confrontation moved uptown

strikers tussled with police and special deputies near the Smith Tower

Many public officials as well as several newspapers

decried the longshoremen's embargo of food and medicine destined for the Alaskans

Federal mediator Charles A. Reynolds, a member of the President's Mediation Board, told longshoremen and Alaska shipping line owners -- June 25, 1934 that a new agreement covering Northern Territory vessels must be reached soon or government troops would load chartered ships

COMMUNISTS IN SEATTLE DEMAND A GENERAL STRIKE

Communist Party members tried to take advantage of ILA strikers' anger and frustration they staged a demonstration across the street from the longshoremen's union hall -- June 26 San Francisco's Communist longshore union, Marine Workers International Union (MWIU), Secretary Roy Hudson addressed the crowd
Communists called for a demonstration at Pier 40 [for June 29] to be followed by a general strike
Joint Northwest Strike Committee passed a motion opposing activities orchestrated from outside

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHES MEDIATION BOARDS TO RESOLVE THE STRIKES

President Roosevelt implemented legislation passed by Congress the week before [June 19] empowering the president to establish investigation and intervention boards for labor disputes
National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) was the first of these
it was created to was bring the contesting sides together and settle the strike
National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) members were appointed by FDR -- June 26, 1934
Archbishop Edward Hanna of the Catholic Diocese of San Francisco served as chair
San Francisco attorney Oscar K. Cushing and Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady served as members
NLB was to investigate the ILA strike, take testimony and attempt to bring about a settlement
newspapers which demanded the government force the strikers back to work
hailed these appointments as the solution to the conflict
unions greeted the development with silence or suspicion

CONGRESS PASSES THREE PIECES OF LEGISLATION EASE THE GRIP OF DEPRESSION

National Housing Act of 1934 was intended to regulate the rate of interest and the terms of mortgages insured by the federal government -- June 28, 1934
Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was the agency charged with overseeing mortgages
goals of the FHA included:

- improving housing standards and conditions;
- providing an adequate home financing system through insurance of mortgage loans;
- stabilizing the mortgage market

these new lending practices increased the number of people who could afford a down payment on a house and monthly payments on a mortgage thus, the size of the market for single-family homes increased

Taylor Grazing Act set aside eighty million acres of public land for grazing -- June 28, 1934

purchase of a grazing permit was required

maximum length of time for a permit is ten years but it is renewable

also permits can be given to build fences, reservoirs and other improvements

vacant, non-appropriated and unreserved public lands became available for a grazing fee

with the exception of all of Alaska, national forests, parks, monuments, Indian reservations,
and railroad grant lands

neighboring land owners may be granted a right of passage over these districts

seventy-five per cent of the fees collected were returned to the local community

for range improvements such as increasing the water supply, reseeding, or fighting rodents

Federal Farm Bankruptcy Act -- June 28, 1934

delayed foreclosure of a bankrupt farmer's property for five years

during that time the farmer could make rental payments and remain on the farm

after the rental period, the farmer could buy back the property at its appraised value

over six years at one percent interest or remain on the farm as a paying tenant

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (NLRB) IS ESTABLISHED BY EXECUTIVE ORDER

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was established by Executive Order 6763 -- June 29, 1934

NLRB was charged with conducting labor union representation elections

NLRB was also charged with investigating and remedying unfair labor practices

unfair labor practices could involve union-related situations or employer retaliation

SHIPPING AT SEATTLE'S SMITH COVE IS OPERATED BY SCABS

Waterfront Employers of Seattle continued to hire strikebreakers to work the docks at Smith Cove

with warehouses filled to overflowing, cargo lay strewn about the docks

and against the walls of overstuffed warehouses

Scabs, mostly University of Washington students, had unloaded seven vessels at Pier 40 -- June 29

they grumbled because they were charged \$1.00 a day for poor food

and exorbitant prices for cigarette

SUGGESTED COMMUNIST RALLY IS HELD AT SMITH COVE

According to newspaper accounts 750 demonstrators arrived at Smith Cove -- June 29

The Labor Advocate reported: "[Eighty scabs quit work] **upon being assured of not being molested by the pickets and they said to the longshoremen that more would quit if they thought they could get away without being attacked by union men.**

"Pier 40...is made over into a regular fort, with an amazing array of arms and ammunition ready to repel any attack of the pickets. It takes about 600 armed men to protect 120 at work and costs to the city and county are enormous. The strikers have made no attempt to molest anyone and

content themselves with jeering at the scabs trying to do work they don't understand. Half the number of regular union longshoremen would handle all the work the scabs are doing in much less than one-twentieth of the time.”⁵²

CLASHES EXPAND BEYOND THE SEATTLE DOCKS

In response to a rumor that Standard Oil planned to dispatch a tanker with a scab crew, longshoremen and sailors tried to enter the company's gates at Point Wells (Richmond Beach) as union men and guards clashed, a sniper opened fire from across the road Seattle ILA Local 38-12 member Shelvy Daffron dropped -- fatally shot in the back Quickly a crowd of 750 striking workers rushed to the area to prevent scabs from servicing tankers they were met by armed guards at the fence -- June 30, 1934 one of the guards shouted "Let's give it to them." shots rang out and strike leader Shelvy Daffron fell mortally wounded -- shot in the back he died the following day (a Snohomish County inquest jury was later unable to fix blame)

ORDERS TO SUPPLY ALASKA ARRIVE IN SEATTLE

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes requested ships be chartered by the federal government to take food and supplies to Alaska -- June 30, 1934
President Roosevelt quietly signed an executive order to charter ships to supply Alaska -- July 1

PREPARATIONS ARE MADE TO BREAK THE STRIKE IN SAN FRANCISCO

California authorities, both local and state, decided that they were not going to stand around and let the strikers disrupt all of the nation's needed West Coast cargo flow
In San Francisco the police department had thousands of dollars' worth of tear gas and other non-lethal equipment that they were more than willing to use against the strikers
San Francisco Mayor Angelo Rossi declared that he was going to reopen the port -- July 2, 1934 he announced he would force old trucks past the picket line in order to start the movement of cargo that teamsters had refused to move

UNION CONFRONTATION HEIGHTENS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Clash to open the port of San Francisco began at Pier 38 -- July 3, 1934
San Francisco Maritime Strike Committee appealed to all unions to send unemployed members to the waterfront
Early in the morning strikers and sympathizers began to gather swelling to a crowd of over 5,000 -- many carried rocks and railroad spikes
Police Chief William Quinn had almost 700 police ready
police cars blocked the Embarcadero (San Francisco's main waterfront road) on the north

⁵² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 138.

Belt Line train crewmen attempted to move a string of empty boxcars to a siding
in an effort to block the Embarcadero on the south
Although San Francisco Mayor Rossi issued widespread warnings
that the waterfront should be avoided, many people ignored the request

HOSTILITY LEADS TO CONFRONTATION

Strikers broke through police lines to stop the train cars from closing access to the docks
toward noon police moved the strikers back to clear the area between Pier 38
and the Atlas company warehouse two blocks away on King Street
Mayor Rossi ordered three Atlas trucks loaded with cargo to drive to the warehouse
by the time that the drivers were ready to get the trucks moving
a massive crowd had gathered around the trucks on Pier 38
Atlas trucks exited the pier and moved slowly toward the warehouse
at first there were high hopes that the mayor's strategy would indeed work well
however, strikers moved to a vacant lot across the street from the rear entrance of the warehouse
where thousands of stacked bricks from a demolished building provided ammunition
strikers opened a barrage of bricks on the lead truck
Mounted police wielding nightsticks rode into the crowd
followed by foot police who fired several shots into the air
then drove the crowd back with tear gas and riot clubs
rocks shattered the windshields of several police cars, including Chief Quinn's
San Francisco *Chronicle* described explosions of tear gas, the sounds of firearms
including sawed-off-shotguns being fired and the sight of heads being smashed in by clubs
even if a striker was able to drag a police man off his horse,
it was not long before he was brought down by police and soundly beat into submission
Fighting between small detachments of police and strikers continued
police forced pickets back from the waterfront:
waves of teargas engulfed the entire district and bricks and stones littered the streets
thousands of spectators watched the hours-long battle
Fighting ended at 5:00 p.m. when the Atlas trucks stopped hauling cargo from the pier
reports of injuries listed thirteen police officers, sixteen strikers, several scabs and one bystander
away from the battle zone, police clubbed and arrested Sailors' Union Picket Captain Frank Webb

CONFRONTATIONS ALSO ERUPT ON THE SEATTLE DOCKS

Seattle waterfront simmered on the verge of violence -- July 3, 1934
police moved picket lines to an area behind the railroad tracks at Smith Cove
only three pickets from each organization were permitted near the gates to the piers
police kept the tracks clear with a cordon of officers

Police Chief George F. Howard fired two officers
for failure to aid the son-in-law of a steamship official being beaten by strikers
he suspended two others for failure to arrest pickets beating a scab

ALTERCATION CONTINUES IN SAN FRANCISCO

Attention during the Pacific Coast strike was focused once again on San Francisco -- July 5, 1934
five thousand strikers responded to an appeal for pickets at Pier 38 by the union
some, in defiance of the longshoremen's leaders, carried guns instead of rocks
nearly 800 police officers stood ready to protect life and property

One of the most vicious days of the strike was "Bloody Thursday" -- July 5
five Atlas trucks began moving cargo from Pier 38 to the company warehouse -- before 6:00 a.m.
strikers knew this was only a symbolic effort to break the strike
cargo moving across other piers were a more ominous threat

An attempt was made by employers to shift several rail cars at about 8:00 a.m.
this action took on great meaning in the minds of strikers

who believed this was an attempt to break their morale and to bring troops into the strike
Once again the fight was on

so much tear gas was used that police had to send for a fresh supply
new, long riot sticks bashed head leaving a wake of still forms on the street
as the riot reached its conclusion, rifles and riot guns were taken to the scene
these were distributed among police plainclothesmen
officers with shotguns were posted to see no striker advanced beyond the police barricade
first round of the fight drew to an end -- 10:30 a.m., July 5
six strikers were taken to the hospital -- three hit by police bullets

"BLOODY THURSDAY" CONTINUES IN SAN FRANCISCO

Word spread among the strikers that the California governor
had called out the National Guard -- shortly after 3:00 p.m.
this renewed their fury and triggered the final conflict of the day

Striking waterfront workers again surged forward toward the docks

an eyewitness described the scene: **"They came from everywhere with fresh loads of iron and stone. They swarmed onto the Embarcadero outnumbering the police by enormous odds. The police answer to this was gas, and still more gas. These bombs appeared to have longer range than those used in the morning, and exploded on impact. Volley after volley of these crashed into the closely packed mob, searing flesh, blinding, and choking. Where the ranks broke, mounted officers dove in with clubs, trampling those who could not get out of the way. Again the sirens screamed, and carload after carload of officers and plainclothes-men armed with more tear gas and shotguns swung into action. Many were especially equipped with gas masks.**

“The congregation at the foot of Market Street was becoming fantastic. The spectators were standing so thickly on the bridge of the under-pass that the structure was in danger of collapse. Automobiles were packed in the subway below, stopping all traffic.... And all the while, ferry-loads of commuters were being emptied into the Ferry building and ferryloads of automobiles from Oakland and Alameda were being dumped at the auto entrance....

At the height of this confusion, the battle reached white heat. More and more gun-fire came into play. Bullets crashed into windows.... Police vainly tried to drive the masses of spectators back from the combat zone, but they were thrust into it by the discharging auto ferries and street-cars.”⁵³

FINAL PHASE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO RIOT

Melee continued until the strikers gave up and were driven off the waterfront -- by 5:00 p.m. July 5 official casualty figure reported two dead by police gunfire, Nicholas Bordoio and Howard Sperry and 109 injured -- thirty-two by police bullets others had been gassed, clubbed, or hit by flying missiles only a few police officers and bystanders were injured

Early in the evening the first one hundred National Guardsmen arrived in army trucks they began to occupy the waterfront with rifles and bayonets showing during the night the number increased to 2,000 National Guardsmen

Bloody Thursday was reported in the *San Francisco News*: **“Police decided to clear the Embarcadero. The crowd fought back, hurling rocks. In the midst of the fight, smoke began curling up from the two box cars, standing on a sidetrack about a block away. The cars were surrounded by milling, fighting strikers.**

“Fire engines arrived. According to police, strikers hurled rocks at the apparatus. The call went out for tear gas.

“A tear gas squad...swung into action. Flanking them were police with riot guns. Gas pistols popped and grenades flew through the air.

“Men were felled by police clubs. Others ran, cursing and clawing at their eyes, out of the clouds of stinging gas.

“Radio cars sped to the scene. The crowd gave back. Soon it was on the run, radio cars in pursuit. The strikers ran north to Harrison street. Police continued to herd them along. The crowd was driven back to Bryant street from Beale to Main streets, but here it grew menacing again. Rioters hid behind materials intended for the bay bridge and hurled rocks.

“The main battle veered onto Rincon Hill. It started when a gang of 500 men rushed down the Harrison street bridge toward the melee below. They were cursing, hurling rocks. Police said at least one man was firing a revolver.

⁵³ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 159-160.

“The fight raged up the bridge and into the streets. The situation had grown so serious that police were abandoning any attempt to herd the rioters along. The long nightsticks were rising and falling like pistons. When a man went down he stayed there until radio cars had a chance to pick him up....

“The police cars took a terrific beating from stones hurled by rioters. Hardly a machine in the war zone did not have a broken top, smashed window or dented fender.

“Bullets from police revolvers spattered against houses on Rincon Hill, imperiling women and children inside. Police claimed the strikers returned their fire, blamed the wounding of at least one man to the rioter’s guns....”⁵⁴

Bloody Thursday evoked a nationwide protest from union people

California’s governor sent in the National Guard to prevent further violence

SHIPS IN SEATTLE BOUND FOR ALASKA NEED TO BE LOADED

Alaska Steamship Company was concerned business would be lost to government-chartered ships company agreed to demands laid down by the Joint Northwest Strike Committee -- July 5, 1934

by Seattle negotiators Joe Ryan, Jack Bjorklund, and Dave Beck

ships would be loaded in any port where no armed guards were located

Joint Northwest Strike Committee agreed to load Alaskan ships

under the terms of the previous Alaska agreement

it was understood by both sides that no effort would be made to open the Port of Seattle

Tacoma Port Commissioners then authorized use of their docks for Alaska shipping

this new contract ended the Tacoma Citizens’ Emergency Committee campaign

to force open the Port of Tacoma

SAN FRANCISCO LABOR RESPONDS TO “BLOODY THURSDAY”

When the rioting was over, sixty-four union men were injured

two men, Nicholas Bordoio and Howard Sperry, had been killed

Thousand strikers, families and sympathizers took part in a funeral procession -- July 6, 1934

which stretched more than a mile and a half along Market Street

police were completely absent from the scene

International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA) called for a general strike in support of dockworkers

Harry Bridges, president of the San Francisco ILA delivered a fiery speech in support of labor

and established himself as a charismatic rank and file labor leader

ALASKA SHIPS ARE LOADED IN TACOMA

As a result of the Joint Northwest Strike Committee’s victory over Alaska ship owners

four Alaska steamers arrived at the Tacoma piers with union crews -- July 6, 1934

⁵⁴ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 151.

cargo was moved from Seattle to Tacoma for transshipment to Alaska
lines of trucks in front of Tacoma's Pier 2 extended for half a mile
longshoremen from several Pacific Northwest ports traveled to Tacoma
where they were dispatched from the union hall to work the ships
half of the wages earned was paid directly to the men
one-fourth was sent to their local strike committee
and the final fourth went to the Joint Northwest Strike Committee
which sent \$2,000 to the San Pedro strikers, \$300 to San Francisco,
and various amounts to other California locals

PORT OF BELLINGHAM SHIPS LUMBER USING STRIKE BREAKERS

First scab-loaded ship sailed from Bellingham -- July 9, 1934
she was loaded by loggers employed as strike breakers by the mill company
they worked behind a sixteen-foot fence and were protected by special deputies

TACOMA SHOWS ITS SUPPORT FOR THE STRIKE

Meeting in Tacoma sponsored by the Central Labor Council -- July 9, 1934
drew a crowd of 5,000 union supporters to the docks

FUNERAL IS HELD FOR THE DEAD SAN FRANCISCO STRIKERS

Funeral service was conducted for Nicholas Bordois and Howard Sperry -- July 9, 1934
both had been killed in the riots on "Bloody Thursday"
40,000 strikers, families and sympathizers solemnly took part in a funeral procession
that stretched for more than a mile and a half down Market Street
police were absent from the scene
This march had an enormous impact on San Franciscans
talk of a general strike had been promoted by only the most radical workers
now this seemed to be a practical solution to the labor crisis

SPECIAL DEPUTY IS KILLED IN SEATTLE

Pickets stopped Steven S. Watson's car-- July 9, 1934
he was a Smith Cove guard who ventured uptown near the scab hiring hall
his car was overturned and he was hauled out and beaten
As a shot rang out Mr. Watson was fatally wounded
Sheriff Bannick ordered all special deputies to remain on the docks

SEATTLE STRIKE SUPPORTERS RALLY

Rally in support of the strike was held that night at the Seattle Civic Auditorium

3,000 labor supporters demonstrated their approval for the strikers -- July 9, 1934
Headlines in the evening newspapers blamed “Reds” for the death of Steven S. Watson
but a coroner’s jury found that the bullet came from Watson’s own gun
as he tried to draw it during the scuffle

AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO RESOLVE THE SAN FRANCISCO STRIKE

In an effort to resolve the ILA strike, three days of talks were scheduled in San Francisco
by the National Longshoremen’s Board (NLB) -- July 9-[11], 1934

At the first meeting called to order by Chairman Catholic Archbishop Edward Hanna
bargaining positions were reiterated by each side

International Longshoremen’s Association Executive Board member A.H. Peterson pointed out
that the men wanted a coastwide wage scale of \$1.00 an hour straight time and \$1.50 overtime
they wanted work to be distributed evenly and a six hour work day should be instituted

Harry Bridges, spokesman for the San Francisco ILA strike committee, stressed the necessity
of union control of hiring halls to eliminate discrimination and favoritism

Paul Scharrenberg of the maritime unions demanded union recognition, wage increases,
and an end to maritime employer’s fink halls

Thomas Plant, speaking for San Francisco ship owners and waterfront employers emphasized “**A jointly operated hiring hall as provided in the June 16 agreement is fair and gives all that any fair-minded longshoreman can reasonably ask.**”

as for the maritime union, Tom Plant told NLB that “**It is utterly beyond the power [of the Waterfront Employers Union of San Francisco] to settle a controversy involving wages and working conditions of seafaring personnel.**”⁵⁵

A pattern of disagreement soon became apparent to the National Longshoremen’s Board members
attorney Oscar K. Cushing, who defended the employer’s view, was usually in conflict
with Chairman Hanna and Assistant Labor Secretary Edward F. McGrady

WORK CONTINUES ON THE LOW LEVEL GRAND COULEE DAM

Considerable earth-moving began as the two mile long conveyer
was carrying 52,000 cubic yards of material a day -- July 1934
removal of 22,000,000 cubic yards of dirt and rock was required for the dam’s foundation alone
At times the excavated areas would collapse from the massive weight placed on them
landslides became a serious problem as more and more material was excavated from the site
one landslide dumped 1.5 million cubic yards back into the excavation -- July 1934
(slides would be a continuing problem throughout the construction period
forcing the relocation of roads and railroads)
to secure these areas from further movement and continue excavation

⁵⁵ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 147-148.

three-inch diameter pipes were inserted into the mass
these were filled with cold liquid from a refrigeration plant
which froze the earth and secured it so construction could continue

LABOR IN SAN FRANCISCO DEMANDS A GENERAL STRIKE THERE

Dozens of Bay Area unions had voted for a general strike
over the days following “Bloody Thursday”
already 32,000 members of thirteen unions were on strike
(San Francisco Brotherhood of Teamsters voted 1,220 to 271 for a complete walkout [July 12])
San Francisco Central Labor Council met to act on the growing demand for a General Strike
in the Bay City -- Saturday morning July 14, 1934
delegates from 115 unions representing 65,000 of San Francisco’s 75,000 organized workers
attended the meeting
Delegates elected Edward Vandeleur to chair the San Francisco General Strike Committee
George Kidwell of the Bakery Wagon Drivers was unopposed for secretary
From the beginning a clear division represented by the vote for vice chair appeared
radical maritime union members and other militants led by Harry Bridges
wanted to shut down everything
thus causing as much havoc as possible for as long as possible
to bring and bear pressure on employers and generate a pro-union settlement
Clyde W. Deal represented conservative unionists who controlled San Francisco’s Labor Council
they wanted to confine the strike and exempt employers essential customer services
to avoid antagonizing the public
conservatives feared employers would use the General Strike as leverage
to break the unions and thus weaken organized labor
Harry Bridges was defeated for the vice-presidency
and he was smothered as the only maritime representative
to be appointed to the General Strike Committee of twenty-five
even so, Bridges became a spokesperson of San Francisco longshoremen in negotiations
By a vote of 315 to 15 (with 245 additional votes not authorized)
San Francisco’s Central Labor Council **“all Unions that have taken strike action to call out
their members, Monday, July 16th at 8 a.m., and that all other Unions that have not acted be asked
to take action at once.”**⁵⁶

SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE BEGINS

San Francisco General Strike officially began as the city shut down -- 8 a.m. Monday, July 16, 1934
over 30,000 workers went out on strike including teamsters, butchers and laundry workers

⁵⁶ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 174.

twenty-one unions had voted, most of them unanimously, to strike
non-union truck drivers joined the first day
movie theaters and night clubs closed down
food deliveries continued with the permission of the strike committee
but many small businesses closed, posting signs in support of the strikers
(eventually involving around 150,000 workers around the Bay)

It was a peaceful and effective effort although most of the California newspapers editorialized
that the general strike was led by Communists

International Longshoremen's Association Pacific District President Bill Lewis later reported
**"...when these unions went on strike, they (radicals) immediately took over the direction of the
strike to the almost total exclusion of the longshoremen who had very little to say concerning the
policies of the strike."**⁵⁷

even so, the general populace remained sympathetic to the strikers
Calling a general strike had an unexpected result: it gave the General Strike Committee
(whose makeup was far less militant than the longshoremen's strike committee)
effective control over the strike by maritime union members as well as the ILA
union radicals like Harry Bridges did not control the San Francisco General Strike
Reports were received that unions in Portland and Seattle would also begin general strikes

EFFORT TO END THE SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

Federal government's National Longshoremen's Board (NLB)
deplored the San Francisco General Strike

it urged both sides to accept unconditional arbitration -- July 17, 1934

San Francisco Labor Council declared the General Strike would end

after ship owners and employers of the striking maritime workers accepted the terms laid out by
National Longshoremen's Board's Chairman Catholic Archbishop Edward Hanna

However, with the influence of Communist agitators diminished,

San Francisco's General Strike Committee changed its previous position
it now agreed with Chairman Hanna's call for unconditional arbitration

George Kidwell, San Francisco General Strike Committee secretary, introduced a resolution
calling for the governors of the Pacific Coast states and mayors of all the affected cities
to appeal to President Roosevelt to request waterfront employers and unions
agree to unconditional arbitration

at the time over 100,000 people were on strike in the bay area

and another 470,000 unorganized San Francisco workers were indirectly involved

Hearst newspaper chain bellowed: **"There are many thousands of honest, upright, god-fearing,
hard-working union men now part of the so-called general strike."**

⁵⁷ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 174.

“The total of these against the handful of Communistic radicals, who have gotten them into this mess, is so overwhelming as to make us wonder how they have permitted themselves to be led from wise leadership into this revolt against their very selves....

“Communists--an amazingly small number of them--but an amazingly skillful number of them--are in the saddle today.”⁵⁸

SEATTLE RAILROAD UNION BROTHERHOOD REFUSES TO HONOR THE ILA PICKET LINE

Port of Seattle continued to operate by using scabs

Strikers at Seattle’s Smith Cove tried to persuade the four-man union railroad crew to honor the striker’s picket lines

railroad brotherhood train crew hesitated as contracts would be violated and men could be fired if the railroad unions announced they would not honor the picket lines

CLASH AT SEATTLE’S PIER 41

Strikers took the offensive to regain their former location on piers 40 and 41-- morning July 18, 1934
ILA members from Tacoma, Everett, and other Puget Sound ports went to Seattle
all day long the struggle continued to control the Railroad Avenue and Madison railroad crossing
strikers accused the railroads of picking train crews for their long years of service to guarantee obedience to orders

While scabs worked the *President Grant* and a tanker,

1,500 Puget Sound longshoremen and their sympathizers charged Pier 41
police drove them back with clubs and nausea gas

Pickets fought with police at Smith Cove using rocks and clubs

fifty strikers slipped past police lines to the dock near the *President Grant*
they were joined by the bulk of the pickets

a dozen strikers had their heads broken and six gas victims received medical attention at the International Longshoremen’s Association hall nearby

At the foot of Madison Street, fifty pickets attacked eight county deputies who were returning from escorting special deputies to a boat headed for Smith Cove -- July 18, 1934

CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE IN SEATTLE

With the Port of Seattle doing business by using strikebreakers,

Seattle Central Labor Council heard that labor had won a victory at Smith Cove -- July 18, 1934

Seattle Central Labor Council meeting addressed a motion for a General Strike in the city

“they had regained ground that was lost and everything was peaceable now. The reason for this move was to stop freight cars moving.”⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 176.

⁵⁹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 184.

this proposal was tabled thanks in part to Dave Beck and Teamster control of the labor council

ACTIONS OF TACOMA CITY OFFICIALS COME UNDER ATTACK

Labor crisis came to a head in Tacoma -- July 18, 1934

actions of the Tacoma city officials and the state's National Guard [on June 23]

were investigated by the Seattle branch of the American Civil Liberties Union

they issued a report that **“no justification has existed at any time for the extreme measures taken by the Governor of the State in assigning state patrolmen and national guardsmen to Tacoma...not a single arrest has been made by either city or county police authorities in connection with the strike activities...neither city nor county police authorities requested the use of troops.”** (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, [July 18, 1934])

PRESSURE BUILDS ON THE SEATTLE DOCKS

Seattle Police Chief George F. Howard resigned after Mayor Charles Smith went over his head to take personal command of the forces at Pier 41

George H. Comstock was appointed by Mayor Charles Smith to serve as the new chief

Five hundred pickets camped at the entrance to Pier 40 and 41

vowing to prevent trains from moving -- night of July 18, 1934

Three hundred police officers guarded the docks

armed with riot clubs, revolvers, teargas guns, shotguns, submachine guns, and grenades

Strikers attempted to erect a barricade to stop a switch engine from reaching the pier
train proceeded to Smith Cove while police waited

PORTS OF SEATTLE AND PORTLAND, OREGON RECEIVE REINFORCEMENTS

Reinforcements arrived at Seattle's Smith Cove from Aberdeen, Bellingham, Everett, and Tacoma
union members marched military fashion onto the piers -- July 19, 1934

Kelso-Longview International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

was ready to join the strike standing beside Portland

POSTMASTER GENERAL JAMES A. FARLEY THREATENS SHIPPERS

Postmaster General James Farley arrived in San Francisco

to review maritime shipping contracts to carry ocean-going mail

He believed reductions were warranted to cut federal government subsidies to shippers
from \$26 million per year to \$3 million

since all three of the big shipping companies involved in the San Francisco strike

received these subsidies, Farley's threat intimidated the companies

Postmaster General James A. Farley's threat to maritime shipping companies had an impact
shipping company owners were forced to offer settlement terms to labor

or face the loss of huge federal mail subsidies
Waterfront Employers of San Francisco accepted the National Longshoremen's Board proposal
submitted by chairman Archbishop Edward Hanna
which required unconditional arbitration -- July 19, 1934

SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS THE NLB'S PROPOSAL

With the Waterfront Employers of San Francisco having accepted the NLB agreement
imposing unconditional arbitration as the means to resolve labor disputes in the industry
ILA's Pacific District Executive Board recommended ending San Francisco's General Strike
San Francisco General Strike Committee Secretary George Kidwell introduced a resolution **"That
this General Strike Committee...now proposes that upon acceptance by the shipowners, employers
of the striking maritime workers, of the terms of the President's Longshoremen's Board for
settlement of this strike, that this General Strike Committee will accept such a basis for the
immediate termination of the strike."**⁶⁰

Charles Derry of the Typographical Union added an amendment: **"That this General Strike
Committee hereby advises all those unions that are now out on strike out in sympathy with the
maritime workers and longshoremen to immediately resume work, and that we pledge every
resource, moral and financial, for the continued prosecution and the successful termination of the
maritime workers and longshoremen's strike."**⁶¹

After an hour's debate, Denny's amendment was passed
next the resolution as amended was considered by the General Strike Committee
with little discussion the resolution was passed by a narrow vote
over the objections of Committee Chairman Harry Bridges passed 191 to 174
San Francisco's General Strike Committee had agreed to terminate the four days of general strike
meeting was adjourned -- 1:15 p.m. Saturday July 20, 1934

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) LOSES BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT THE ILA

ISU had been involved in the forming of the Joint Marine Strike Committee
these union members steadfastly refused to ship (hire on) through fink halls
International Seamen's Union leaders now saw that longshoremen were ready to return to work
but the ISU members still hoped to win better terms
they wanted guarantees against discrimination

SAN FRANCISCO COMES BACK TO LIFE WHEN THE STRIKE ENDS

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 38-79 members
were called to a special meeting -- evening Saturday July 20, 1934

⁶⁰ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 178.

⁶¹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 178.

Resolution passed by the San Francisco General Strike Committee was read
discussion of the proposal included a description of working conditions
all regular gangs, and those not working in steady gangs, were instructed
to report to the union hall for assignment;
no gang could work more than fifteen hours, including meal breaks, without a rest break;
no gang could work more than forty-eight hours in a week
ILA Local 38-79 members, over the strong objection of Strike Committee Chairman Harry Bridges,
voted to accept unconditional arbitration and end the strike
(however, Harry Bridges was later elevated in San Francisco union leadership
he was elected president of the San Francisco ILA [1935])
San Francisco's General Strike, which had lasted four days, came to an end
but San Francisco's General Strike Committee did not speak for the Pacific Coast
or for the International Longshoremen's Association

SAN FRANCISCO AGREEMENT IS ONLY A RESOLUTION PROCESS -- NOT A RESOLUTION

What had been agreed to in San Francisco was only a dispute resolution process
Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast had proposed unconditional arbitration
as a process to reach settlement
longshoremen had only agreed to use that process to resolve their disputes
with the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast -- not to end their strike
While National Longshoremen's Board pressed ILA locals for a date to end their strike
longshoremen worked frantically to persuade the maritime unions to go back to work
With the San Francisco General Strike at an end
International Longshoremen's Association Joint Northwest Strike Committee met in Seattle
they were determined to remain on strike

PACIFIC COAST STRIKE CONTINUES

With the federal government's National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) agreement
in place in San Francisco
many expected the strike to end within a few days
but confrontations continued along the coast
Seattle scabs worked ten ships at Smith Cove:
• strikers beat scabs and police arrested three of the strikers;
• pickets threw rocks at two tugboats;
• thirty strikers attacked fifteen scabs loading the *Emma Alexander*
at the Pacific Steamship terminal
In Tacoma the Grace liner *Cuzco* had been anchored for over a week
she finally pulled alongside the smelter

when a scab jumped to the dock to make the lines fast, striking seamen beat him severely
ILA pickets rescued the man and put him back aboard the vessel
which moved out into the harbor again -- its cargo untouched

EFFORTS FOCUS ON ENDING THE PACIFIC COAST STRIKE BEYOND SAN FRANCISCO

Union members in San Francisco had conducted and ended a successful four day General Strike
now attention was once more focused on the waterfront conflict along the Pacific coast
Joint Northwest Strike Committee sent twenty-seven delegates
to an ILA Joint Strike Committee meeting in San Francisco -- July 20, 1934
Pacific Northwest was represented by, among others, Paddy Morris of Tacoma,
William Veaux and William Craft of Seattle, Joe Sumption of Olympia
and Ed Krumholz of Grays Harbor

BATTLE AT SEATTLE'S PIER 41

Seattle Mayor Charles Smith ordered pickets driven from Smith Cove -- July 20, 1934
morning's conflict began with police using teargas to disperse 700 strikers

Seattle *P-I* described the confrontation: **“Police gas bomb squads were established at regular intervals along the Garfield Street Bridge, while at particular vantage points snipers were placed with long-range gas guns capable of hurling 37 millimeter gas shells at a distance of 450 feet or more. Behind the bridge the mounted police squad was mobilized to keep the mob out of the railroad yards, while platoons of foot police with riot guns were assembled on the docks at places where they would be least likely to get the effects of their comrades' gas bombs.**

“When everything was in readiness Captains Comstock and Olmstead, accompanied by Sergeant John H. Harrington, began circulating quietly among the mobs on the docks.

“Better get moving,' the officers advised the men. 'If you don't we'll have to move you.'

“One strike leader, who identified himself as a marine fireman, heeded their warning. 'I think the best thing to do is to leave peaceably,' he exhorted his followers. 'We can't do anything against the police.'

“Possibly a hundred strikers heeded his advice and followed him out. But the remaining 600, emboldened by their success two days before, elected to stand their ground. Not knowing that the police had only a small supply of gas equipment on hand at the time of the first battle, they had the impression that they had nothing worse to expect--and they boasted they 'could take it.'

“‘We're ready for your perfume!' one of the strikers jeered, and there was an echo of catcalls.

“‘All right,' one of the officers replied, grim-lipped. 'Let 'em have it.'

“As he spoke the squad stationed farther west on the Garfield Street Bridge went into action, tossing a barrage of gas grenades into the crowd below.

“At first the bombs had no effect. In some instances, when the policemen had not held the grenades long enough before dropping them, the rioters picked them up and hurled them back at

the officers on the bridge. But as the nauseating, blinding fumes spread the fight went out of the mob and they broke and ran.

“Some of the men made for the railroad yards north of the terminals, as had been anticipated, but they were met the mounted squad and more gas bombs, and they headed for Elliott Avenue and safety....

“When the mob tried to make a stand at the east end of the dock the long distance gas bombs went into play. End over end the projectiles hurled, most of them exploding directly over the heads of the strikers and showering them with gas....

“The rioters were bewildered by the long-range bombs. They couldn’t understand where they were coming from and some of them, in terror of the unknown, plunged headlong into the water, to be fished out a few minutes later by their comrades or policemen.”⁶²

Gates were opened and the entire dock was cleared -- by eight o’clock a.m. July 20

trains moved along the dock once again

Police had gassed hundreds, including some of the attackers

six pickets and three officers were hospitalized

a gas bomb hit Sailors’ Union member Olaf Helland in the temple [he died August 6]

battle on Seattle’s waterfront had lasted twenty minutes

Police with submachine guns stood guard at barricades of bales of wool from the terminal

anticipating another attack that did not come

SECRET MEETING IS HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO BY WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS

Shipowners’ Association of the Pacific Coast was made up principally of steamship operators

who represented twenty of forty-two coastal shipping companies employing about 1,200 seamen

Shipowners and newspaper publishers met in private in a San Francisco suburb -- July 20, 1934

after the meeting, newspapers carried feature stories announcing

employers would accept arbitration if the International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA)

also submitted all differences to the government’s National Longshoremen’s Board (NLB)

Shipowners Association also agreed to elections on all vessels to determine union recognition

if a majority of the seamen voted for the same union

STEAMSHIP *PRESIDENT GRANT* LOADS TO SAIL FOR ALASKA

Under the second Alaska Agreement, cargo was loaded aboard the ship by Tacoma longshoremen

but owners could find few sailors to scab as crew members

Saul Haas, collector of customs, refused to clear the *President Grant* for Alaska

because she lacked eleven of the nineteen able seamen required by law -- July 21, 1934

she also listed to starboard because scabs stowed the cargo improperly

⁶² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 184-185.

As reported in a Seattle International Seamen's Union dispatch: "***President Grant*** was supposed to sail on Saturday noon but she got away on Sunday at noon. The Collector of Customs talked over the radio and said that the reason that the ship could not sail was because her crew consisted of high school kids and bindle stiffs [hoboes who carry their own bed roll], and of the eight alleged certificated [Able Bodied Seamen], only three knew the Port side from the Starboard side, and that the ship was in the hands of a decidedly incompetent crew."

Union members noted: "...The coast Guards and the Steamboat Inspectors were all under fire. There were big headlines in the papers here Saturday saying that the liner could not sail because of inexperienced seamen. That made the public realize that the seaman is supposed to be an experienced man and not just anybody the shipowners pickup here and there from schools and skidroads."⁶³

SHIPOWNERS ASSOCIATION MAKES AN OFFER TO THE LONGSHOREMEN

ILA Joint Strike Committee meeting in San Francisco -- July 21, 1934

received an offer from the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast

they proposed unconditional arbitration by the National Longshoremen's Board (NLB)

to resolve the issues in dispute during the strike

and an agreement that both sides be bound by whatever decision was made

terms of the agreement would expire [September 30, 1935]

Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast

informed ILA Pacific District President William (Bill) Lewis

that if the longshoremen accepted their dispute resolution offer

all strikebreakers would have to be removed from the San Francisco docks

and that owners would meet with Maritime labor leaders to work out negotiation schedules

NATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S BOARD (NLB) PRESSURES LONGSHOREMEN TO ACCEPT

Federal government's National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) wanted to get the men back to work

even if it required overlooking all of the various unions' pledges of solidarity made to each other

Award presented by the National Longshoremen's Board set basic wage rates and hour provisions

and provided for the establishment of jointly operated hiring halls

this award was to be binding on all parties until [September 30, 1935]

and was to be automatically renewed from year to year

unless written notice to terminate or modify the Award was given

forty days prior to the expiration date

⁶³ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 186.

National Longshoremen's Board agreed to conduct balloting on the question: **"Will the I.L.A. agree to submit to arbitration by the President's Board the issues in dispute in the Longshoremen's strike, and be bound by the decision of the Board?"**⁶⁴

International Longshoremen's Association Pacific District President Bill Lewis sent a telegram to ILA Pacific District Secretary Jack Bjorklund -- July 21, 1934 instructing that leadership be polled on the question of whether or not to have a vote on submitting all matters in the dispute with employers for arbitration

In notifying the locals, Secretary Bjorklund recommended unions accept the proposal

"We have put up too good a fight and our membership has gone through considerable hardship, and I feel that this governmental board will at least render a decision where by we can retain our organization."⁶⁵

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION VOTES ON ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

In every ILA local on the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association voting began on whether to submit their differences with the employers to the federal government's National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) -- Saturday July 22, 1934

Balloting was conducted by representatives of the NLB

in San Francisco, National Guard permitted longshoremen to patrol the waterfront and pick up members to be taken to the ILA hall to vote

Harry Bridges urged members not to return to work

until longshoremen and seamen had both had gained union hiring halls

ILA PICKET LINES ARE MAINTAINED DURING VOTING

Outside of San Francisco, pickets on the docks remained in place around the clock -- July 23

Strike bulletins warned against rumors and lies in the daily newspapers

Maritime strikers of the International Seamen's Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) faced a major question: if the longshoremen's vote carried

would they return to work before the sailors could reach an agreement maritime union members insisted they would not work through fink halls

National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) insisted that was a matter for arbitration

ILA Joint Strike Committee in San Francisco sent a delegation of ten members to interview the NLB

NLB recommended that voting continue and if the ILA accepted the agreement

they would ask the longshoremen to return to work as soon as possible

maritime union members would have to ship through the fink hall

ILA delegation saw immediately they would be forced to scab the sailor's strike

⁶⁴ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 191.

⁶⁵ Ronald E. Magden, *The Working Longshoreman*. P. 150.

MANY LONGSHOREMEN FEEL THEY ABANDONED THE MARITIME UNION MEMBERS

Many of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) locals stalled their return to work until maritime union members had an opportunity to vote on a proposal

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) President Joe Ryan had disagreed with the strike policy all along

he charged that sailors rode on the ILA's shoulders

ILA Joint Strike Committee replied to President Ryan -- July 24, 1934

“It is the unalterable conviction of the longshoremen of the Northwest that without the aid of the marine crafts, the strike would have been broken within the first two weeks.... The employers can get all the scabs they want for longshore work, but they cannot get sufficient licensed officers and seamen to do them much good unless the organized marine crafts break ranks. They will not break ranks as long as they have the support of the longshoremen. The longshoremen having solicited the help of the marine crafts do not feel that they are riding on our shoulders, as you say, and we are in duty bound to support the marine crafts until a settlement for all can be made....

“While your statement that the marine crafts have not helped the longshoremen in the past is undoubtedly true; it is also true that the longshoremen have not helped them either. We live and learn and hope to profit by our mistakes. We hope and expect that all the striking crafts will return to work at the same time as organized bodies with agreements satisfactory to them, and not as demoralized hungry individuals.

“We hope the above statements will convince you...that the organization of the Pacific Coast Marine Federation is a vital necessity to the workers in the entire industry. With such a federation, we believe strikes would seldom be resorted to, but when strikes are unavoidable, they would be 100% effective.”⁶⁶

ILA SHOWS ITS SOLIDARITY WITH MARITIME UNION MEMBERS

Achieving unconditional arbitration to resolve disputes was a victory for labor
employers' arbitrary powers had been reduced

This achievement encouraged more workers to organize

black longshoremen experienced added gains

they were admitted to the Pacific Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards Union as equal members

unorganized workers flocked to unions -- membership sky rocketed

Unions remained determined to use their newly experienced solidarity to accomplish their goals:

- to achieve union recognition;
- to establish a coastwide agreement;
- to achieve closed-shop hiring halls (union only employment);
- to improve wages, hours and working conditions;

⁶⁶ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 190.

- and to implement the newly-won tools of unconditional arbitration to resolve unpredictable demands in the future

ISU HELD AN ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING IN SEATTLE

Over 2,000 International Seamen's Union (ISU) strikers gathered -- July 26, 1934

as reported in the *Joint Marine Journal*: **“All doubts about the solidarity of the waterfront workers were completely removed. We KNOW now that seamen and longshoremen are SOLIDLY together in one fighting unit that will not be broken. Brothers Paddy Morris, Craft, Bill Veaux, Krumholz and Joe Simpson from the northwest carried this message to the seamen. Then Brother Harry Bridges confirmed the position of the San Francisco Longshoremen and the meeting adjourned with three cheers....”**⁶⁷

ILA VOTE IGNORES THE MARITIME UNIONS AND THEIR STRIKE EFFORTS

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) members voted to end their strike this constituted a big victory for FDR's National Longshoremen's Board (NLB)

it revealed the longshoremen's willingness to settle regardless of the impact on the sailors Communist Party line, in opposition to the voting results, attributed the negative vote to its followers all of the blame for accepting unconditional arbitration a walking away from maritime unions was placed on Communist critics

Communist Party newspapers trumpeted: **“The strike reached its highest point in San Francisco because the influence of the Communist Party in the waterfront unions was strong enough to defeat the reactionary leadership.”**⁶⁸

In fact, unconditional arbitration proved to be a long and arduous process

CONTINUING MARITIME UNION TALKS RESULT IN FRUSTRATION

Arbitration talks between shipping employers and maritime union representatives continued Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast used these negotiation sessions to confuse and divide the unions

sometimes giving in on some points of contention with one union but maintaining a firm stand against the others, sometimes one port would be pitted against other ports, sometimes promises were made with no thought of keeping them

One Maritime Union strike bulletin made the point -- July 27

“The shipowners are playing checkers with us now. They make a phony move -- and then wait for us to make the next move. They have placed an ad in the papers which says, ‘Longshoremen and winchdrivers wanted.’ After promising to fire all scabs before we return to

⁶⁷ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 193-194.

⁶⁸ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 202.

work, they now advertise for more scabs. This, of course, is being done in an attempt to demoralize us.”⁶⁹

SHIPOWNERS MAKE AN OFFER TO THE MARINE UNIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast proposal was identical to the offer

made to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

unconditional arbitration as a method to resolve disputes

terms of the agreement would expire [September 30, 1935]

International Seamen's Union (ISU), its West Coast affiliate the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) and other maritime unions

would hold an election to be conducted by the National Longshoremen's Board (NLB)

to accept or reject unconditional arbitration (the proposed dispute resolution process)

they would agree to be bound by the decision of the National Longshoremen's Board

Ballots to be distributed to maritime union members read: **“By what person, persons, or organizations do you wish to be represented for purposes of collective bargaining with your employer.”**⁷⁰

to be entitled to vote a seaman had to have a discharge from a voyage made after [May 8, 1933]

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) GAINS RECOGNITION

Even before the results of the International Seamen's Union (ISU) balloting could be tabulated

Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast suddenly agreed to recognize the ISU -- July 28

Seamen received several concessions to their demands

increased pay, better living conditions and a three-watch system

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) MEETING TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSAL

ISU held a mass meeting in San Francisco -- late Sunday morning July 28, 1934

this meeting was attended by a delegation from the International Longshoremen's Association

ISU member Stephen Schwartz described the delegation's visit: **“Paddy Morris, I.L.A. official from Tacoma, argued that the general strike had failed, that the dockworkers had been forced to vote for arbitration, and that even removal of the fink halls would be made dependent on arbitration. Although the government had promised to do away with the fink halls pending the arbitrators' decision, the federal authorities had then reversed themselves and declared that the halls could continue to function under the stewardship of a federal representative. ‘The labor unions are tired of the fight.’ said Morris. ‘The return (to work) of the teamsters has weakened our**

⁶⁹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 195.

⁷⁰ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 195.

position.... We don't feel the fight is over--it has just begun. This is merely a truce. The shipowners have lined up all capital on their side, and it is a battle between Labor and Capital."⁷¹

After the longshore delegation left the meeting,
those International Seamen's Union (ISU) members in attendance
considered the proposal offered by the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast
ISU members would be forced to go back to work through the fink halls
with a union observer present during hiring
although it seemed likely the ISU would end their strike
members simply could not agree to a settlement with the hated fink halls intact

COAST WIDE ILA LEADERSHIP SUPPORTS THE PROPOSED TENTATIVE AGREEMENT

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Pacific District Joint Strike Committee
called on all ILA unions to vote to end the strike -- July 28, 1934
by accepting the federal government's National Longshoremen's Board (NLB)
arbitration proposal for returning to work
Representatives of the Masters, Mates and Pilots Union
pleaded in vain to delay the return to work until an agreement could be reached
by the maritime unions

MARITIME UNIONS BEGIN TO VOTE ON THE NLB'S PROPOSAL

Members of the various maritime unions began voting -- July 28, 1934
but only in San Francisco International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) union halls
all other ports were to begin voting the next day
As the balloting started, Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast pointed out
that the use of a single polling place would exclude men currently at sea (scabs) from voting
National Longshoremen's Board decided to keep the polling places open until [October 22]
to enable crews at sea to vote

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION (ILA) VOTES ARE COUNTED

California and Oregon union Locals reported their results -- July 29, 1934:

- San Francisco voted 2,014 for arbitration and 722 against -- 74% favorable;
- San Pedro (Los Angeles) reported an 89% favorable vote for arbitration
thirteen of their members voted while still in jail;
- Oakland reported 302 for and 37 against -- 89% for arbitration;
- Portland announced 96% for arbitration

Portland saw groups of pickets leave their posts and march to vote; then return to picket
In Washington State the ILA Joint Northwest Strike Committee's twenty-seven members

⁷¹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 199.

considered the shipping companies' proposal to accept unconditional arbitration
seventeen of these delegates voted in favor, including:

Seattle which counted 88% in favor of unconditional arbitration;

Tacoma declared 84% for unconditional arbitration (464 favored 87 opposed)

ten of the Joint Northwest Strike Committeemen voted "NO"

four unions, all former Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) strongholds, voted to reject
including Grays Harbor by a vote of 53% opposed

six of the ten "no" votes came from the Communist-dominated ports

including Bellingham and Everett with a vote of 110 to 109 against,

and Raymond (61 for to 37 against -- 62% unfavorable)

Coast wide, the longshoremen voted for unconditional arbitration 6,504 to 1,525 -- 81% favorable

ILA leaders provided the official results of the longshoremen's vote

to maritime union leaders -- noon July 30, 1934

it had been an obvious majority vote to return to work

MARITIME UNIONS STRIKE COMES TO AN END

Another San Francisco International Seamen's Union (ISU) meeting was held

to take an official vote of members to accept the ship owners' proposal -- noon, July 30, 1934

those in attendance voted 4,305 to 509 to endorse unconditional arbitration

and the ship owners' terms to return to work

Andrew Furuseth, head of the International Seamen's Union (ISU), proposed that members

burn their fink books -- the despised gray books which noted their works records

this dramatic action would, at least, destroy the symbol

of the hated practices of intimidation and blacklisting practiced by owners

with the strike over, it was with mixed emotions that members burned their fink cards

What did the maritime unions have to show for their strike?

no union hiring halls, no improved wages and working and living conditions remained the same

but the real gains they made were psychological

they had organized and stuck together thus proving they were willing to strike if necessary

seamen and sailors knew they had strength in unity

this strike was a watershed of their union movement

union recognition, the right to negotiate and to arbitrate grievances had been won

unorganized workers flocked to the maritime unions

LICENSED SHIPS' OFFICERS COULD NOT HOLD OUT ALONE

Masters, Mates, Pilots and Marine Engineers notified the National Longshoremen's Board (NLB)

in a joint statement: **“As other striking unions have declared their intentions of returning to work, and in a sincere desire to continue the unity which has been established during this strike between all the unions.**

“We are pleased to notify you at this time that all licensed personnel of the West Coast have been directed to return to their respective positions on Tuesday, July 31, at 6 a.m., and that the strike now in force will terminate as of that date and time.”⁷²

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN’S ASSOCIATION (ILA) STRIKE IS OVER

Pacific Coast strike was over as men reported to work -- 8:00 a.m. Monday July 31, 1934 after lying dormant for fourteen years the ILA had survived an eighty-three day strike there was nothing for union members to do now but fight to maintain their few gains and wait for a ruling from the National Longshoremen’s Board [delivered October 12] which would be binding on longshoremen, maritime unions and ship owners Strike effort had handed Dave Beck’s Teamsters a rare setback while enhancing the leadership position of Harry Bridges who had chaired the West Coast Joint Strike Committee

SETTLEMENT DID NOT RESOLVE ALL OF THE ISSUES

Amid a steady barrage of complaints from both sides, the National Longshoremen’s Board held hearings in San Francisco, San Pedro, Portland and Seattle employers complained of twenty-one strikes and work stoppages August 1 to [October 12] most of them caused by failure to discharge scabs or reinstate strikers longshoremen and seamen and lodged 448 complaints of discrimination and denial of jobs during that same period of time

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT VISITS THE COLUMBIA RIVER CONSTRUCTION SITES

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, his family, Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes and Washington Governor Clarence D. Martin -- August 3, 1934 visited the Bonneville Dam construction project on the Columbia River from there, they traveled by train through Spokane and on to Ephrata, before continuing in automobiles to Grand Coulee witness construction underway there Roosevelt’s motor caravan route to Grand Coulee was lined with people displaying banners crying, **“We want the high dam”**

Roosevelt and his companions arrived at the low level public works project -- 11:05 a.m. August 3 more than 20,000 people were waiting -- all demanding a high dam be built at Grand Coulee

Eleanor Roosevelt, the president’s wife, looked around and reportedly said **“It was a good salesman who sold this to Franklin.”**

⁷² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 200.

FDR was impressed by the project and its purpose -- and by the public sentiment on display he gave a brief speech which he closed by saying **“I leave here today with the feeling that this work is well undertaken; that we are going ahead with a useful project, and we are going to see it through for the benefit of our country.”**⁷³

supporters of the high dam continued to lobby Roosevelt during his visit to the dam site Along the president’s route back to Ephrata even more signs were in place pleading for support for the high dam and the irrigation project Interior Secretary Ickes recorded in the diary: **“It was perfectly astounding to see so many people in a desert country. Some of them must have driven two or three hundred miles to see and hear the president.”**

(President Roosevelt wrote later, **“When I got to Ephrata, I was committed in my own mind to the high dam.”**)

CONTROVERSY OVER THE HIGH GRAND COULEE DAM CONTINUES

Much of the support for the proposed dam was hesitant for instance, Washington Governor Clarence Martin supported the high dam but he only reluctantly agreed that it should be a federal project However, some support was enthusiastic staunch Public Power advocates helped convince the president to build the high dam State Representative Warren G. Magnuson introduced a bill to divert \$200,000 from the state Unemployment Relief Act fund to the Grand Coulee construction project Opposition to the high dam stiffened

Washington Water Power, a private power company, noted there was already a surplus of Northwest electric power they said money could be better spent on irrigation projects in Eastern Washington other private power interests also tried to kill the high dam *The Washington Post* newspaper called its construction a misuse of federal power *Bellingham Herald* called it a “folly” as there was no industry to use the power Ephrata attorney James O’Sullivan and Wenatchee *Daily World’s* Rufus Woods and their Republican colleagues choked on the idea of a Democratic administration taking over “their” dam as a federal project but they had to accept the inevitable in reality Washington State was not authorized nor could it afford to acquire the land needed to construct the huge project

HIGH GRAND COULEE DAM FITS WITH FDR’S NEW DEAL PROGRAM

Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal policies supported the concept of multiple purpose dams

⁷³ L. Vaughn Downs, *The Mightiest of Them All: Memories of Grand Coulee Dam*, P. 14

dams that generated hydroelectric power and provided water for irrigation and other uses
low level dam at Grand Coulee, which would only produce electricity,
did not fit the pattern, but the high dam did

Roosevelt turned his attention to become a champion of Grand Coulee as a reclamation project
he believed water pumped from the dam's reservoir could be used to open up lands
that could be worked by "thousands" of farmers relocated from other parts of the country
FDR's vision was never fully realized, but Grand Coulee Dam did become
the nation's powerhouse, producing more electricity than any other dam in the United States
(as of 2005, it was eclipsed by only two other dams in the world)

FDR envisioned how the dam would fit into his New Deal under the Public Works Administration:

- high dam's labor intensive project would provide cheap hydroelectric power
for heavy industry and consumers
- it would pay for itself through the sale of electric power
- it would create jobs and farming opportunities
- water for irrigation would bring life to the Eastern Washington desert
- in addition, Roosevelt wanted to keep electricity prices low
by limiting private ownership of utility companies which could charge high prices for energy
and reap huge profits at public expense

FDR, THE MASTER POLITICIAN, FINDS A WAY TO PAY FOR THE HIGH DAM

FDR authorized a high dam at Grand Coulee to replace the already approved low dam -- August 1934
federal government's new master plan called for a multipurpose project
intended to provide hydroelectric power and to provide water for irrigation, recreation,
navigation and flood control

Washington State Columbia Basin Commission had been created
to direct state construction of the Grand Coulee Dam -- low or high
commissioners agreed to the federal takeover after finding they were hamstrung
by state law requirements regulating such an undertaking -- and by their own infighting
after negotiating with the Department of the Interior

Washington State Columbia Basin Commissioners agreed to federal construction
they satisfied themselves with salvaging consultation rights
and permission to keep commission representatives at the construction site

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION TAKES CHARGE OF THE GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT

Soon after work was completed on the low level Grand Coulee Dam
United States Bureau of Reclamation was allowed to proceed with the high dam
Bureau of Reclamation now had to transition the design
and negotiate an altered contract with MWAK Company,

a consortium of three companies (Mason-Walsh-Atkinson Kier) constructing the dam,
new contracts permitted work to begin on a high structure
Proposed high dam (the largest dam in the world at that time)
would be 550 feet tall from its foundation in solid granite
(approximately 350 feet from the downstream river surface to the top of the dam)
it would be 5,223 feet long -- just fifty-seven feet short of a mile
Grand Coulee Dam would be 500 feet thick at the base and thirty feet thick at the top
11.975 million cubic yards of concrete were to be poured
enough to make a pyramid three times the size of the Great Pyramid of Cheops
or a two-lane highway from Seattle to Miami with three foot wide sidewalk
with more than a million cubic yards of concrete left over
electric power generated by the high dam, eight times more than the low dam, would be sold
net revenues from power sales would help to repay the cost of the project
\$63 million was allotted for the federal construction project
it was understood the amount would be repaid

One quarter of all government expenditures on water projects in the nation went to Washington State
millions of dollars were pumped into the state's economy
these immense public works projects on the Columbia River

were a triumph of coordinated, basin-wide planning:

- dams for hydropower and flood control,
- navigation locks and fish ladders,
- high-voltage transmission system that linked the dams to electric utilities,
- distribution grid that brought electricity to rural areas

for a price equal to the cost of its generation and transmission

NOT ALL OF THE EFFECTS OF THE HIGH GRAND COULEE DAM ARE POSITIVE

Upper Columbia River salmon runs had been declining for years
annual spawning needs of migrating salmon and steelhead were ignored above the dam
without a fish ladder Grand Coulee Dam permanently blocked fish migration
and removed a thousand miles of spawning grounds
these fish would be brought to extinction for a distance of 645 river miles above the dam
when additional miles of tributaries where salmon spawned are added into the picture
the number of river miles lost to salmon was nearly doubled
(wild salmon and steelhead are now extinct above the Grand Coulee Dam)

(By largely eliminating native fish above the Okanogan River

Grand Coulee Dam also set the stage for the subsequent decision not to provide for fish passage
at Chief Joseph Dam [built in 1953])

Chinook, Steelhead, Sockeye and Coho salmon

as well as other important species including Lamprey would be unable to spawn
in the reaches of the Upper Columbia Basin)

Bureau of Reclamation knew the impact Grand Coulee Dam would have on salmon and steelhead
steps were taken to compensate for these losses through the construction of hatcheries downriver

GRAND COULEE DAM CONSTRUCTION SITE IS PREPARED TO BUILD A HIGH DAM

To prepare for construction, housing for workers needed to be built
along with four bridges downstream of the dam site (Grand Coulee Bridge still exists today)

Project supervisors arrived at the construction site

Frank A. Banks served as the chief construction engineer,

Bert A. Hall was the chief inspector who would accept the dam from the contractors

Orin G. Patch served as supervisor of the concrete pouring phase

Crews were mainly pulled from Grant, Lincoln, Douglas and Okanogan counties

about 8,800 people who worked on the project received an average of eighty cents an hour

women were only allowed to work at the dorms and the cookhouses

payroll for the dam was the largest in the nation at that time

seventy-seven men died during the construction phase

HOUSING IS CONSTRUCTED FOR CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Bureau of Reclamation provided housing

their administrative building was located at Engineer's Town

placed directly downstream from the construction site on the west side of the river

Mason City with a population of 3,000 was constructed by MWAK opposite Engineer's Town

three -bedroom houses in the city were rented for \$32 a month

Mason City contained a hospital, post office, electricity and other amenities

(MWAK [Mason-Walsh-Atkinson Kier companies] eventually sold Mason City

to the Bureau of Reclamation prior to their contract being completed [1938])

of the two cities, Engineer's City was considered to have the better housing

(Eventually both Mason City and Engineer's Town combined to form the city of Coulee Dam

which was incorporated as an independent city [February 1959])

Several other towns formed around the construction site

Coulee, Elmer City, Delano, Osborne, Grand Coulee Heights, Rim Rock, Government Town,

Basin City and Electric City

another area known as Shack Town did not have reliable access to electricity

or the same amenities as the other towns

City of Grand Coulee (incorporated [1935] supported workers as well

it was located just west of the dam on the plateau

WAREHOUSEMEN ORGANIZE IN SAN FRANCISCO

Warehousemen working near the docks handled cargo brought on and off the ships by longshoremen they were involved in storage, processing and distribution of goods, and sometimes manufacturing Warehouse workers suffered low wages, high level of job insecurity and frequent work speed-ups but the American Federation of Labor (AFL) craft unions never considered organizing these men and women who earned a precarious living in the distribution centers up and down the Pacific Coast After the maritime strike San Francisco Warehousemen's and Cereal Workers Union Local 38-44 reactivated its International Longshoremen's Association charter (inactive since (1923)) they immediately started a vigorous organizing campaign -- August 1934

DIRECT PRIMARY ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN WASHINGTON STATE

Primary Elections are political party elections held to narrow the number of candidates running for office to one candidate from each qualifying political party these selected candidates then face-off for the office in the General Election [in November] Washington State functioned under its [1906] "Direct Primary" Election laws Primary Elections were held on the third Tuesday [in August] only candidates from "major" political parties could participate (those parties that received more than ten percent of the vote for an office in the last General Election) voters received a ballot that listed only candidates for the political party chosen by the voter (for example, the voter could pick from several Fusionist candidates for governor, etc. but Democrat, Republican, or other party candidates would not be listed on the ballot) In the [November] General Election voters made their choice from the candidates of all major political parties or could write in an unnamed candidate

WASHINGTON LIBERALS SEEK A MORE PROGRESSIVE PRIMARY ELECTION

For several years liberals in the state agitated for a more progressive nominating Primary Election to assure more democracy in Washington state politics "Direct Primary" process then in use forced voters to select a political party to get a ballot Washington voters proposed Initiative 2 to change to a "Blanket Primary" process -- August 21, 1934 this would allow: **"all properly registered voters to vote for their choice at any primary election for any candidate for each office, regardless of political affiliation and without a declaration of political faith or adherence on the part of the voter."** this was a call for a "Blanket Primary" election process where the names of all the candidates for all offices for all the parties were listed on one ballot voters may pick one candidate for each office without regard to party affiliation

(with the exception of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates
who are chosen by delegates selected by state conventions
that also write political party platforms)

Under the proposal Washington voters could select from all of the candidates for all parties
listed for each position

Blanket Primary elections are less restrictive for voters

because voters are not limited to selecting from only one political party's candidates
voters could engage in "cross-over" voting or "ticket splitting" during the primary election
where a candidate for one political party could be picked for one office
and a candidate for a different party picked for the next office

U.S. ARMY AIR CORPS WANTS A MULTI-ENGINED BOMBER

Air Corps was looking for a bomber capable of reinforcing

air force bases in Hawaii, Panama and Alaska

requirements were that it would carry a "useful bombload" at an altitude of 10,000 feet

for ten hours with a top speed of at least 200 miles per hour

also desired, but not required, was a range of 2,000 miles and a speed of 250 miles per hour

Competition for the U.S. Army Air Corps contract would be decided by a "fly-off"

at Wright Field in Dayton, Ohio

STONE & WEBSTER INTERURBAN COMPANY COMES UNDER FEDERAL INVESTIGATION

Federal Trade Commission conducted eighty general inquiries or fact-finding investigations
to uncover anti-trust violations

one of the utility companies investigated was Stone & Webster -- 1934

as a result, federal anti-trust regulators pulled the plug on Stone & Webster's national utility cartel

Stone & Webster interurban transportation company was reorganized

under a local board of directors

(Anticipating removal of local streetcar tracks, Stone & Webster finally abandoned

its Seattle-Everett railway on [February 20, 1939])

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BREAKS UP AIRPLANE MANUFACTURERS

Depression gave Boeing's United Air Lines and Transport Corporation

an opportunity to gain control of additional airplane companies and cut the cost of manufacturing

Under the terms of the Air Mail Act Boeing's United Air Lines and Transport Corporation

was broken into divisions

Boeing's passenger service company was not involved in the airmail contract dispute

Seattle-based Boeing Airplane Company emerged with a sole focus on manufacturing

U.S. SENATOR HOMER T. BONE ATTACKS THE BOEING AIRCRAFT COMPANY

Liberal political leader from Washington, Senator Bone was an isolationist -- though not a pacifist he made known his anti-military feelings on the Senate floor --1934,

Boeing was the state's largest employer with 1,000 on its payroll

none-the-less he criticized early manifestations of the military-industrial complex

citing Boeing by name

Consistent with his position on public power and to prevent profiteering

Bone wanted military wares to be produced by government-owned facilities

he charged that Boeing had made sixty-eight percent profit on Navy business

and ninety percent on Army contracts

he also railed against Boeing's new \$25,000-a-year executive hired to lobby for federal business

PAUL TUTMARC BEGINS THE AUDIOVOX MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Paul Tutmarc relocated his shop to the Western Laboratories Building (806 Pine Street in Seattle)⁷⁴

he soon formalized his guitar building enterprise

as the Audiovox Manufacturing Company -- 1934

Audiovox line of electric lap steel guitars earned a remarkable reputation among musicians

Tutmarc next invented the #736 Electronic Bass Fiddle

but he failed to focus on promoting his invention

AN ARBITRATION RULING IS PRESENTED IN THE LONGSHOREMEN'S STRIKE

National Longshoremen's Board (NLB) issued its arbitration ruling -- October 12, 1934

this ruling provided the longshoremen with no great victories:

- West Coast longshore workers gained recognition coast wide from Bellingham to San Diego as members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA);
- shipping industry must work with labor;
- arbitration would settle unresolved labor disputes;
- joint control of hiring halls which would dispatch workers
 - labor picked the dispatchers thus they received control of hiring in fact if not by contract
 - fairness in job descriptions were assured
 - discrimination union longshoremen had previously faced in the hiring halls was eliminated
 - and the disparity of the distribution of power altered in favor of organized labor
- no discrimination against any man for membership or non-membership in a labor union could be used in the reemployment of strikers;
- wages and hours would be arbitrated after the men returned to work
 - settled at 95¢ an hour -- \$1.40 an hour for overtime
 - and a fifty-hour work week of six days

⁷⁴ Peter Blecha, HistoryLink.org, , Essay 7479, September 18, 2005.

however, losses had been suffered by labor also:

ship owners and dock managers gained the power to introduce labor saving devices
and to institute such methods of discharging and loading cargo
as they considered best for the conduct of their businesses

Thomas G. Plant signed for the Washington State ports of Tacoma, Bellingham, Anacortes,
Everett, Olympia, Grays Harbor, Ludlow-Gamble, Port Angeles
and the California port of Los Angeles
along with Portland and other smaller Oregon ports
and the dock companies doing business in those ports

Signing for the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were
Executive Board members J.J. Finnegan and A.H. Peterson

International Longshoremen's Association President Joseph P. (Joe) Ryan refused to sign
Pacific District President William (Bill) Lewis,
Pacific Coast District Joint Strike Committee member Cliff Thurston,
Joint Northwest Strike Committee members William G. Craft, and Ed. Krumholz,
Tacoma Strike Committee Chairman William T. (Paddy) Morris
only the Communist-dominated port of Everett refused to endorse the agreement

SHIPPING OWNERS RETALIATE AGAINST THE ILA AND MARITIME UNIONS

Union victories, compromised as they were, did not deter employers from retaliation
waterfront employers responded with union-smashing tools
spies, strikebreakers, hired gunmen and private arsenals
citizens committees organized to turn public opinion against unions
employers tried to undercut the arbitration results by arguing that the unions violated the terms
shipping companies attempted to regain total control of hiring halls
which the unions, despite an agreement of joint control, had refused to accept

TWO PHILOSOPHIES REGARDING LABOR UNION PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION EMERGE

Surge of unionism among workers reflected the desire to organize for protection
initially, the American Federation of Labor granted federal charters to workers industry-wide
in the mining, automobile, rubber, radio and a few other industries
Within the union movement a debate arose regarding what form of unionism
could best serve unorganized workers
representing hundreds of thousands of potential members in mass production industries
became a critical issue
craft union leaders wanted to divide new members among the existing unions
industrial unionists wanted to organize federal locals within each industry
without regard to the jurisdiction of craft unions

AFL's 1934 Convention was held in San Francisco -- October 1934

delegates proposed a compromise that the AFL would charter new unions
in cement, and aluminum while protecting the rights of craft unions

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) REACHES INTO INDUSTRY FOR MEMBERS

Leadership of the AFL was unable to win strikes in the craft unions of skilled workers

however, three victorious strikes suddenly exploded in the industrial-based unions -- 1934

Minneapolis Teamsters Strike led by the Trotskyist Communist League of America,
West Coast Longshore Strike with some leaders who were members of the Communist Party,
Toledo Auto-Lite Strike led by the American Workers Party

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY ATTACHES SILK CARS TO OTHER TRAINS

Price of silk continued to fall from \$3.56 per pound [1930] to \$1.30 --1934

Great Northern Railway ran no silk trains instead between thirty-five and fifty cars of silk
were attached to the eastbound Empire Builder running to St. Paul

no more did crowds of on-lookers gather to catch a glimpse of a Silk Train as she flashed by

STATE AND REGIONAL ELECTIONS MAINTAIN A DEMOCRATIC HOLD ON GOVERNMENT

Elections were held -- November 6, 1934

Democratic U.S. Senator Clarence C. Dill, who retired from office, decided not to seek reelection

Senator Dill had been under constant attack from private utility companies

such as the Washington Water Power Company that feared federal takeover of their industry

Senator Dill stated, **"...they spread the craziest rumors about me. Water power put up all the
money -- they will never forgive me for the Grand Coulee Dam. It compelled them to lower their
[power] rates."**⁷⁵

Senator Dill was replaced by Democrat Seattle attorney Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach

(who served in the national senate until [December 16, 1940]

when he appointed United States district judge for the eastern district of Washington

he resigned from that position when he was appointed Secretary of Labor

by President Harry S. Truman and served [1945])

State Representative Warren G. Magnuson left the state legislature

as he ran for King County Prosecutor

he was easily elected based on his work as a Seattle legislator -- November 6, 1934

Washington Commonwealth Builders' Inc. (CBI) met with some success for their election efforts
as they delivered voters to the Democratic Party

state senate Democrats increased from twenty-five to thirty-seven

as Republican seats shrank from twenty-one to nine

⁷⁵ Shelby Scates. *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 106.

state House of Representatives increased from seventy to ninety-one
across the aisle seats Republicans fell from twenty-nine to eight

MASON COUNTY PUBLIC UTILITIES DISTRICT (PUD) DELIVERS ELECTRICITY

Public dissatisfaction with corporate monopolies led to the public power movement in the [1920s]
Mason County Public Utilities District (PUD) No. 1 in the Hoodspoint (Hoods Canal) area
became the first PUD in Washington to go into the electricity generating business
when voters approved a proposition -- November 6, 1934
Mason County PUD No. 1 took over the assets of a private rural electric cooperative
power was purchased first from Simpson Logging Company

WASHINGTON'S POLITICS ARE PROGRESSIVE -- EVEN RADICAL

Voters were unwilling, and sometimes unable, to pay for many social measures
as the tax rate in Washington remained low
Voters lowered the property tax
and defeated a state constitutional amendment to implement an income tax -- 1934
(after passing an income tax initiative two years earlier)

PACIFIC DISTRICT ILA ELECTS A NEW SECRETARY

William T. "Paddy" Morris replaced John Bjorklund
as Secretary of the Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
when Bjorklund became Pierce County sheriff -- November 1934
Secretary Morris suggested representatives of four waterfront labor organizations
be invited to meet in San Francisco to plan a West coast wide federation
International Seamen's Union (ISU), Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP),
Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOU)
and Marine Cooks and the Stewards Union were each contacted

UNIONS ENJOY THEIR VICTORIES FOR WORKING PEOPLE

During the months following the 1934 strike the maritime workers had been occupied
with arbitrations, negotiations, and cleaning up the ships and docks
they had achieved a working relationship with all of their employers except the tanker operations
that included union hiring halls

Talk of creating a coast-wide federation of maritime unions becomes serious -- November 1934

"More than any other single event, the maritime workers' victory in 1934 propelled the union upsurge forward among working people on the entire Pacific Coast. In Washington and Oregon the organizing drive among loggers and lumber mill workers gathered momentum. Farther north, British Columbia longshoremen, who had suffered the same exploitation during the open-

shop years as their southern brothers, began to organize. In the San Francisco Bay area the union fever infected men who workers next to the triumphant longshoremen for much lower wages. Packers, warehouse workers, and bargemen organized and demanded better pay and working conditions.”⁷⁶

EMPLOYERS CONCERN REGARDING UNION ORGANIZING ALONG THE COAST INCREASES

During the months following the 1934 strike, employers watched with increasing alarm as Pacific Coast union longshoremen increased their control over the waterfronts
Seattle longshoremen voted that their local attempt to form a Marine Federation -- December 6, 1934 and asked the Pacific District to cooperate in that effort
T. G. Plant (dubbed “tear gas” for his initials), president of the San Francisco Waterfront Employers met with his Seattle counterpart, Frank Foisie, in Seattle -- December 1934
they concluded the employers must unite coastwide
to confront the organizing efforts of the longshoremen

SEATTLE MAYOR CHARLES SMITH TAKES OVER THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

Police Chief George H. Comstock during his five month tenure had not managed the city police force well enough to meet the expectations of the mayor
Mayor Smith, having fired chiefs L.L. Norton, and George F. Howard, now fired Chief Comstock all in a matter of less than eighteen months
Unable to find a candidate to meet his expectations,
Mayor Smith assumed control of the city police -- December 1934

WASHINGTON STATE’S RELIEF EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL

Washington’s relief programs had spent both public and private donations amounting to a total \$46,054,595
Governor Clarence Martin and Director Charles Ernst re-organized the state’s relief agency into the Washington Emergency Relief Administration (WERA) -- 1934

CONSTRUCTION ON GRAND COULEE DAM IS PROGRESSING WELL

There were 7,789 construction workers were on the job site carrying out multiple tasks
two small cofferdams were to be placed parallel to one another along the west and east river bank
these dams did not straddle the width of the river but rather they provided access
to a stable surface along the dry portions of the riverbed
so construction on the ends of the great dam could begin
and drilling into the canyon walls was not required
Work was begun by almost 1,200 men on a cofferdam on the west side of the river -- January 1, 1935

⁷⁶ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 227.

this dam was 2,000 feet long and fifty feet thick and reached 110 feet above the bedrock
(it was completed [early April] -- a parallel east cofferdam was completed [December 1935])

SECOND PHASE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL IS EXPLAINED TO CONGRESS

FDR delivered the second stage of his New Deal

in his Annual Address to Congress -- January 4, 1935

he outlined phase two of the New Deal which established the modern welfare system:

- president insisted the federal government “Blanket Primary” elections
and focus on long-range goals
relief would be left to state and local governments
however, some national works programs would continue to absorb the unemployed;
 - his proposed social reforms including social security for the aged, ill, and unemployed,
a program of slum clearance and better housing;
 - his reform of the tax program was to assure protection for the poor
- chief beneficiaries of the New Deal's second phase were small farmers and laborers

JACK BJORKLUND IS ELECTED SHERIFF OF PIERCE COUNTY

He resigned as Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association Secretary

ILA executive board members appointed William T. “Paddy” Morris to the vacant seat

Paddy Morris continued to push his liberal position and continued to disagree passionately
with more conservative ILA leaders

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE GOES INTO SESSION

Washington State's regular legislative session opened -- January 14, 1935

this legislature included a number of Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) law makers

although not enough to enact the organization's “Production for Use” program

Progressives faced increasing legislative troubles -- many came from Governor Clarence Martin

who became less progressive as his term in office progressed

Governor Martin balked at raising old age pensions to the level desired by many progressives

he increasingly attacked Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal as spendthrift

Martin's politics and attitudes helped raise a potent opposition to progressives

Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) began to seek ways to enlarged its outreach to liberals

UNIONS EXPERIENCE TREMENDOUS GROWTH ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST

More than any other single event, the longshoremen's success in the [1934] strike

propelled a union upsurge along the Pacific Coast

Momentum gathered in Washington and Oregon

as organizing drives among loggers and lumber mill workers proved to be successful

Farther north, British Columbia longshoremen began to organize
they had suffered from the same exploitation as their southern brothers during the open-shop years
when hiring took place in management-run fink halls
In the San Francisco Bay area union fever infected men
who worked next to triumphant longshoremen -- but for much lower wages

MARITIME FEDERATION OF WASHINGTON STATE UNIONS IS PROPOSED

Seattle Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) and other maritime unions proposed an effort be made
to unite the various waterfront unions in the region
Secretary of the Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
William T. "Paddy" Morris drew up a proposed draft constitution for such an organization

SEATTLE MARITIME WORKERS HOLD A CONFERENCE

Seattle sailors, longshoremen Teamsters and other unions gathered together
to discuss mutual concerns -- January 1935
enough interest was generated to warrant proceeding with plans
to attempt to form an organization to represent maritime workers

INDUSTRIES EXPERIENCE LABOR UNREST

Struggles over the rights of organized workers continued in various industries
it was obvious that unions were growing, but no strong coordinated leadership had developed
Several strikes had occurred along the Pacific coast throughout [1934]
some American Federation of Labor (AFL) locals had assisted longshoremen and maritime unions
in their famous coastwide strike of that year creating a close liaison between them

LABOR UNREST IN SEATTLE GIVES HOPE TO WORKERS

Strikes occur only when there is hope
San Juan Fish Company Locals 174 and 353 of Seattle went on strike -- January 16, 1935
company was picketed -- only one shipment, escorted by police, was able to move
two day strike ended in victory for the workers who received a twenty percent wage increase

SEATTLE DRESSMAKERS FEEL THE NEED TO ORGANIZE AGAINST MANAGEMENT

About a thousand Seattle women were employed making housedresses and cotton dresses
these workers, acting on their own, held a meeting -- January 18, 1935
to demonstrate their interest in organizing
this is the first of many labor organizing events sponsored by the dressmakers
Dressmakers were visited by an American Federation of Labor (AFL) organizer
these women decided to establish a union to present their demands to management

Dressmakers Union Local 184 was organized
and was accepted into Seattle's Central Labor Council

PACIFIC COAST INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) DISPUTE

Tanker owners were adamantly opposed to unions on their ships
Pacific Coast ISU represented unlicensed seamen in negotiations
with all tanker companies except Standard Oil
Negotiations to resolve the labor issue began -- January 25, 1935
operators refused preferential hiring of ISU members
although this proposal had previously been agreed to on both the East and West coasts

WASHINGTON STATE COMMUNIST PARTY DEVELOPS POLITICAL STRENGTH

U.S. Communist Party had been small and isolated before the Great Depression
highly disciplined and scornful of other radical groups, the Party attracted a great deal of attention
communists feared events in Europe and especially the changing political climate in Germany
they were adamantly anti-Fascist and strongly pro-New Deal
Communist Party in Washington State was never a mass organization
Party membership in the state rarely exceeded 2,000
but they played a significant role in promoting civil rights activism in the 1930s
as they attempted to follow the political twists of their national Communist Party
uniquely, Washington State's Communist Party in dedicated itself to building a "Popular Front"
by developing relationships with reform organizations
communist members sometimes took leadership roles in emerging labor unions --1935
this involvement reflected an important shift in strategy away from advocating revolution
which was the ultimate goal of their national organization

FEBRUARY SEES AN INCREASE IN LABOR ACTIVITY

Seattle Electrical Workers Local 77 attempted to negotiate wages and working conditions
power company management refused to even acknowledge the union -- February 1, 1935
because they did not believe the union represented the majority of workers
although no documentation proved their assertion
union members called on their friends to refuse to sign any light and power contracts
Retail Clerks Local 174 forced Nordstrom Shoe Store to enter into good faith collective bargaining
negotiations with the Teamsters Union began -- February 1
(when the company failed to comply with the eventual agreement
they were forced to deal with the National Labor Relations Board)
Several Seattle unions conducted meetings to organize and prepare to modify terms
provided under the [1934] National Industrial Recovery Act Section 7(a) -- February 1, 1935

some of the issues discussed included:

- minimum wage structure and level;
- inequities in wages above the minimum wage;
- geographic population distribution and other wage differentials;
- general hour and wage provisions of the code;
- maximum length of the work day;
- protection of the workers in the competition among industries;
- securing re-employment after a strike

PUGET SOUND FEDERATION IS FORMED IN SEATTLE

Seattle longshoremen and sailors, both militant and conservative, met in Seattle -- February 18, 1935 as a result of this meeting, in spite of many difficult unresolved organizational issues,

the Puget Sound Federation was formed to represent local maritime workers

For ten days the delegates wrestled with Paddy Morris' draft constitution

this re-written proposed constitution was sent to the parent organizations

with a call for a founding convention to be held in Seattle [April 15, 1935]

Communist newspaper, *Voice of America* condemned the proposed constitution

because it barred from participation

San Francisco's Communist-backed Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU)

In response to this complaint, Pacific District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

Secretary Paddy Morris suggested that representatives of other organizations be invited to meet in San Francisco to plan a coastwide marine federation

Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) made plans for a convention

BLANKET PRIMARIES BECOME THE LAW IN WASHINGTON

Voters approved Initiative 2 to change to a more open "Blanket Primary" process

Under the state constitution legislators had three options in dealing with Initiative 2:

- they could pass the initiative into law as written,
- they could not act on the initiative and submit it as written to the voters for their approval,
- they could pass alternative language and submit both proposals to the voters for their approval

Washington State Legislature passed Initiative 2 as written -- February 21, 1935

Blanket Primary proposal, became Chapter 26, Laws of 1935

Washington became the only state to give voters complete freedom in Primary Elections

to choose from among all of the candidates for all political parties for all elective offices (except president and vice-president) without regard to party affiliation

Although Primary Elections are elections to choose each political party's candidates for office in Washington political parties played no role

leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties immediately challenged the new law

RADIO COMPETITION DEVELOPS IN THE SEATTLE LISTENING MARKET

Depression was hitting bottom --1935

in Seattle small, daytime-only 100-watt KPCB was one of several struggling radio stations
U.S. Customs Collector Saul Haas shifted his interests to newspapers and radio

Haas, one of the most powerful Democrats in the state, bought out the KPCB shares
of owner Moritz Thomsen's son, Charles, for about \$20,000

Haas friend, Louis K. Lear, president of Green Lake State Bank,

helped bankroll the station and became its president cementing a long friendship with Haas
he welcomed King County Prosecutor Warren G. Magnuson as an investor

both men developed a mutual life-long friendship

Saul Haas took over KPCB and began operating as Queen City Broadcasting Company -- 1935

he started his new radio venture with a couple of ex-KOMO employees

Harold J. "Tubby" Quilliam and Loren Stone

also Jim Hatfield, a recent Washington State University engineering graduate, was involved

Haas petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to change the call letters

from KPCB to KIRO and to switch the frequency from 650 on the AM dial to 710

he wanted a simple, pronounceable, and recognizable word for his new station's call letters

Controversy and rumor dogged the KPCB license transfer,

in those days arguments and rumors fueled the whole radio industry

opportunistic alliances and sometimes bitter family feuds ebbed and flowed

big-ticket lawsuits were common

licenses, turf, extremely valuable network affiliations, or just plain theft wound up in court

KIRO was in competition with the Fisher flour family's KOMO radio station: 1000 on the radio dial

at the time Seattle's National Broadcasting Company (NBC) affiliate

Saul Hass progressively stepped power up from 100 watts to 1,000 watts

WASHINGTON CONGRESSMAN SUPPORTS A NEW MT. OLYMPUS NATIONAL PARK

First Congressional District U.S. Representative Marion Zioncheck of Seattle

spoke out loudly against "bloated capitalists" and "vested interests"

in support of the proposed new Mt. Olympus National Park

Pulp mill owners, foresters from University of Washington and state government officials

charged that park proponents wanted to sacrifice jobs and the fortunes of peninsula residents

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS REMAIN FRUSTRATED

They were fed-up with their meager wages, miserable working conditions and the lack of job security
for a job that was a physically strenuous and often dangerous

Furthermore, the industry was thriving and the majority of workers felt

they deserved more of the wealth they were helping to create
Northwest sawmills, shingle mills and logging camps were seething with discontent
strike talk was prevalent in the logging camps and sawmills of Washington and Oregon
Newspapers and magazines, which depend very heavily on wood products,
followed the activities of timber worker very closely
with almost daily coverage, articles covering strike developments took on a biased tone
depending on point of view of the paper and its reporter

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) REPRESENTS THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

National Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
gave jurisdiction over the semi-skilled and unskilled forest workers
to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
John Hutchinson, president of the AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America,
sent Abraham W. "Abe" Muir an executive board member of UBC J
from San Francisco to Washington State to serve as union district representative
he was accompanied by a number of union organizers

WILDCAT STRIKE IN A TANKER DISPUTE

Without a vote of members Paul Scharrenberg, a leading Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) official
called a "Wildcat" (unauthorized) strike on the tankers
demanding union preference in employment -- March 9, 1935
Taken by surprise, SUP members struck the tanker ships as they arrived in port
(within a few days five tankers lay idle in San Francisco Bay, three at Portland, one at Seattle,
and others at San Diego and Long Beach)
Besides tanker sailors other maritime workers walked off their jobs
Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins appointed a mediation board in an effort to resolve the dispute

WASHINGTON LEGISLATURE PASSES A COMPREHENSIVE TAX BILL

Depression woes deepened in Washington State
legislators launched a massive overhaul of the tax system: the Revenue Act of 1935 -- March 14
under this law the state's principal form of taxation shifted from property taxes
to excise taxation -- a category of taxes that are generally imposed on the selling price
this legislation contained many of the taxes which still forms the basis of our tax system:

- retail sales tax;
- compensating (use) tax;
- business and occupation tax (which replaced the [1933] "B&O" tax);
- public utility tax;
- liquor sales tax;

- cigarette tax

additional taxes were either vetoed by the governor, rule unconstitutional, or repealed:

- stock transfer tax (which was vetoed);
- radio tax (overturned by court decision);
- real estate conveyance tax (incorporated with real estate excise tax in [1987]);
- admissions tax (became a local tax in [1951]);
- fuel oil tax (repealed in [1947]);
- toiletries and medicines tax (which was vetoed);
- store license tax (which was vetoed);
- gift tax (which was vetoed and re-imposed in [1941]);
- corporate income tax (overturned by court decision)

WOMEN PARTICIPATE IN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) MOVEMENT

About a thousand women in Seattle were employed making housedresses and cotton dresses

Dressmakers Union Local 184 attempted to negotiate a working agreement

with the garment manufacturers broke down

Women of Local 184 struck the garment industry and a picket line was put up -- March 15, 1935

there was a great deal of public moral and financial support for the effort by women employees

however, no progress was made in resolving the dispute

MILK WAGON DRIVERS GO ON STRIKE

Arlington Dairy Milk Wagon Drivers became members of Dave Beck's Brotherhood of Teamsters
they protested the refusal of the dairy to pay union scale wages

Seattle Central Labor Council endorsed a strike by Arlington Dairy Milk Wagon Drivers -- March 22

requests to the public to stop purchases of the dairy's products went out

Arlington Dairy requested a court restraining order complaining that the union interfered

with business and should be kept from "molesting the retail trade of Arlington Dairy, Inc."⁷⁷

Some milk from the dairy continued to be delivered by the Golden Rule Dairy and Bakery

but many customers boycotted the Arlington Dairy products

Arlington Dairy requested and received a restraining order in Superior Court

demanding the dairy's drivers cease their activities

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ORGANIZES SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS

Sawmill and timber workers met in a convention in Aberdeen -- March 23, 1935

to form the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW)

Sawmill workers were lumped in with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

⁷⁷ Andie Erhart, The Great Depression in Washington State Labor Events Yearbook: 1935, Civil Rights and Labor History Consortium' University of Washington.

one of the most conservative unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
this made some sort of sense in the AFL's craft-based worldview

but in the real world these two groups had little in common
Surprisingly, the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union convention delegates
approved the action of the AFL without any pronounced objection

they accepted the leadership of District Representative A. W. "Abe" Muir
who had been sent to take charge of the timber industry unions
To assist in recruiting new members, dues for the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW)
was set at 25 cents a month -- one-third of the usual dues paid to the union
since these dues were less than those paid by regular Carpenter members,
lumber workers were given "non-beneficial" status
they were not entitled to all of the retirement, death, and disability benefits
derived from the regular 75-cents Carpenter dues
and were not entitled to vote in the Carpenter conventions

AFL'S SAWMILL AND TIMBER UNION (STW) WORKERS FORM A STRIKE COMMITTEE

STW union members firmly believed that the timber industry could afford to pay more
Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers formed itself into a strike committee
to develop and direct a united strike effort under the leadership
of STW District Representative Abraham W. "Abe" Muir
assistance obtained from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration
and the support of the American Federation of Labor
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, International Longshoremen's Association
and other labor groups gave the timber industry workers unanticipated power
to engage in a prolonged struggle

BREWING INDUSTRY BECOMES ORGANIZED BY LABOR

Beer industry in Washington and Oregon became completely unionized -- March 29, 1935
brewers, distributors and contract haulers employed only union men in good standing
Pacific Northwest was one of only a few industries throughout America to accomplish that feat

ARLINGTON DAIRY STRIKERS WIN A VICTORY IN COURT

Arlington Dairy drivers challenged the court restraining order protecting the dairy
a new ruling noted the union members were breaking no laws by striking
or by being members of organized labor -- March 29, 1935
picketing of the dairy's operations by the striking workers was a protected right
guaranteed to the workers by law

Dairy drivers also experienced added support when customers increasing numbers of customers

refused to purchase or accept any deliveries of the dairy's goods made by non-union workers

NEW WAREHOUSEMEN UNION IN SAN FRANCISCO ATTEMPTS TO GAIN NEW MEMBERS

San Francisco Warehousemen's Local 38-44 was firmly established -- spring 1935

warehousemen moved uptown and began "marching inland" seeking new union memberships

these organizing efforts were brutally opposed by the ILA warehouse employers

and by AFL officials who insisted uptown warehouses, as well as those on the waterfront,

were their exclusive jurisdiction

San Francisco Bay Area employers, police and AFL vigilantes waged pitched battles

against these organizing efforts all through 1935

PUGET SOUND FEDERATION HOLDS ITS CONVENTION

Seattle sailors, longshoremen and other unions met in Seattle -- April 1, 1935

conferees discussed formation of an umbrella organization composed of

longshoremen (which was still East coast dominated), International Seamen's Union (ISU),

Masters, Mates and Pilots, and the West coast Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

in spite of their difficult unresolved issues, the Puget Sound Federation was formed

as a direct result of this meeting

This successful planning session resulted in calling for a convention of maritime employees

TANKER COMPANIES OFFER A SETTLEMENT IN THE SUP DISPUTE

In response to the federal mediation board, tanker shipowners offered a settlement -- April 5, 1935

but it did not contain preferential hiring for Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) members

Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP), the West Coast affiliate of International Seamen's Union (ISU)

rejected the offer

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) GENERATES THEIR STRIKE DEMANDS

Sawmill and Timber Worker Union (STW) members were already on strike in several locations

agitation for better wages and working conditions in the timber industry

were sparked by the successful [1934] coast-wide strike of longshoremen

many American Federation of Labor (AFL) affiliated timber locals

had assisted longshoremen and maritime workers

now it was time to achieve gains for their own industry

After a series of meetings by the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers

a list of demands was drawn up in a working agreement to be presented to the industry:

- that union representation and recognition (closed shop) be in effect

STW would be the sole collective bargaining agency in each plant or camp;

- that the workday be six hours and the work week thirty hours per week;

- that there be a 75¢ hourly minimum wage with overtime and holiday pay provisions;
- that no strikes or lockouts occur during the life of the agreement
until all mediation and conciliation had failed;
- that a system of modified seniority be established;
- that vacations with pay according to length of service be introduced;
- that a base wage be set at seventy-five cents per hour
and proportionate increases for higher classifications be set;
- that thirty days' written notice of desire to terminate the agreement be given

CONGRESS PASSES THE EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS ACT

(Congress had previously authorized [1933] the Public Works Administration (PWA) to supervise construction of roads, schools, hospitals, post offices, bridges, parks and public buildings

Congress now enacted the *Emergency Relief Appropriations Act*

they funded the enterprise with 1.4 Billion dollars which provided work for three million “employables” at the time

however there were an estimated ten million unemployed persons at this time

FDR began to implement the second phase of his New Deal

Congress authorized almost \$5 billion in additional money for immediate relief -- April 8, 1935

RAILROADS ATTEMPT TO COMPETE WITH AUTOMOBILES, BUSES AND AIRPLANES

Union Pacific Railroad introduced streamliner passenger trains

that featured air-conditioned cars and clean-burning internal-combustion locomotives

Union Pacific's *City of Portland* brought several historical innovations to the industry

it was the very first transcontinental streamliner passenger train to operate,

she was the first streamliner passenger train in the Northwest and one of the first in the nation

City of Portland was the first to offer dining and sleeping services

Travel time between Chicago and the Portland, Oregon was reduced from fifty-eight to forty hours

GREYHOUND BUS COMPANY ENJOYS GREAT SUCCESS

Carl Wickman's business, like all others, had suffered during the Great Depression

he had acquired a debt of over \$1 million [1931]

however, with improvement in the economy, the Greyhound Corporation began to prosper

Wickman was able to announce record profits of \$8 million -- 1935

(By the outbreak of World War II the company had 4,750 stations and nearly 10,000 employees

Wickman retired as president of Greyhound Corporation [1946]

he was replaced by his long-time partner, Orville Caesar

Carl Wickman died at the age of sixty-seven [1954])

DUST STORMS SWEEP ACROSS THE MIDWEST

Severe drought continued turning 100,000,000 acres of previously fertile farming land into dust bowls forcing farmers and their families to leave their land

Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, South Dakota and Kansas were hardest hit

Weather in the Dust Bowl again made the national headlines -- April 14, 1935

it was Palm Sunday and the sun came up in a clear sky -- the beginning of a beautiful day

warm and pleasant, a gentle breeze blew lightly out of the southwest

by noon the weather suddenly changed as a violent wind began to blow

birds flew swiftly ahead of it, but not swift enough for the cloud traveling sixty miles per hour a large black cloud appeared on the horizon from the north and the sky grew dark with dust

that day twenty of the worst "Black Blizzards" on record occurred throughout the Dust Bowl causing extensive damage and turning the day to night

witnesses reported that they could not see five feet in front of them at certain points

in the middle of the day people had to use flashlights to get from place to place

temperatures in Oklahoma dropped forty degrees Fahrenheit within an hour

this day was etched in the minds of witnesses as "Black Sunday"

(This storm was followed by another and yet another in rapid succession

(in late [March]) a severe storm lashed Boise City so hard

that many people were stranded for hours

no one dared to leave a store and head for home although it might be less than a block away)

LIVING CONDITIONS BECOME MORE DESPERATE IN THE MIDWEST

It seemed to Midwesterners that wind and dirt had been blowing for an eternity

rain occurred only in conversations or dreams

intensive dirt storms and gale winds mixed with economic depression, sickness and disaster

The year 1935 was a time of extreme hardship as the unusual became the usual

extreme became the normal, and the exception became the routine

but surprisingly, the vast majority of the people stayed on attempting to make a living

SOME DID BECOME DUST BOWL ESCAPEES

Hard times compounded a heritage of attempting to work land that might better have been left in grass Depression, drought, and dust storms

victimized the farmers of the northern and southern Great Plains

they endured Depression for as long as possible in their old homes

finally they had to give up

they attempted to escape the Great Depression by moving to the west

Depression migrants came from Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana, South Dakota and Kansas

about one-half were farmers and the other half were from towns and cities of the region
great majority of them journeyed to the Pacific Northwest -- 1935-[1937]

They, like other migrants before them, were seeking new economic opportunities

unlike the first pioneers they found poverty rather than abundance

most were denied the agricultural opportunities they sought

those who did find farmland had to take it in the cut-over regions formerly covered by forests

first abandoned by lumbermen followed by early farmers who failed

they struggled with poor soil and uncertain markets

Other migrants tried lumber camps and sawmills or whatever the cities could offer work

many went on relief -- others became migrant agricultural workers

AN EFFORT IS MADE TO UNITE MARITIME TRANSPORTATION UNIONS

Acting on the suggestion of Paddy Morris, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

invited the Brotherhood of Teamsters, International Seamen's Union (ISU), Marine Engineers,

Masters, Mates and Pilots, and American Radio Telegraphists to the conference

Teamsters did not choose to attend the planning meeting but three additional unions did attend:

Marine Cooks and Stewards, Ferryboatmen's Union,

and Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Wipers Union (MFOU)

seventeen thousand longshoremen would be joined with seventeen thousand members

of eight seagoing unions

Maritime employees' conference was held in Seattle -- April 15, 1935

E.B. O'Grady of the San Francisco Masters, Mates and Pilots chaired the conference

Roy Pile of the Radio Telegraphists was secretary

pro-Communist labor leader Harry Bridges represented the politically radical

Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

COMMUNIST-RUN NATIONAL LUMBER WORKERS UNION IS DISBANDED

National Lumber Workers Union (NLWU) had been founded under Communist leadership [1929]

radical organizational goals which reflected its Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) base

appealed to the timber industry workers but proved ineffective in dealing with management

Communist led NLWU held a conference in Tacoma -- April 15, 1935

National Lumber Workers Union officially disbanded

its leaders proposed that the entire membership join the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

Sawmill and Timber Workers Union

in an effort to radicalize the union despite the AFL administration

Shortly thereafter a surge of militancy ensued in the Northwest labor scene

James Murphy, an active member of the Communist Party,

and former president of the National Lumber Workers Union

joined the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW)
and began exercising considerable influence in their deliberations
working under cover, Communists contributed to obstructionist tactics
carried out by radical Sawmill and Timber Workers members and longshoremen

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) PROPOSES A WORKING AGREEMENT

Longview union leaders submitted its proposed uniform working agreement
to the management of both Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser companies
Longview union leaders promised that if actual negotiations were started
sufficient time would be given to complete the process before an actual walkout began
Other STW locals throughout the Douglas fir region placed similar demands
in the hands of their employers represented by the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
an Associated Press dispatch from Olympia announced formal demands had been served
to six Olympia lumber and plywood companies
Efforts at labor negotiations by the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union locals were chaotic
some owners refused to negotiate -- other operators did negotiate
some workers awaited the results of negotiations -- others walked off the job before talks began

CONFERENCE TO UNITE MARITIME WORKERS IS HELD

For ten days the delegates wrestled with a constitution to submit to the unions that would participate
longshore leader Harry Bridges chaired the committee that drew up a draft constitution
delegates provided for two full-time officers: president and secretary-treasure
Bridges began to expand his role as a serious player on the West Coast
he merged his seventeen thousand longshoremen
with seventeen thousand members of nine seagoing unions
Disagreements quickly surfaced over who should participate in the federation
most of the non-communists tried to limit the federation to basic crafts engaged in shipping
they strongly hoped the Brotherhood of Teamsters would affiliate
but their leadership adamantly refused
Communist Party members fought fiercely for an expanded membership list
which would include unskilled laborers whose votes they controlled
however, delegates determined the Federation would be an affiliate of the AFL
Harry Bridges proposed a proportional method of representation for voting
based on the number of workers in each union
it was decided to institute a proportional vote:

- one to 250 members, three votes;
- 251-500 members, six votes;
- 501-750 members, eight votes;

- 751-1,000 members ten votes;
- one additional vote for each 250 members to 10,000;
- and one for each 350 above that

seafaring unions, many of whose members might not be available to vote,
received equal voice with shoreside unions

this method of voting would be used by the Federation to determine if and when to strike
but fearing domination by the numerically superior longshoremen,

smaller craft unions insisted on equal representation for each affiliate
and autonomy for each union regarding the right to strike

thus delegates rejected raw numbers of members in a union in favor of recognition
that the interests of key small crafts, such as licensed officers, must be protected

Delegates decided District Councils would be formed

each to select one member for the executive committee:

- Seattle federation became District No. 1 with 8,754 members
- San Francisco federation District No. 2 with 15,456 members
- Columbia River unions organized District No. 3 with 4,252 members
- San Pedro organized District No. 4 with 5,436 members
- the hoped-for District No. 5 composed of British Columbia ports did not materialize

Out of this conference the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) was born

Puget Sound Federation was expanded into the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)
an umbrella organization for the longshoremen and maritime union members

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) IS CREATED

Although radicals provided the drive for the organization,

composition of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) membership was a perpetual issue
several additional shoreside organizations joined the Federation

including warehousemen affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Association
and machinists and other shipyard craft unions

Elected officers for the Marine Federation of the Pacific (MFP) were:

- President Harry Lundeberg from the Seattle Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)
- Vice President Fred W. Feiedl, a rabidly anti-Communist San Pedro Marine Fireman
(he was replaced in [June 1935] when San Pedro police shot him by mistake
Lundeberg appointed William Fischer, ex-Wobbly logger and Portland ILA dispatcher)
- Secretary-Treasurer Fred Kelley of the Marine Engineers

Marine Federation of the Pacific (MFP) was composed of two distinct groups

members who supported the Communist bloc including Harry Bridges
Anti-Communists: including Seattle and Tacoma longshoremen's locals
and the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) headquartered in Seattle

HARRY LUNDEBERG SERVES AS PRESIDENT OF THE MFP

(At the port of Oakland, California Third Mate Harry Lundeberg walked off the SS *James W. Griffiths* in support of the [1934] strike effort

he had left his home in Oslo, Norway at age fourteen and joined the Seamen's Union of Australia for twenty-one years he had crewed on sailing ships and steamers of a variety of flags before he transferred into the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) in Seattle [1923] (he eventually he became an American citizen)

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) member Harry Lundeberg

was chosen president of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

although sailors were a minority in the federation

Lundeberg was strongly supported by San Francisco longshore organizer Harry Bridges at the time Lundeberg was clearly seen as a progressive by left-wing forces some believed the principal Federation organizer and Communist sympathizer Bridges offered his support to gain Lundeberg's allegiance

other critics believed Lundeberg's election was arranged by Bridges

to destroy the International Seamen's Union (ISU) to benefit the Communist Party by driving a wedge between the International Seamen's Union (ISU) and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

at any rate, a long-standing feud between Bridges and Lundeberg was beginning

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC MEMBERSHIP IS DIVERSE

Organizing and unifying affiliated unions and managing the actions of individuals was very difficult

maritime union men were still irritated by the deliberate slowness of shipowners

in living up to their part of the working agreement since the [1934] strike

these frustrations of the rank and file erupted weekly into spontaneous picket lines

at a number of ports and on different ships

perpetual disruptions made it difficult for anyone to get a full weeks' work

any day a union worker could be confronted by some union's picket job

MARINE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) PROVIDES A UNIFIED VOICE

MFP had as its goal a single coastwise maritime contract with a single expiration date

so union members could continue to present their employers with the kind of common front that had proven effective in the [1934] strike

united, these unionists followed the IWW slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all"

this was the ideal that had been championed by former unions

such as the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)

this was not simply a demand for solidarity

it was an acknowledgment that an advance achieved by one sector of the working class could be preserved only if all other sectors were organized -- longshoremen led the way

TENSIONS MOUNT IN THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

In the midst of strike threats and countercharges that men did not want to strike members of the Longview Sawmill and Timber Workers Union decided the issue its members ballots to determine the wishes of the men this vote represented one of the largest organized groups and Longview formerly had been an important center of 4-L activity results overwhelmingly called for a strike provided the demands were not met (by [May 6] Over protests of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners union Representative Abe Muir if the contract proposal was not accepted by the West Coast Lumbermen's Association STW would call for a regional strike to take place [May 6, 1935]

SOME TIMBER WORKERS WALK OFF THE JOB

Preparations for negotiations by the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers were going on in a businesslike manner in many localities, but some men were restless and unwilling to wait for the [May 6] deadline Weeks before the deadline, as negotiations began to break down, lumber workers began leaving the woods and mills

TANKER COMPANIES ISSUE AN UNTIMATUM

Oil companies announced that fifteen of their thirty-two tankers operated on the Pacific Coast using scab crews -- April 16, 1935 An ultimatum was presented to unions that if they did not accept the [April 5] proposal by [April 26] that offer would be withdraw and tankers would be closed to union members Unions reaffirmed their rejection

WEST COAST LUMBERMEN'S ASSOCIATION REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE WITH STW

Employers were very worried about the absorption of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Unions by the AFL's United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and by the organizing efforts of Abe Muir Timber industry employers were not willing to negotiate most of the operators were for riding the storm out by playing a waiting game because of the meager resources of the strikers operators were unwilling to meet wage and other demands constructively they threatened to simply close down the industry and stay closed moreover, operators wanted assurance that there would be no further interruption

from the longshoremen before they agreed to reopen negotiations

INDEPENDENT STRIKES TAKE PLACE IN THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

First actual work stoppage came at Vernonia, Oregon

(where there had been a two week stoppage the year before)

Vernonia loggers of the Clark-Wilson Company voted to strike -- April 19, 1935

although no demands had been presented to management

When Clark-Wilson Company continued to remain in operation

Sawmill and Timber Workers declared fifty union men had been replaced by non-union men

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) SUPPORTS THE TANKER STRIKE

MFP Convention delegates resolved -- April 24, 1935

that if all other means to settle the tanker strike failed the federation would take a strike vote of its 35,000 members

MARINE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC STAKES OUT ITS POSITION ON HIRING HALLS

Maritime Federation of the Pacific Convention declared its vigorous opposition

to the U. S. Maritime Commission's intention to establish government non-union hiring halls to furnish crews for government-subsidized vessels in Seattle

After meeting for twenty-five days, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

closed its Seattle convention -- April 25, 1935

SHIPOWNERS ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE MFP

While the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

did help to stabilize the shipping industry for the employers, they hated the idea of a federation because chaos in the industries' unions was to their advantage

more disruptions on the waterfront made it easier for employers to dominate labor

shipowners feared stabilization and screamed for Washington, D.C. to do something

TIMBER INDUSTRY MAINTAINS ITS OWN COMPANY UNION: THE 4-L

Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumberman (4-L founded in 1917 to supply the Great War)

continued to represent the interests of employers by organizing workers into a company union

Company union leaders complained that: **“part of the Northwest press unwittingly played into the hands of the lumber unionizers ... by giving prominence to a threatened strike in logging camps and sawmills.”**⁷⁸

Publicity made groups which were hesitant about striking alone anxious to go along with the crowd and unprecedented requests came from the men in the woods to be enrolled in the unions

⁷⁸ John Rogers Commons, *Industrial Government (American Labor, from Conspiracy to Collective Bargaining)*. P. 165.

At the same time, high 4-L officials announced the results of a two weeks' survey, claiming that **“90 per cent of the men did not want to strike”**⁷⁹ and emphasized that such a move would produce nothing but hatred and suffering for the employer, employee, and the public
This was the usual 4-L cry, but to the workers only a strike seemed likely to bring beneficial results

MORE SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) “PULLOUTS” TAKE PLACE

Second early walkout occurred at Bellingham when 1,000 men walked off their jobs -- April 26 because of the alleged discharge of union men -- again, no demands had been presented
Other camps and mills were soon closed by local action ahead of the date set for the strike
some declared that this early action was designed to prevent the timber already cut in the woods from being moved to sawmills and shingle mills
Playing a part in the hastening developments was the existence among these workers was the old Industrial Workers of the World (Wobbly) tradition: direct, vigorous action
this was the case elsewhere in the lower Columbia River area
where the men also would not hold back
Communist activists, former members of the National Lumber Workers Union (NLWU), also took part in the direct action against their employers

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE IS CREATED BY CONGRESS

Midwest dust storm of the previous year [1934] had worked their way to the Atlantic Ocean obscuring the sun and leaving a dusty film in their wake
these weather catastrophes convinced Congress
that soil erosion caused by conditions in the Dust Bowl truly did pose a menace to the national welfare
Congress responded by implementing the *Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act* as a division within the Department of Agriculture to promote better use of farmlands by countering the dual threats of soil erosion and agricultural overproduction -- April 27, 1935
As passed, the act stated that its ultimate goal was **“to provide permanently for the control and prevention of soil erosion and thereby to preserve natural resources, control floods, prevent impairment of reservoirs, and maintain the navigability of rivers and harbors, protect public health, public lands and relieve unemployment.”**

to accomplish this proposal the act authorized the secretary of agriculture:

- to survey and research soil erosion and methods for its prevention;
- to carry out preventive measures;
- to cooperate with state agencies or individuals;
- to acquire any lands necessary to carry out the purpose of the act

⁷⁹ John Rogers Commons, *Industrial Government (American Labor, from Conspiracy to Collective Bargaining)*. P. 165.

to limit governmental interference in private actions, the act the landowner's consent
before the secretary could act on private land
and prohibited actions that would interfere with the general production of food and fibers
for ordinary domestic consumption

TIMBER INDUSTRY WORK STOPPAGES ARE CALLED LOCK-OUTS

American Federation of Labor (AFL) union organizer Abe Muir
identified the work stoppages to be lock-out because the timber companies
had brought in non-union workers as replacement employees
Muir focused on the Clark-Wilson and Weyerhaeuser companies
as being industry leading negotiating opportunities
because they were large enough businesses to influence the timber industry
Meanwhile, union members in other camps and mills were walking off the job
even before demands could be represented by the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union

FDR ESTABLISHES THE RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION (RA) TO HELP FARMERS

Resettlement Administration was created to help farm families
relocate and to furnish them with loans -- May 1, 1935
goals for the program included:

- to improve the condition of sharecroppers, tenant farmers or farm laborers
who might become unemployed who had not benefited from the [1933]
Agricultural Adjustment Act;
- to prevent waste by unprofitable farming operations or improper land use;
- to fund projects such as reforestation and flood control

about 4,500 farm families whose land was unproductive because of the extended drought
were relocated to more productive land

Resettlement Administration also resettled destitute families in subsistence homestead areas
and constructed new suburbs for poor city workers

low income city workers were relocated in "Greenbelt Towns"
Greenbelt near Washington D.C.; Greenhills near Cincinnati Ohio;
and Greendale near Milwaukee, Wisconsin

TIMBER INDUSTRY NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE IN SPITE OF WORK STOPPAGES

AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners organizer Abe Muir
spent most of his time conferring with the operators of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
in an effort to establish a solid front -- even if as yet not authorized by the AFL
at the same time, rank and file members of various local unions "pulled out" of mills
Muir apparently tried to break the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers strike

he encouraged the McCormick mills in Port Ludlow and in Oregon to continue operating even though they had granted merely a five-cent raise in pay without real union recognition these mills worked day and night shifts for weeks supplying their own orders and those of other members of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
At one mill near Seattle, non-union workers led chiefly by rank and file longshoremen "pulled out" strikers had to wait days for the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) to send out someone to sign them up for union membership

TIMBER INDUSTRY RELATIONS DECLINE

Things began to move fast as both labor and management sparred for an advantage logging camps and mills were being closed by local action ahead of the [May 6] strike date out on strike were 2,000 mill workers and 1,500 logging camp workers in Washington and 1,775 mill workers and 850 logging camp workers in Oregon -- May 3, 1935
Communist union newspaper *Voice of Action* demanded A. W. "Abe" Muir's resignation in some regions management's Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (4-L) attempted to seize control of timber industry workers

TIMBER MANAGEMENT'S 4-L UNION TRIES TO CANVASS WORKERS ABOUT THE STRIKE

West Coast Lumbermen's Association's Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (4-L) tried to gain control in Everett and Tacoma
4-L leaders advocated a secret ballot to determine the desires of the workers
Everett Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) refused to participate
union members were ordered to turn in any ballot they received to union headquarters
4-L was very strong in Tacoma and the local leaders took the initiative
they sent out a letter and a postcard "ballot" to get an opinion
on the question of returning to work on the basis of the 4-L wage increase -- May 3, 1935
these postcards were to mailed to a special post office box -- postal authorities kept the only key
postcards were to be held until a committee of the 4-L could count them

LABOR ACTIVITIES CONTINUE TO ESCALATE

Seattle Dressmakers Local 184 presented its case before the Regional Labor Board -- May 3, 1935
their effort proved to be successful and a decision was returned favorable for the strikers
however, garment manufacturers refused to accept the proposed working agreement
dressmakers remained on strike
Northwest Brewing Company repeatedly violated the terms of their working agreement
by refusing to pay overtime and adjust back pay claims
after months of unproductive talks the Teamsters Union struck Breweries -- May 3, 1935
picket lines went up at the brewery

Brewery Worker's strike proved to be one of the most violent strikes of the year
Milk Wagon Drivers continued to picket to protest unfair conditions at Arlington Dairy -- May 3
strike-breakers shouted murderous threats and assaults were reported
but there were no immediate consequences for those making the threats

PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT LONGSHOREMEN STAND UP TO THEIR EMPLOYERS

Since the [1934] strike a modified form of the "shape-up system" had been used to hire employees
management hired only workers of their choice and then only for the day
Longshoremen, warehousemen, salmon canning workers and inland boatmen
were involved in organizing the docks along the various port waterfronts -- May 1935
San Francisco longshore organizer Harry Bridges was a militant left-wing radical
who organized work slow-downs to stop the shape-up practices
he also led disputes over the handling of "hot" (non-union) cargo
he was not a just a "Communist bloc" henchman, but a successful consensus builder
who did a great deal to establish the MFP as a broad-based confederation
composed of several diverse marine labor organizations

PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION MEETS

Pacific Coast District longshoremen assembled in convention in Portland -- May 5, 1935
12,000 members were represented by forty-eight local unions
only seventeen of them had been chartered before the [1934] strike
by the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
San Francisco alone had almost one-third of the ILA union membership
Over the objections of the San Francisco delegates, the convention voted to authorize
an executive board to negotiate a new agreement to replace the contract
expiring [September 30, 1935]
they also voted to include checkers and clerks, under separate awards, in the longshore agreement
Pacific Coast District ILA convention delegates addressed deteriorating labor conditions
delegates voted to support the Sawmill and Timber Worker's (STW) strike
and refused to handle "hot" logs and lumber
they also voted that if the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) decided to strike all vessels
longshoremen would then ballot on coastwide support for that strike
Pacific Coast ILA Delegates elected officers for the coming year Office
William (Bill) Lewis was reelected ILA Pacific District President
Lewis of San Francisco Local 38-79 also defeated Harry Bridges of the same local
for the position of district ILA president
Cliff Thurston of Portland was reelected vice-president
as was Tacoma's Paddy Morris for the position of secretary

Pacific Coast District voted to send five delegates to the ILA international convention to be held in New York City in [July]

DAVE BECK EXPANDS THE REACH OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

Brotherhood of Teamsters attempted to organize the Pacific Coast waterfronts

Beck began to incorporate warehousemen and freight handlers into the Teamsters Union in opposition to both the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and Harry Bridges an intense power struggle for the right to represent various workers was under way

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) SUFFERS FROM INTERNAL STRIFE

In Everett, Leo P. Flynn of the Seattle United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners threatened to remove the Charter of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) from the AFL unless it opposed the proposed strike action -- night of May 5 he was escorted from the Everett Labor Temple

NORTHWEST LABOR COUNCIL CALLS FOR A TIMBER INDUSTRY-WIDE STRIKE

Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers strike committee noted that

West Coast Lumbermen's Association had failed to meet the demands of the union when the target date was reached

Eighteen hundred rank and file Sawmill and Timber Workers members and unorganized workers walked off their jobs -- Monday, May 6, 1935

although United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners leaders protested the strike as did STW District Representative to the Northwest Council Abe Muir

because talks were underway at several locations and progress was being made

Pickets took up their posts and the strike got under way in earnest

at the outset of the strike there was earnest hope for a quick resolution and labor peace

At the local level, the strike brought to the surface the divergent interests of workers who were divided by skill level and political orientation

this strike became the pivotal event that united and solidified divisions among timber workers

HOWEVER HOPE FOR LABOR PEACE WAS NOT ENTIRELY GONE

Large Weyerhaeuser and Long-Bell mills continued to operate in Longview -- May 6

as did large McCormick mills at St. Helens, Port Gamble, and Port Ludlow same was true in Aberdeen where a number of mills remained in operation numerous small mills, especially in southern Oregon, were not closed

10,000 men were still on the job by the close of the day but only because

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Executive Board member Abe W. Muir continued to negotiate with the West Coast Lumbermen's Association

STW District Representative Abe Muir hoped to negotiate a uniform working agreement
with the major Longview lumber operators
that could be applied to the entire timber industry in the Pacific Northwest

FEDERAL WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) EMPLOYS MEN

Works Progress Administration (WPA) was the best known of the New Deal programs

Harry Hopkins administered the Works Progress Administration (WPA)

which commenced to function -- May 6, 1935

WPA soon put to work millions of Americans at reasonable wages

projects involved manual labor to build public buildings, schools, airfields, parks and post offices

but many projects involved writers, artists, scholars, musicians, actors and musicians

such as folksinger Woody Guthrie

Federal Theater Project and Federal Art Project were two examples

in Spokane Guy Anderson and Hilda Deutsch were at the federal Arts Center

Carl Morris was the director

in Seattle William Cumming, Paul Horiuchi, Mark Tobey and Morris Graves

received federal subsidies in support of their art

later, Grave's paintings were represented in the Museum of Modern Art in New York

in an exhibition of Works Progress Administration (WPA) artwork [1939]

WPA spent \$11 billion and employed over 8½ million men in over 1,410,000 projects beginning 1935

(agency's name was changed to the Works Projects Administration [1939])

but it will continue to function until its termination [June 30, 1943])

Critics charged that the WPA was inefficient, wasteful and politically corrupt

but it did increase the national purchasing power that generated funds for millions of other jobs

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) STRIKE EXPANDS

Negotiations at Aberdeen were broken off by the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers

between 4,000 and 5,000 additional workers did not report for work -- May 7, 1935

even members affiliated with AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners joined the strike

Without disorder an estimated 15,000 men were on strike

this was slightly less than 50% of the men then employed in the timber industry

in the Douglas fir belt

most sawmills in the state were closed

TIMBER INDUSTRY COMES TO AN AGREEMENT

Negotiations at Longview between STW District Representative Abe Muir

and representatives of management at the Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser companies

resulted in a tentative agreement -- May 9, 1935

subject to ratification by Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) members
Muir's proposed contract provided a base wage of fifty cents an hour, forty-hour work week,
union recognition as the bargaining agent and time and a half for overtime
but not a "closed shop" (only union members hired)

Communist Party members active in the union were dedicated to continuing the strike

Communist union newspaper *Voice of Action* estimated that 30,000 workers were on strike
Voting by union loggers to accept or reject the proposed contract took place -- night May 9, 1935
Muir's contract was rejected by a nine-to-one vote
loggers accused Muir of selling them out and informed sawmill workers of their disgust

WEYERHAEUSER MILL IN LONGVIEW GOES ON STRIKE

Longview STW union leaders and members saw Abe Muir as an outsider who had been sent
by the American Federation of Labor's Carpenters and Joiners Union to direct them
Sawmill workers learned the details of the proposed contract from loggers who had rejected it
Abe Muir's tentative agreement with the Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser managements
was presented to Sawmill and Timber Workers Union members for a ratification vote
about 900 Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser Lumber Company employees in Longview
walked out of a Longview union meeting -- May 10
before they had even cast their votes for the proposal, they went on strike
without bothering to get authorization from their own strike committee

This action was due partly to member restlessness and partly to rumors
but the most important cause of the walkout

was the advance disclosure of the terms of the agreement by loggers
who had voted on the proposed agreement the night before

NORTHWEST BREWING COMPANY ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE UNION TEAMSTERS

Peter Marinoff, president of the Northwest Brewing Company, resisted Teamster efforts
to keep the brewery unionized

Northwest Brewing Company picket Silver Vitro suffered an injury to the knee -- May 10, 1935
from a gunshot fired by an armed guard believed hired as a strikebreaker
this is only the first of many attacks on the brewery's picket lines

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION EXTENDS ELECTRICITY AVAILABILITY

FDR created the *Rural Electrification Administration* by Executive Order -- May 11, 1935
to extend power to the vast majority of rural American farms that still lack electricity
it was to oversee the distribution of financial aid to anticipated public utility districts
it provided low interest, long-term loans for the entire cost
for constructing power plants and electric lines to bring electricity into those areas

where private utility companies had not found it practical to provide service
Distribution of low cost hydroelectric power revolutionized farm life
milking machines, refrigeration units, water pumps for homes, cream separators,
irrigation system pumps for the land, incubators and brooders, fodder choppers,
dairy ventilating fans, bottle washers, and other devices were all made possible
for housewives electric lights and appliances were a great boon

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) COMMUNIST LEADERS STEP FORWARD

Communists took credit for the Longview workers' walking out even before the vote was taken
strength of the Communists at this time, however, should not be overemphasized
Communists, after having stirred slightly in the industry for a number of years,
were actually caught unprepared by the swift movement to vote
which had been implemented by STW District Representative Abe Muir
One key to the situation at Longview was a genuine dislike for Muir's leadership
particularly among the rank and file loggers who did not relish an outsider directing them

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) RECEIVES ANOTHER OFFER

It was estimated that ninety percent of all operations in the Douglas fir region were at a standstill
agents of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association and the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union
conferred once again in another effort to find grounds for a settlement -- May 12, 1935
Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser companies made a second offer to Abe Muir
that covered their Longview plants and logging camps which provided:

- a minimum wage of 55 cents per hour in all pay brackets (5¢ an hour more),
- time-and-a-half for overtime,
- an eight-hour day with a forty-hour week,
- with recognition of the union as the collective bargaining agency
for its members only -- not a closed shop,

this proposal was subject to a vote of the Sawmill and Timber Workers membership
Militant unionists and Communists on the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers
soon referred to this proposal as the "sell-out" or "Muir Compromise"

SECOND VOTE ON A LONGVIEW PROPOSAL IS HELD

Approximately 2,100 Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser Lumber Company
loggers and sawmill workers voted once again in Longview -- May 13, 1935
again they rejected the proposal
Negotiations between the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
and the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union were broken off
This second effort at the Longview negotiation table served only to confirm members' dissatisfaction

with STW District Representative A. W. "Abe" Muir
because of the "sell-out" or "Muir Compromise"
Abe Muir faced even greater opposition
as even non-Communists joined in the attack on his leadership
No effort was made by management to operate the closed plants

ABE MUIR CONTINUES TO ATTEMPT TO REACH A CONTRACT SETTLEMENT

Although constantly under fire, Abe Muir
continued contract talks with the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
this time he represented the local unions of St. Helens, Oregon, Port Gamble, and Port Ludlow
in negotiations with McCormick Lumber Company
a new tentative agreement was reached -- May 16, 1935

BATTLE FOR PUBLIC OPINION BEGINS IN THE STRIKE EFFORTS

Employers blamed strikers for the closure of lumber mills, shingle mills, flour mills
and other Pacific Northwest companies

Local newspapers reported:

- over 1,000 workers idled by the strike in Tacoma;
 - South Bend and Raymond Chamber of Commerce
claimed the strike of 110 longshoremen affected the jobs of 1,500 other workers;
 - Weyerhaeuser closed two sawmills in Everett
and planned to shut down operations in Longview affecting between 2,500 and 3,000 workers;
 - two sawmills at Coos Bay, Oregon closed as did two more in Portland employing 600 men;
 - three Aberdeen sawmills closed throwing nearly 1,000 out of work;
 - five sawmills and one logging camp at Olympia shut down adding 525 men to the jobless army
- Associated Press estimated there were over 5,800 men idled in Washington and Oregon
as an indirect result of the strikes -- May 17, 1935

In fact, some plants were closed because of filled production quotas -- others for lack of orders
also, supposed strike casualties included a lumber mill that shipped almost exclusively by rail
two Tacoma flour mills had shut down for their annual cleaning
as required by insurance companies to prevent dust explosions

Newspapers told of "dire threats" to dynamite piers and punish the families of steamship officials
strikebreakers also were threatened with violence

SEATTLE CAB DRIVERS WALK OFF THE JOB

Company officials refused to honor agreed-to conditions -- the best in the nation:

- working no more than one nine hour shift a day;
- hiring only union drivers;

- drivers must be paid on a weekly basis

Fifty-five Seattle cab drivers struck to protest this failure to meet contract terms -- May 17, 1935

ABE W. MUIR SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATES YET ANOTHER CONTRACT

Employees at Port Gamble, and Port Ludlow voted overwhelmingly to accept the proposed agreement at St. Helens mass picketing by outsiders closed the mill before the vote was taken -- May 19
Abe Muir's leadership was again under attack

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) UNION FACES THREATS FROM THE OUTSIDE

While the union was being torn apart internally, various groups were endeavoring to break the strike
worried farmers threatened to use vigilante tactics

if they were denied ample shipping crates for their ripening berry crop

Oregon Governor Charles Martin threatened to take action to protect individuals
who returned to work in the mills

Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith, as reported in the *Seattle Star*, declared that non-union workers brought in by employers to keep the mills running, **“will be protected from any lawlessness in which (striking millmen's) pickets may engage”**

Seattle Police Chief W.B. Kirtley was informed he and his department would carry out the order

TIMBER INDUSTRY RESUMES CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS

West Coast Lumbermen's Association let A.W. “Abe” Muir know their willingness
to deal with the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW)

provided the membership could follow the laws and policies

of the AFL's United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

Lumber operators also joined with Muir and the AFL officials

to denounce the Communists and left-wingers who encouraged workers
to hold out for their original strike demands

Some radical employee representatives were ready to break off negotiations

but they capitulated when Muir faced them with the alternative of being dropped
by the AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

if they did not accept the offer to negotiate

LUMBER BARON JOHN PHILLIP (J.P.) WEYERHAEUSER'S SON GEORGE IS KIDNAPPED

Nine-year-old George Weyerhaeuser disappeared while on his way home
from Lowell School in Tacoma -- May 24, 1935

Students had been released for lunch earlier than usual but George followed his regular practice
he walked to the nearby Annie Wright Seminary to meet his sister Ann

Weyerhaeuser family chauffeur generally met George and Ann at the Seminary

to drive them home for lunch at noon
on this day George arrived at the seminary ten or fifteen minutes early
so he apparently decided to walk home rather than wait for his sister
following an overgrown path that bordered the Tacoma Lawn Tennis Club grounds
When George emerged onto Borough Road, he encountered two men in a green 1927 Buick sedan
car's passenger exited the vehicle and approached George asking for directions to Stadium Way
suddenly he seized the boy, pulled him into the back seat of the car
and covered him with an old blanket as the automobile sped away

WEYERHAEUSER FAMILY RECEIVES A RANSOME NOTE

When the Weyerhaeuser family realized that George was missing, they searched for him
after a brief search, Tacoma Police was notified of his disappearance
Weyerhaeuser residence was visited by a postal carrier carrying a special delivery letter
addressed "To Whom it May Concern"
this long, typewritten ransom note contained twenty-one points
and gave the family five days to raise \$200,000
in unmarked twenty-, ten-, and five-dollar bills in exchange for the boy
to authenticate the demand, the kidnappers had George sign the back of the envelope
ransom note said the family would be notified regarding the ransom's delivery
and was signed "Egoist"

WEYERHAEUSER KIDNAPPING BECOMES A FEDERAL CASE

Weyerhaeuser kidnapping became a federal case (the first ever) -- May 25
when the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was advised of the kidnapping
it was determined that the Federal Kidnapping Act and a statute that made it a felony
to send extortion threats through the postal service had been violated
more than a dozen FBI agents were sent to Tacoma to investigate leads

WEYERHAEUSER FOLLOWS THE KIDNAPPERS' INSTRUCTIONS

As ordered, two advertisements were published in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* personals column
both indicated the family would comply with the ransom demands -- Saturday May 25, 1935
first read: **"Expect to be ready to come Monday. Answer. Percy Minnie."**
second read: **"Due to publicity beyond our control, please indicate another method of
reaching you. Hurry, relieve anguished mother. Percy Minnie."**

WEYERHAEUSER FAMILY RAISES THE RANSOME MONEY

After the ransom money had been collected, agents compiled the serial numbers of the 20,000 bills
this list was sent to FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C.,

where a ten-page list was prepared -- May 27

it was intended for publication and distribution to post offices, banks, hotels, railway depots and other commercial centers where money was exchanged

U.S. SUPREME COURT STRIKES DOWN PORTIONS OF THE [1933] NIRA ACT

National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) had been passed by Congress [June 16, 1933]

this law authorized the president to regulate industry and permit cartels and monopolies

in an attempt to stimulate economic recovery, and established a public works program

lower federal courts had previously overturned this New Deal legislation as being overreaching

U.S. Supreme Court in *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*

ruled in a 5-4 decision that Title One of the NIRA was unconstitutional -- May 27, 1935

including Section 7(a) which stated that **“employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing”**

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s principal weapon against the Great Depression was lost

Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote the Supreme Court decision

which held the Act violated the U.S. Constitution’s separation of powers demands

NIRA provisions went beyond the power granted to Congress

under the terms of the “Commerce Clause” (Article I, Section 8, Clause 3)

delegation of authority to the executive branch was unconstitutionally overbroad

also, NIRA was unconstitutional because the critical term in the law “fair competition”

was too vague

other justices spoke to the additional areas of concern:

- NIRA endorsed monopolies;
- NIRA lacked support from the business community and thus was doomed to failure;
- NIRA was poorly administered as the law purposefully brought together competing interests (labor and business, big business and small business, etc.)

into a single coalition in an effort to support passage of the legislation,

but these competing interests soon fought one another over the Act’s implementation

Supreme Court’s decision helped make a confused situation in the timber industry still more confused

this action by the court encouraged logging and mill operators while the workers felt weakened

U.S. Supreme Court decision was a major setback to President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal

and the first of many Supreme Court decisions that will go against FDR

Workers in industries who were engaged in interstate commerce

lost their right to organize into a union and to collectively bargain a working agreement

companies were no longer forced to bargain in good faith with union representatives

Labor-Management relations once again was undirected

few industrial leaders mourned the passing of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)

EFFECT OF THE LOSS OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA)

Management vs. labor disputes were very bitter and combative -- working people wanted unions they were willing to strike for union recognition and for workers' demands employers refused to recognize unions as legitimate organizing tools for labor they fought strikers to the bitter end

U.S. Supreme Court ruled the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional [May 27, 1935] cherished (or despised) Section 7(a) had offered a method for workers to secure union recognition it had upheld the right of employees to join labor organizations to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing

WEYERHAEUSER ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT THE KIDNAPPERS OF HIS SON GEORGE

One day before the kidnapper's deadline, J.P. Weyerhaeuser placed another classified ad in the *Seattle P-I*, that read: "We are ready. Percy Minnie." -- May 28

Family members kept the ransom negotiations secret and the press received no further information Law enforcement authorities agreed to refrain from any interference until George was released

U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION AFFECTS SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS STRIKE

When the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) workers' fears about what would happen to them now reached a fever pitch now that federal support for collective bargaining had been set aside it became much easier to convince many workers that more militant, direct action such as that proposed by Communist members, was necessary

Sawmill and Timber Worker Union District Representative Abe Muir

called for a union meeting in Longview where another STW member contract vote would be taken About a thousand men issued an almost unanimous vote in favor of the agreement -- night of May 28 (disregarding the fact a similar offer had been rejected less than two week earlier)

Despite the outcome of the vote, the vast majority of Longview workers remained off the job and there was evidence that industry workers in general would ignore the Longview agreement

J.P. WEYERHAEUSER FAMILY HEARS FROM GEORGE'S KIDNAPPERS

A letter from the kidnappers arrived at the Weyerhaeuser home -- May 29, 1935

they were instructed to register as James Paul Jones at the Ambassador Hotel in Seattle and wait for further contact

also enclosed with the kidnappers' letter was a short note from George stating that he was safe

J.P. Weyerhaeuser followed the instructions

at ten o'clock that night, a taxicab driver delivered another letter to him at the hotel

Once again complying with directions given in the note, Weyerhaeuser drove to a designated point, where he found two sticks driven into the ground with a piece of white cloth attached

there he also found a message directing him to another signal cloth further down the road
but when he reached the second signal cloth he found no message
he waited there for two hours before returning to the hotel

J.P. WEYERHAEUSER RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE CALL

When he answered the telephone at the Ambassador Hotel -- 11:30 a.m. May 30
he was told he had not followed the instructions in the note
George's father assured the caller that he wanted to cooperate but he could not find the last note
Weyerhaeuser was then told that he would be contacted with new instructions
and this would be the last chance to save his son

J.P. WEYERHAEUSER RECEIVES ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS

A male voice affecting a European accent telephoned the Weyerhaeuser home -- 9:45 p.m., May 30
he advised John Phillip to proceed to an address where he would find a note in a tin can
after that, he proceeded from one point to another, following directions he found at each place
On a dirt road off the main highway between Seattle and Tacoma, he found a flag and another note
this one advised him to wait for five minutes with the interior light of his car turned on
and then to go to another white sign on the same road
there he was told him to leave his car and walk back toward Seattle
if the money was in order, George would be released within thirty hours
John Phillip Weyerhaeuser had walked about 100 yards when he heard a loud noise from the bushes
as a man ran out, got in the car and drove away with the \$200,000 ransom money
Weyerhaeuser walked back to the highway and caught a ride to Tacoma to await word

MORE VIOLENCE ON THE TEAMSTER PICKET LINE IN SEATTLE

In a drive-by shooting Seattle Teamster William Usitalo was hit in the head and killed -- May 31
four suspects were sought for murder
charges were filed against Peter Marinoff president of the Northwest Brewing Company

GEORGE WEYERHAEUSER IS RELEASED

George's kidnappers had moved him several times -- traveling as far as Idaho
on two occasions he was placed in a hole in the ground and given two blankets for warmth
His last stay was in a little shack near Issaquah, Washington
there his captors left him on the Issaquah-Hobart Road -- 3:30 a.m. June 1, 1935
with two dirty blankets and a dollar stuffed into his pocket
he was told to wait in a nearby shack for his father to arrive to take him home
it was raining so George started walking down the road
six miles later, he wandered onto Louis P. Bonifas' farm and announced his identity

Mrs. Willena Bonifas took George into the house, gave him an opportunity to wash,
fed him breakfast and gave him clean clothes and a pair of dry shoes and socks to wear
Bonifas family drove him toward Tacoma in their old Model-T car
they stopped in Renton at a gas station

they asked the attendant to telephone the Weyerhaeuser residence, but there was no answer
finally Bonifas called the Tacoma Police Department, to tell them George was safe
and he was driving him to Tacoma

John H. Dreher, a sports writer for *The Seattle Times*, was in Tacoma covering the kidnapping story
he received a tip from Tacoma police that George Weyerhaeuser had been released near Issaquah
and was being driven home

on a hunch, he hired a taxicab at the Hotel Winthrop and headed toward Renton

Dreher managed to intercept Bonifas's car on the Pacific Highway
approximately eighteen miles north of Tacoma

Dreher gave Bonifas the impression he was a police officer

he persuaded the farmer, with the help of a \$5 bill, to relinquish custody of the boy

JOHN H. DREHER HUSTLED GEORGE INTO HIS TAXI

As they headed toward Tacoma they stayed with back roads to avoid police cars and the press

George crouched on the back seat, below window level as Dreher sat on the rear floor
interviewing the boy and taking copious notes

George said had been treated reasonably well

but there had been some uncomfortable moments

he was kept on the floor of the kidnapper's car with a blanket over him

later he was placed in the trunk as the car was stopped at roadblocks

for a time he was chained in a hole in the ground warmed only by a kerosene lantern

he was taken into the woods, blindfolded, and was forced to walk on logs over creeks

he was certain he was to be dropped into the water

Dreher's taxi arrived at the Weyerhaeuser home and drove into the garage -- about 7:45 a.m. June 1

George unceremoniously disappeared into the house

Dreher quickly returned to the Hotel Winthrop to write an exclusive interview

with "the world's most famous kidnap victim," which ran copyrighted

on the front page of *The Seattle Times* "Extra" editions

before being sent out nationwide by The Associated Press

GEORGE WEYERHAEUSER KIDNAPPERS ARE CAUGHT

Within seven days, Harmon Metz Waley, age 23, and his wife Margaret Eldora Thulin, age 19,
were arrested in Salt Lake City passing the marked money

They confessed to the crime and identified ex-convict William Dainard, age 33,

as the “brains” behind the kidnapping
Harmon pleaded guilty and ultimately was sentenced to forty-five years in Federal prison
Margaret went to trial and was found guilty -- she received a twenty-year sentence
(After being on the run for a year Dainard (alias William Mahan) was captured in San Francisco
he was returned to Tacoma where he pleaded guilty to kidnapping charges
he was sentenced to sixty years in federal prison)
(One other accomplice, ex-convict Edward Fliss, was identified
he was arrested in San Francisco while exchanging ransom bills
he pleaded guilty to helping Dainard launder ransom money
and was ultimately sentenced to ten years imprisonment -- where he later died)
George Weyerhaeuser kidnapping was one of the most sensational crimes in Washington state history
(Harmon Metz Waley was the last of the kidnapers to be released from custody
he was paroled from the United States Penitentiary at McNeil Island [June 3, 1963]
Waley had written to his victim from prison on several occasions, apologizing for his actions
when he was released, he asked George Weyerhaeuser for a job
in an uncommon demonstration of compassion Weyerhaeuser
found a job for him at one of his Oregon plants)
George Weyerhaeuser’s parents wisely refused to isolate or overprotect young George
he ultimately became the Chairman of the Board for the Weyerhaeuser Company

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS BECOME MORE RADICAL

Drastic reductions to the original demands of the Sawmill and Timber Workers
that Abe Muir’s most recent agreement offered permitted radicals
to once again charge Muir and the American Federation of Labor with a sellout
Following the Supreme Court NIRA decision Abe Muir consulted with state labor officials
regarding how to end the Longview strike
it was decided a ballot was inadvisable because of the previous experience there
and the lack of discipline among the strikers
U.S. Supreme Court’s invalidation of the NIRA encouraged most timber operators
to play a waiting game until the Sawmill and Timber Union members cracked
this position, however, played into the hands of Communists and left-wing union leaders
at a time when it would have been relatively easy to establish
a more-or-less uniform industry-wide settlement with the more conservative unionists
militant unionists’ hand was strengthened
now that government support of collective bargaining seemed to have been laid aside
dissension in the union was increased
it was easy to convince many workers that more militant, direct action was necessary

COMMUNISTS CLAIM SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) LEADERSHIP

Left-wing influences in the STW became more vocal and assumed a more open and active role
Communists announced their claim to leadership of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union
this was an exaggeration

but they actually were assuming a far more important role than ever before
It is impossible to tell how strong the Communists really were
in Everett, one of the centers of "radicalism"

it was the opinion of the usually well-informed editor of the *Everett News*
that less than two per cent of all the 3,000 strikers were Communists
other centers of Communist strength were located in Olympia and Grays Harbor
Wherever possible the Communists did everything they could
to discredit the American Federation of Labor (AFL) leadership of the STW
Many believed Communists were more concerned with keeping the dispute alive
than in securing a reasonable settlement

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) LEADERSHIP IS SHATTERED

Struggle between various radical and conservative factions of the STW grew more intense each day
violence flared up -- June 3, 1935

when two officers of the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers
(STW strike committee) were beaten by an unknown body of men
who threatened the same treatment to A.W. "Abe" Muir and other union officials

LONGSHORE DISPUTE ERRUPTS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

British Columbia Shipping Federation locked out the Vancouver longshoremen -- June 4, 1935
for refusing to handle cargoes of paper loaded by scabs at Powell River, B.C.
employers' preparations before the lookout indicated they planned to destroy the union
Refusing to go back to work in a management imposed open shop, the B.C. longshoremen struck
other Canadian seamen joined them

When the *Point Clear* docked at Powell River to load,
union engineers refused to provide steam to power the ship a scab engineer furnished the steam,
and the vessel proceeded to San Francisco with its "Hot Cargo"
(unfair cargo that has been delivered by scabs)

TACOMA 4-L UNION VOTES ON A PROPOSED CONTRACT

Postcards had been sent by West Coast Lumbermen's Association Tacoma 4-L union leaders
to 1,752 workers at nine Tacoma sawmill, plywood, and door plants
who were certified to be on the [May 3] employment lists
these postcards had been return addressed to a special post office mailbox

whose key was in the hands of postal authorities
Ballot committee composed of Tacoma Mayor George Smitely, Reverend E. M. Hegge,
and Reverend Sidney James retrieved the key from postal authorities
they took the ballots out to count them -- June 4, 1935
Of the 1,752 ballots mailed out, 1,068 (sixty-one percent) were returned
of these, four were rejected as invalid and 925 (eighty-seven percent) favored ending the strike
in accordance with the terms specified by 4-L leaders
Although widely heralded as a seven-to-one verdict for a return to work
Communist leaders countered the 4-L argument
of the 3,369 men employed [on May 3] this represented the hope of only twenty-seven percent
Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) officials claimed the balloting was not fair
that men who had not been on the payroll for eight years had received ballots
West Coast Lumbermen's Association insisted that the payroll lists were correct

RADICAL LEADERS OF THE SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) UNION MEET

Management and labor disputes were very bitter and combative
unauthorized strikes were long and brutal
Working people wanted union representation
they were willing to strike for recognition and to achieve their demands
Employers refused to recognize unions as representatives of their employees
they fought strikers to the bitter end using security guards, police and the National Guardsmen
It was apparent to everyone that A.W. "Abe" Muir was unwilling to lead a strike
that upheld the original demands of the union -- especially after he had accepted
two compromises' offers from the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
Two hundred forty insurgent anti-Muir delegates
met in a "rump" conference in Aberdeen -- June 5, 1935
Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Shelton, Olympia and Grays Harbor locals sent delegates
Grays Harbor members belonged to the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW)
and the defunct Communist-led National Lumber Workers Union (NLWU)
their purpose was to wrestle control of the strike policy
from the hands of American Federation of Labor's STW District Representative Abe Muir
These radical delegates voted to renew their original strike demands
they adopted a resolution urging the removal of Abe Muir as union spokesman
this resolution was sent to Bill Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters and Joiners Union
and president of the American Federation of Labor William Green
delegates also voted to form their own Northwest Joint Strike Committee
to open new negotiations with the lumber operators
STW leader Abe Muir lost no time in declaring the meeting an unauthorized gathering

he noted it had been called at the instigation of “Communists and other radical groups”

RADICAL INSURGENT LEADERS ATTEMPT TO DOMINATE THE STW

Communist and former Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) STW members implemented the decisions reached during the Aberdeen “rump” conference left-wing Northwest Joint Strike Committee opened their office in Everett and wrote their own demands to be presented to the West Coast Lumbermen’s Association union locals in nearly every important lumber center in the Pacific Northwest with the exception of Bellingham and Seattle were affiliated with this committee

Northwest Joint Strike Committee went back to the original union demands:

- union representation and recognition (closed shop) be in effect
STW would be the sole collective bargaining agency in each plant or camp;
- six hours workday and a thirty-hour work week;
- base wage be set at seventy-five cents per hour at 75¢-an-hour and proportionate increases for higher classifications be set with overtime and holiday pay provisions;
- no strikes or lockouts would occur during the life of the agreement until all mediation and conciliation had failed;
- modified seniority system would be established for hiring a job selection;
- vacations with pay according to length of service would be introduced;
- thirty days’ written notice of any desire to terminate the agreement must be given
- rank and file vote on any settlement must be supervised by the Northwest Joint Strike Committee

LEADERSHIP OF THE SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION REMAINS IN DISPUTE

AFL-affiliated strike committee, the Northwest Council of the Sawmill and Timber Workers, led by Abe Muir met in Longview to discuss how to eliminate opposing leadership of the STW directed by the radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee Muir’s strike committee had no doubt a showdown over control of union policy would take place Tacoma STW Local President Norman Lange who also served as vice-president of the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers (AFL strike committee), with having caused rejection of the Longview agreements Muir, using his “authority,” removed the insurgent leader from office

STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE STW CONTINUES

Control of union policy inside the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) was in dispute American Federation of Labor’s Carpenters and Joiners claimed Abe W. Muir was the leader local Sawmill and Timber Workers insurgent members fanned by Communist members claimed Northwest Joint Strike Committee control over STW policies

Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) District Representative Abe Muir realized that confrontation with the newly-formed Northwest Joint Strike Committee threatened the future of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union Abe Muir issued statements calling the Northwest Joint Strike Committee a dual organization dominated by “Reds”

TACOMA’S STW MEMBERS REACT TO THEIR PRESIDENT’S FIRING

Norman Lange’s firing by Abe Muir forced Tacoma into a position of either repudiating its president or facing expulsion from the AFL’s Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) Enraged Tacoma’s Sawmill and Timber Workers rank and file voted to support their president this added more heat to the conflict

ABE MUIR’S STRIKE COMMITTEE IS DIVIDED

Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers (AFL strike committee) members questioned bitterly whether or not Abe Muir had the authority to remove Tacoma STW President and Northwest Council vice-president Norman Lange from office When Abe Muir appeared at the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers meeting he emphasized the authority of the American Federation of Labor to expel individuals or locals and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners’ power to withhold assistance Muir prevailed in the struggle as conservative leadership maintained control over the strike committee Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers acted to replace Lange

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) NOT UNIFIED

Widespread split in the Sawmill and Timber Union (STW) ranks deepened larger units such as those in Bellingham and Port Ludlow, Washington, and Coos Bay, Oregon remained loyal to Abe Muir more conservative strike leaders in some small Locals were willing to go along with his stand powerful and conservative locals in Raymond and Portland were also his consistent supporters However, many union Locals continued to reject Abe Muir’s leadership radical insurgents continued their dominance over many of the individual local affiliates it was the Communists who took control of the strike and set it on a course that would lead to a break with the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

FIGHT TO CONTROL THE SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) CONTINUES

An insurgent group at Longview accepted the actions of the radical “rump” Aberdeen Convention and succeeded in preventing Longview employees from going to work they re-closed the mills by massing a huge throng of pickets -- June 6, 1935 from this date on Abe Muir’s chief fight was directed

against the radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee
as his job and salary were threatened by them

While these events were transpiring

manage-dominated 4-L Union was trying to gain control of the situation at Everett and Tacoma
by enforcing the ballot results of the questionable polling of Tacoma mill workers
many Tacoma Sawmill and Timber Workers Union members
had refused to participate in the West Coast Lumbermen's Association 4-L effort

COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF THE SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) UNION

Communists placed Party members on the picket lines whenever possible

they distributed leaflets to persuade union members

to support the radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee and the original union demands

Almost every night and on weekends Northwest Joint Strike Committee members met

to discuss strategy and to establish the evening's "roving committee"

roving committees were special groups within the larger Northwest Joint Strike Committee

they were charged with the responsibility of bolstering picket line discipline

and preventing a back-to-work movement

under cover of night, carloads of men moved into mill towns

from Portland to Aberdeen and north to Everett

with only a few mimeograph machines and little access to radio

it was imperative that the roving strikers meet with other rank and filers

to combat Abe Muir's steady stream of "compromise propaganda"

SAWMILL OPERATORS GO AHEAD WITH PLANS TO OPEN THE MILLS

Attempts to open the sawmills in various places created a tense situation

because only a few of the operators had entered into negotiated agreements

Violence occurred where mills opened without the sanction of union leaders

additional violence seemed certain as preparations were made to open additional mills

Both Governor Clarence Martin of Washington and Governor Charles Martin of Oregon

guaranteed state protection to men who returned to work

Tension on both sides of the strike leaped to an even higher level

COMMONWEALTH BUILDERS, INC. PUSH THEIR POLITICAL AGENDA

Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI), wished to push the state Democratic Party to the liberal "Left"

they sought to expand their progressive base in representing the working class

and pushing for large-scale political and social reforms

Commonwealth Builders, Inc. reorganized to develop a statewide employment campaign -- 1935

based on the Utopian ideas of popular author and California governor candidate Upton Sinclair

which centered on the notion of “production for use” instead of “production for profit”
similar to Upton Sinclair’s “EPIC” movement in California
Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) proposed socialist remedies to economic woes:
government ownership of banks, utilities, and natural resources
their program called for large-scale government intervention in the economy
designed primarily to aid the unemployed and the elderly
Both the Commonwealth Builders, Inc. and Upton Sinclair pledged to end poverty
by having the state take over idle farms and factories
and turn them into cooperatives of the unemployed
Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) drew its strength from labor unions
organized labor became politically active in the Democratic Party
they recruited candidates and delivered voters to the party

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION REPRESENTS PROGRESSIVE AGENDA

Washington Commonwealth Federation was established in Seattle -- June 8, 1935
it had been organized to implement a political agenda of reform
that extended beyond Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal
WCF was a loose coalition of liberals and radical left-wing Democrats
members included the State Grange, farmers, trade unionists, liberal Democratic Party Clubs,
Liberty Party members, United Producers, Socialists, Continental Committee Technocrats,
reformers and organized labor
Cyrus Woodward served as president of the Washington Commonwealth Federation
Communist Party organizer Howard Costigan was executive secretary
WCF’s goals included protecting labor rights and providing support for unions,
enhancing social programs, supporting farm policy improvements, consumer protection,
old age pensions, public health and housing for the poor

COMMONWEALTH BUILDERS, INC. CHOOSES TO BE ABSORBED

Communists recognized the Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) in Washington State
would be a strong ally for carrying out anti-fascist collaboration
at the motivation of Communist organizers Morris Raport and Howard Costigan
Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) was absorbed
into the Washington Commonwealth Federation
WCF quickly proved to be a more effective delegate body than the Commonwealth Builders, Inc.
Communist leadership was critical to the formation of the WCF
but it was never a front for Stalin’s doctrine -- rather it was anti-Fascist and pro-New Deal
(Over the next ten years the WCF was instrumental in the passage of important social policy
for Washington residents)

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION SPEAKS FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

WCF with the addition of the Commonwealth Builders, Inc. (CBI) was an organization composed of radical left-wing Democrats
its goals included protecting labor rights and providing support for unions,
enhancing social programs, supporting farm policy improvements, consumer protection,
old age pensions, public health and housing for the poor
WCF was a force in Washington Democratic politics [until 1944]
its strengths were composed of its energy and its appeal for change
its weaknesses lied in its diversity of beliefs and its radical components
WCF welcomed all apostles of change
ranging from public power advocates to old age pensioners to communists

STATE REPUBLICANS EXPLOIT THE TENSIONS AMONG DEMOCRATIC PARTY FACTONS

With so many partisan factions and elected officials active in the State Democratic Party various attitudes and ideas, approaches and goals, core beliefs and expectations inevitably clashed
Will Rogers, the noted comic of the Great Depression, was alleged to have said:
“I don't belong to an organized political party. I'm a Democrat.”
No one was better at exploiting these clashes than Republican Arthur Langlie,
he got his start in politics with the conservative group “New Order of Cincinnatus”
that pledged to lower taxes and promote moral uplift
Langlie was elected to the Seattle City Council --1935
(with the Order's backing, Langlie became Seattle's mayor [1938]
in a complicated three-way race)
(Langlie capitalized again on Democratic divisions
he narrowly won election as state governor [1940]
politically adept, the moderate Langlie proved receptive to some reform measures
he worked well the Roosevelt Administration during his four year term)

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) STRIKERS ARE DISRUPTED AT TWO LOCATIONS

State police at Whites, Washington ordered STW pickets to keep clear
of the White Star Lumber Company's mills -- June 10, 1935
these pickets disbanded
Violence occurred at Bellingham as a strong-arm gang from Seattle challenged the picket lines
after engaging in a fight the intruders were incarcerated in the county jail -- June 10
arrested men included the head of a strikebreaking agency and four associates
who implicated the management of the Bloedell-Donovan Company
while denying responsibility, the Bellingham company

agreed to proceed with negotiations with its workers

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) BARGAINING IN BELLINGHAM

Negotiations were opened with the Bloedell-Donovan Company, third largest producer in the region
Pat Keily, of the Washington State Department of Labor and Industries,
and Commissioner Marsh acting as intermediaries

An agreement was reached -- June 14, 1935

tentative agreement that recognized the Bellingham local of the STW

as the union collective bargaining agency was presented at a mass union meeting
union members voted decisively in favor of the agreement -- subsequently the mill opened

At other places mills resumed work or prepared to open

one former 4-L plant along with two other lower Columbia River operations
signed Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) agreements

PLANS ARE LAID TO INCREASE THE SIZE OF THE GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes signed the first change order of the construction project
he directed the contractors to build a base for a dam that would top off at 550 feet -- June
however, he stopped short of authorizing the irrigation project
(approval for that would not come until [1943]
and work would not begin on it for several more years)

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) TERMINATES THE TANKER STRIKE

International Seamen's Union (ISU) members

voted to terminate the Wildcat tanker strike 1,232 to 66 -- June 17, 1935

loss of the strike set back organization on the tankers for years
especially among licensed deck officers

UNION VIOLENCE CONTINUES ON SEVERAL FRONTS

Arlington Dairy Milk Wagon Drivers walking picket lines suffered almost constant attack

one scab driver was arrested for throwing milk bottles at a crowd of pickets -- June 21, 1935

he had previously thrown a tear gas bomb into a car belonging to a picket

Dressmakers Union 184 ended its strike when a contract was negotiated with Schoenfeld Brothers

two major accomplishments were celebrated by the women of the union

wages were increased by twenty percent

thirty-six-hour work week was put into effect

TIMBER STRIKE ESCALATES IN TACOMA

Tacoma was the greatest lumber center in the Pacific Northwest

however, all but three mills in Tacoma began operation using strikebreakers
as state police and sheriff's deputies gave protection to the non-union workers -- June 21,

ADDITIONAL PUGET SOUND MILLS OPENED USING SCABS

Frank Foisie, Seattle Waterfront Employer president,
demanded longshoremen begin immediately to load "hot" (nonunion) lumber
Paddy Morris and the several longshoremen's union executive board members traveled to Seattle
to meet with Foisie who delivered an ultimatum that longshoremen must work the hot cargo
or the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast would break with the union coastwide
Morris called Frank Foisie's bluff and employers did not carry out their threat

EMPLOYERS DEMAND PROTECTION FOR THEIR TACOMA PROPERTY

Saw mills in Tacoma operated with scabs protected by armed private guards
mass picketing at Tacoma sawmills over the use of scabs continued
increasing numbers of Sawmill and Timber Worker Union (STW) supporters took part
Concentrating on the STW strike in Tacoma
Weyerhaeuser executives convinced Governor Clarence Martin that the labor agitators
were from the outside -- only intimidation by union radicals kept workers off the job

CANADIAN LONGSHORE DISPUTE COMES SOUTH

When the *Point Clear* from Powell River, B.C. arrived in San Francisco -- June 22, 1935
Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) Marine Engineers walked off the job
they demanded the scab be fired and threw up a picket line across the dock
After longshoremen refused to cross the picket line, the company paid off the *Point Clear* crew
Labor relations in San Francisco deteriorated as the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)
voted to refuse to handle cargo from British Columbia or any port on strike [June 24]

WASHINGTON NATIONAL GUARD TRAINS AT CAMP MURRAY NEAR FORT LEWIS

Washington's Governor, Clarence D. Martin stood at attention at Camp Murray near Tacoma
while 7,600 National Guardsmen attending their summer encampment passed in review
Governor Martin said that he stood ready to approve Weyerhaeuser executives request for troops
if local government authorities felt unable to control the situation

NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS ARRIVE IN TACOMA

Swelling mobs of angry people in Tacoma resulted in Governor Clarence Martin
ordering the National Guard and State Patrol to move into Tacoma
to protect mill owner's property
Without preliminaries National Guardsmen went into action

to remove the strikers and their allies -- seven o'clock a.m. Sunday June 23, 1934
about seventy-five soldiers, carrying rifles with fixed bayonets and tear gas canisters
were taken by a circuitous route to the east end of Tacoma's Eleventh Street bridge
between the industrial and business sections of Tacoma
to clear the way to the mills for strike breakers
this was the principal point where pickets assembled to harass the returning night shift
About two or three hundred protesters were at the bridge
without preliminaries, soldiers methodically began "walking" the crowd away from the bridge
although the strikers took their time, troops were not in a hurry and did not rush the strikers
After the crowd was cleared from the bridge, strikers stood in A Street and jeered at the soldiers
they were answered by an occasional canister of teargas
beyond this, no further effort was made to disperse the people

USE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN TACOMA IS QUESTIONED

Governor Clarence D. Martin asserted that Tacoma Mayor Smitely
had informed him that local authorities were unable to cope with the situation
and that Tacoma and Seattle lumber operators had requested him to send troops
governor stated troops were assisting state police in preserving law and order
Technically Tacoma was not under martial law
Governor Martin had never bothered to declare it to be so

STATE PATROL REMAINS INVOLVED IN THE LABOR STRIFE IN TACOMA

Patrolmen had previously been used to protect the loading and shipping of unfair lumber in Tacoma
onto trucks without visible license plates
According to Hubert K. Spahr, president of the Tacoma Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union,
state patrolmen arrested two pickets at a logging camp at Vale, near Tacoma,
where they were picketing peacefully
these men were forced to run ahead of the patrol car for nearly two miles
when they fell to the ground they were beaten until they stumbled to their feet again
one Tacoma labor attorney filed suit against the state government in support of these workers
As a result of these and other incidents, state police were cordially hated by the strikers,
who merely expressed contempt for the National Guard

STW ATTEMPT TO HAVE THE NATIONAL GUARD REMOVED FROM TACOMA

Tacoma Central Labor Council denied that Mayor Smitely had appealed to the governor for assistance
they protested the actions of the governor on the grounds that troops caused disorder
where none had existed before
Both Tacoma and Seattle Sawmill and Timber Worker locals sent delegations to Olympia

to persuade the governor to withdraw the soldiers -- they were unsuccessful

TACOMA'S CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL HOLDS A GENERAL UNION MEETING

Insurgent leaders of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union were still controlling the Tacoma strike they were irate over the use of state troops

unionists from other locals also were hostile toward the governor's attempt to break the strike

Every union local in Tacoma was represented at a meeting of the Tacoma Central Labor Council but it was decided not to call a general strike -- June 23, 1935

however, Tacoma Longshoremen's Association who were sympathetic to the insurgents voted not to return to work so long as armed troops remained in the city

this threat to Pacific Coast maritime peace made the Tacoma situation even more tense

WASHINGTON NATIONAL GUARD GENERAL PENNINGTON ARRIVES IN TACOMA

Additional guardsmen arrived with General Carlos Pennington -- Monday, June 24

he immediately began issuing orders to deal with the union supporters

There had been no formal declaration of martial law

but the rights of citizens were restrained and arrests were made without charges

picketing was prohibiting as long as the National Guard was in charge of the situation

no more than three persons were permitted to congregate at any one place

soldiers even entered stores and ordered people who were looking out the windows

to make their purchases and leave

Tacoma Times editorially declared that those arrested: **"...have been denied counsel, refused bail and prohibited from notifying family or friends of their predicament.... Civil liberties have been flouted. Right of trial, of knowledge of accusers, of information about charges has been scorned. The right of peaceful picketing has been thrust aside."**

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN IN TACOMA BECOME AGGRESSIVE

"State Troopers Gas Tacoma Mill Pickets—300 National Guardsmen on Duty in City"

was the banner headline of the *Seattle Star* -- June 24, 1935

an article described the spraying of tear gas on peaceful picketers in downtown Tacoma,

which resulted in seven mills reopening in the downtown area

"Little violence [was] reported," according to the *Everett News* -- June 24

it completely ignored the violence of the tear gas used against nonviolent picketers

Everett News report continued by announcing the National Guard was sent in

to **"protect workers in lumber mills and factories,"**

although it was evident they were defending the business owners and scab laborers

not the union men

this paper also reported approvingly that all picket gangs larger than three people were outlawed

and that a form of martial law was in effect for the city of Tacoma
without mentioning this action was an obstruction of the Constitution's First Amendment
and National Labor Relations Act legislation that gave unions legal standing

NATIONAL GUARD PRESENCE INCREASES IN TACOMA

Brigadier General Carlos Pennington of the National Guard returned to Tacoma
bringing double the number of troops stationed there to 600 -- Tuesday, June 25
Portland *Oregonian* [June 26] informed readers that strikers had completely retreated
after 300 more National Guardsmen were brought into Tacoma
four more "troublemakers" were arrested bringing the total arrests there to twenty-one
members of the National Guard had violently forced an end to the Tacoma showdown

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BECOME INVOLVED IN THE STW STRIKE

Inability of either the strikers or the employers to win an outright victory
opened the way for federal mediation
FDR's Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins at the request of the United States Conciliation Service
appointed a three-member Federal Mediation Board -- Wednesday June 26, 1935
Judge Roscoe R. Smith of Seattle
Judson W. Shorett, a Seattle attorney
Father G. E. Thompson, a Portland Catholic priest

OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL MEDIATION IS RAISED BY MILL OPERATORS

Strikers in most places have adopted a policy of refusing to arbitrate
since such a step would mean that demands would be lost or hopelessly compromised
However, sawmill operators with their eyes still on Tacoma opposed any arbitration
"there is no occasion for a mediation board-there is nothing to mediate"
in a telegram, operators declared that **"the appointment of a mediation board will only prolong
the trouble, postponing the return of the men because naturally they will hesitate to go back
pending the long process of mediation"** (Tacoma *Times* [June 26, 1935])
Compromises inherent in the process were acceptable to the lumber workers but not to the employers
or to Governor Clarence Martin -- who was elected as a Democrat
but expressed opposition to arbitration, except "in certain cases"

CONTROL OF THE MEDIA IS CAPTURED BY MILL OPERATORS

It was becoming clear to the strikers that mill owners had the power to control governmental policies
and the avenues of publicity -- June 26, 1935
Daily press actually stated that troops were called out
at the request of the lumber operators, against the wishes of the mayor of Tacoma

Tacoma and Seattle police were said by the newspapers to be cooperating in getting the names of any “radicals” coming in from towns to “agitate”

Governor Clarence Martin in a radio address to the people of the state -- June 26

noted troops would not be withdrawn from Tacoma until industrial peace had been established

“I insist on respect for collective bargaining, for peaceful picketing, for the right to strike, even for the privilege to quit...and I don't admire nor support that employer who would take advantage of the situation to beat down wages...but also I shall continue the right to work.”

he went even further to indicate he would give the same protection to other communities

provided a majority of both the employers and workers presented sworn petitions

showing they had a satisfactory wage and hour agreement

UNION LEADERSHIP EVALUATES THE SITUATION IN TACOMA

Sawmill and Timber Workers leadership believed that if a military drive to break the strike succeeded a new series of “Red raids” was to be expected

Already signs of Fascism by the government were apparent in Tacoma -- Wednesday, June 26, 1935

all picketing is prohibited by military order,

pedestrians are not allowed to stop in certain areas of town

city council voted to allow strikers to stage a tag (rummage) sale to support the strike

but Brigadier General Carlos Pennington of the National Guard

refused to allow the tags to be sold on the streets

GOVERNOR CLARENCE MARTIN COMES UNDER ATTACK

Seattle branch of the American Civil Liberties Union responded to the radio address:

“...no justification has existed at any time for the extreme measures taken by the Governor of the State in assigning state patrolmen and national guardsmen to Tacoma...not a single arrest has been made by either city or county police authorities in connection with the strike activities... neither city nor county police authorities requested the use of troops.”

NATIONAL GUARD OPPOSES LABOR IN TACOMA

Several left-wing groups called for a meeting in Tacoma's Firemen's Park

more than 500 people were in attendance -- Wednesday, June 27, 1935

this gathering was dispersed by National Guard troops generously supplied with tear gas

Homes of strikebreakers were protected at night by Guardsmen

President Hubert K. Spahr of the Tacoma Sawmill and Timber Workers Union

and several other strikers were arrested by the National Guard -- June 27

they were held in the armory for several hours without charges

Seattle branch of the American Civil Liberties Union investigated

but could find no record of the arrests

Spahr filed suit against the National Guard commander for false imprisonment

CONDITIONS IN TACOMA ARE REPORTED LOCALLY AND ACROSS THE NATION

Tacoma *Times* editorially declared that those arrested **“have been denied council, refused bail and prohibited from notifying family or friends of their predicament.... Civil liberties have been flouted. Right of trial, of knowledge of accusers, of information about charges, has been scorned. The right of peaceful picketing has been thrust aside.”** (Tacoma *Times* [June 28, 1935])

The Seattle Star shifted its coverage to be less and less supportive of the strikers as the events became more controversial and threatening to businesses and the local government the newspaper migrated toward the support of business

SEATTLE DRESSMAKERS UNION 184 ENDS ITS STRIKE

When a contract was negotiated with Schoenfeld Brothers -- June 28, 1935

two major accomplishments were celebrated by the women of Seattle Dressmakers Local 184 wages were increased by twenty percent and a thirty-six work week was put into effect picketing and the strike had made the changes possible

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) MORALE REMAINS HIGH

Morale of the strikers was holding up well as they noted that because loggers were also out mills could operate only as long as the logs on hand lasted Longshoremen in all ports refused to handle lumber which was picketed by the mill workers Protest messages by the thousands had been sent by trade unions and other organizations to Governor Martin and President Franklin Roosevelt

TACOMA MAYOR GEORGE SMITELY ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE THE STRIKE IN TACOMA

Mayor Smitely, with the city council concurring, offered mediation to both sides union members accepted but the lumber operators spurned the offer on the grounds that the city officials had previously said they were incapable of offering protection to the men who wished to return to work management declared that any meeting would only complicate the situation in their opinion, matters were already in the best hands -- those of the governor

AFL ORGANIZER ABE MUIR APPLIES PRESSURE ON UNION INSURGENTS

Struggle between the union factions for control of the STW strike continued by now the situation was so tense that it was practically impossible for the Federal Mediation Board to intervene largest obstacle to a complete settlement in Longview was the intra-union fight

radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee leaders continued to side with the anti-Muir faction
Abe W. Muir endeavored to break the hold of the insurgents at various mills
he sent a sharp letter to the still striking men at the Longview mills
he announced new locals were being set up without the striking employees
of the Weyerhaeuser and Long-Bell plants
he commanded the men to go back to work
Muir, in an effort to reestablish control of the Sawmill and Timber Workers strike situation
requested the American Federation of Labor send a letter to defiant AFL Central Labor Councils
threatening to revoke the Charters of locals opposed to his strike committee
the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers
American Federation of Labor leadership responded immediately with the requested letters
it was becoming evident the conservative element among the workers was gaining control
even at Longview there was a great deal of dissatisfaction
with the failure of the insurgent leaders to open negotiations on the original demands
in some places preparations were made for opening the mills without granting recognition

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) INTERVENES IN THE STW STRIKE

C. C. Young, general representative of the AFL, addressed a letter to all Central Labor Councils
in an effort to bring obstinate Sawmill and Timber Workers Union locals back into line -- July 1
he stated in effect that aid given to the radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee
was in violation of Article XI of the AFL constitution
those bodies giving aid were subject to revocation of their Charters;
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners had full jurisdiction
and an attack on the legitimate strike leadership was an attack on the Brotherhood

SAWMILLS OPEN IN LONGVIEW

Responding to the written threat by Abe Muir and AFL general representative C.C. Young,
to create new AFL unions if the strikers did not comply
Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser mills began operations with only 700 men -- July 1, 1935
In addition to Tacoma, guardsmen were sent to Longview
Governor Clarence Martin ordered the guardsmen to be ready to move in if violence occurred
Longview Central Labor Council (AFL) sided with the anti-Muir faction
they decided to send a telegram to Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins
asking for the appointment of a special investigator from the Federal Mediation Board
Secretary Perkins did not comply with the request
because it was apparent the biggest obstacle to complete settlement was the intra-union fight
and had to be dealt with by trade union officials -- not the government

WEST COAST LUMBERMEN'S ASSOCIATION TRYS TO BREAK THE ABERDEEN STRIKE

Federal Mediation Board had established friendly contacts with some Aberdeen union members
small steps toward progress were being made but the effort was handicapped
by the non-cooperative attitude of the leading employers
An attempt was made to open the mills at Aberdeen -- July 1
but this effort was frustrated by an enormous picket line of almost 2,000 men
Police clashed with pickets
when it was discovered that a gravel road near one of the mills had been strewn with roofing nails
pickets were forced to gather them up
under threat of immediate removal from the area if they refused,
but when another handful was thrown from the crowd the street was cleared of workers
by the use of teargas
In addition to Tacoma and Longview, National Guardsmen were also sent to Aberdeen

STW NORTHWEST JOINT STRIKE COMMITTEE VOTES TO WALK OUT OF EVERETT

Sawmill and Timber Workers had forty locals were affiliated with the left-wing strike committee
which was headquartered in Everett
Everett lumber workers rejected a back to work offer -- July 1, 1935
they turned down the "Muir plan" by a vote of 1,500 to 3

MEDIA INFLUENCES THE STW STRIKE IN FAVOR OF MANAGEMENT

All of the daily papers adopted a policy of referring strike breakers as "workers"
as opposed to the "agitators, strikers, and pickets"
One headline read: "Mill Operators Watching Tacoma"
in the story Governor Clarence Martin was reported to have said
mill operators in other sections of the state were cheered by the events in Tacoma
and are contemplating reopening their own plants
Newspapers told of 1,300 "workers" functioning in fourteen mills -- July 2, 1935
but the official count of men entering the mills that same day
was only about one-sixth of the normal crew

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) SHOWDOWN IN EVERETT

Center of the insurgent storm was located in the Communist stronghold of Everett
where extremists on both sides continued to make federal mediation difficult
Everett, at this time, was the only place where level of operations had not yet resumed
West Coast Lumbermen's Association made an attempt to open one mill -- July 5, 1935
this was met with mass picketing which gave rise to the use of tear gas by state and city police
West Coast Lumbermen's Association was convinced that "radical" groups controlled the STW

to such an extent that union recognition in any form was impossible there operators continued to exert pressure on the governor to send troops to Everett Everett Central Labor Council threatened a general strike if this occurred Weyerhaeuser Company which employed nearly half of the total workers in the Everett area stated that it would not join in a request for troops or attempt to operate under military rule

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA OR WAGNER ACT) PASSES CONGRESS

Congress, sympathetic to labor unions, attempted to achieve labor peace

with passage of the *National Labor Relations Act (NLRA)*

employers were encouraged to bargain with their unions

National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) was also known as the Wagner Act

named after its prime sponsor: U.S. Senator Robert Wagner from New York

Wagner Act was one of the most sweeping social reforms of the Twentieth Century

NLRA reaffirmed the promises offered in the [1933] National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)

that had been thrown out by the U.S. Supreme Court [May 27, 1935]

National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) was signed into law by President Roosevelt -- July 5, 1935

at the heart of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) was Section 7

which offered a method to secure union recognition

Section 7 guaranteed employees **“the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid and protection”**

it offered a method to secure union recognition -- “company unions” were outlawed

it allowed the labor movement to democratize the American workplace

to a degree that employers found quite horrifying

employees could choose their union representation in a free secret ballot election

by a majority vote of the employees

Section 8 broadened and prohibited unfair union labor practices on the part of the employer:

which included failure to provide fair representation to all parties of the bargaining unit

- employers could no longer stop workers from joining a union;

- employers could not fire or discriminate against workers

because of their interest in forming unions or union activity;

- employers could not foster or control company unions;

- employers could not blacklist or otherwise retaliate against an employee

for testifying under this act;

- employers could not refuse to bargain in good faith

No restrictions were placed on labor practices thus broadening union’s rights

before National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) became law, employers could and often did

spy upon, question, punish, blacklist, and fire union members
To give teeth to the new right to collective bargaining,
the act established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (NLRB) ENFORCES THE NLRA

Wagner Act set up a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to administer the Wagner Act
NLRB is charged with several responsibilities:

- it was to take testimony about unfair labor practices committed by employers or unions
to do this the NLRB can issue “cease and desist” orders against unethical practices
including pressuring employees, bias against union members
and refusal to meet at the bargaining table with employees;
- when requested, NLRB was authorized to conduct elections
to determine the employee representatives for collective bargaining purposes
secret ballot elections for union representation were to be conducted
employees could choose their union in a free election by a majority vote
- NLRB also could request that the federal courts sanction its board rulings
by obtaining court cease and desist orders against both labor and management

UNION ORGANIZING UNIONS BECAME MUCH EASIER UNDER THE WAGNER ACT

Companies were forced to recognize unions elected to represent their members
and were forced to bargain in good faith with union representatives
No restrictions were placed on labor -- thus union’s rights were broadened
this unleashed a wave of union organizing and a rash of internal conflicts within labor
Some employers disregarded the Wagner Act as being less than strident the unconstitutional NIRA
at best this law, too, might be declared unconstitutional
at worst, light penalties were not a harsh burden for unions or their members
Even so, the new power given to labor was a major New Deal accomplishment
companies were forced to bargain in good faith with union representatives
union membership increased by a third within a year

AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO CONTROL UNION STW INSURGENTS

Sawmill and Timber Workers Union District Representative Abe Muir
endeavored to break the hold of the insurgents at various places
and to punish Locals which still rejected his leadership
He embarked on a Charter-pulling campaign
some were issued peremptory orders to reorganize their strike committees
to conform to United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America policy
or suffer expulsion from the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

some had their local union Charters revoked
and were summarily placed in separate AFL Locals under his jurisdiction
Muir encouraged strike-breaking in Longview
he sent a sharp letter to the men at Longview
announcing that new locals were being set up separately
for employees of the Weyerhaeuser and Long-Bell plants
and commanding the men to go back to work
one new union Charter was hung in the company dining room of the Long-Bell plant
but only a few men returned to work as members of new Carpenters and Joiners local

NATIONAL GUARD IS SENT TO GRAYS HARBOR

Aberdeen, Hoquiam and Raymond on the coast
were STW locals which had remained under radical control by the rank and file union members
Several thousand people -- mill workers, wives, children, and labor sympathizers
marched from Aberdeen to Hoquiam and back to show their unity
and to demonstrate against the opening of the mills and the presence of troops
Police in Aberdeen and Hoquiam had already clashed several times with the two thousand pickets
who were blocking attempts by employers to open mills there
disorder continued there in spite of police efforts
National Guardsmen were sent to Grays Harbor for guard duty -- July 7, 1935
Governor Clarence Martin claimed the mayors the of Aberdeen and Hoquiam
and the sheriff of Grays Harbor County had asked for them
although martial law had not been declared, guardsmen were stationed around the mills
to permit the return to work for those men who so desired
Aberdeen was a stronghold of the radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee
workers stood solidly against the back-to-work movement,
with the result that the situation in the Grays Harbor area remained deadlocked

STW PICKETS IN ABERDEEN AND HOQUIAM

At Aberdeen 9,000 men and women paraded along the streets -- July 8, 1935
as a protest against the strikebreaking tactics of the "Cossacks" (Russian peasants)
and the "tin soldiers" or "boy scouts" (National Guard and the state patrol)
With the National Guard gone from Tacoma, Aberdeen and Hoquiam were also the only locals
where mass picket lines several hundred strong were formed daily
to face three companies of National Guardsmen

GOVERNOR CLARENCE MARTIN BLAMES COMMUNISTS FOR THE STW STRIKE

Six to ten thousand demonstrators marched through Aberdeen and Hoquiam -- July 9, 1935

to protest Governor Martin's use of troops and police to provide protection for the strikebreakers
Rumors circulated that a general strike would be called if the soldiers were not withdrawn
but the governor was steadfast
mills would be reopened for those who wanted to work
he continued to profess that the strike was mostly the work of Communists
Even in Aberdeen and Hoquiam the strike lines weakened at the end of the tenth week of the strike

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (NLRB) RULING IN FAVOR OF THE STRIKING STW

In a case involving the Long-Bell and Weyerhaeuser companies at Longview,
federal National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled
that the majority labor group, as determined in elections, should represent all the workers
for collective bargaining purposes
Strikers were heartened by the federal decision
however, hope for labor peace dimmed as the West Coast Lumbermen's Association announced
that it would resist the ruling of the National Labor Relations Board
Charles Hope, regional director for the National Labor Relations Board,
declared that all attempts to put a damper on the general strike movement had failed

SITUATION IN TACOMA REMAINS TENSE

Sawmills operated with scabs protected by private security agents
some scabs left the sawmills at the end of their shift and joined the STW union
Tacoma continued to remain tense
Occasional acts of violence and disorder by timber workers continued to occur -- July 10, 1935
Brigadier General Carlos Pennington and his National Guardsmen were called upon
once again to dispersed an attempted parade of Tacoma strikers and sympathizers
resentment among the protesters continued to escalate

SITUATION IN TACOMA RAPIDLY DETERIORATES

Tacoma city council members, concerned for the safety of their municipality,
wired the Federal Mediation Board and the U.S. Department of Conciliation
requesting intervention -- July 11, 1935
before the federal government could respond another outbreak occurred
Strikers were in an ugly mood all day -- trouble started shortly before four o'clock p.m. July 11
large crowd assembled outside of the federal building at the intersection of Eleventh and A streets
they started marching around and around using the four crosswalks at the intersection
they believed this relieved them of the necessity of having a parade permit
leader of each squad of union supporters carried an American flag
site of the march had been chosen because it was adjacent to the Eleventh Street Bridge

which connected the city center with the port and industrial section of town
this was the bridge that strikebreakers had to pass over every day on the way to and from work
although traffic was blocked, city police made no attempt to disperse them
National Guard troops made no attempt to interfere in the march
but maintained a line of men with fixed bayonets across the Eleventh Street Bridge
Scabbing lumber workers began to return across the bridge from the mills -- about 4:30 p.m.
they were jeered by the hostile crowd of strikers and marchers
a few gas bombs were released at intervals, but no determined effort was made by either side
as the shift change of scabs dispersed, the rowdy crowd diminished

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY IS STRUCK

Western Union Telegraph Company was charged with exploitation of its workers -- July 12, 1935
boys who were minors worked long hours delivering telegrams for very little pay
they received twenty cents for each delivery, but only five cents in commission
union members called for a boycott of Western Union

TIMBER INDUSTRY UNION AGREEMENTS ARE BEING SIGNED AT SOME MILLS

Between 25,000 and 30,000 Sawmill and Timber Worker Union men across the state were working
under union agreements with the West Coast Lumbermen's Association -- July 12, 1935
three mills were operating in Seattle under new contracts
union members, in spite of threats and violence, were making gains at the bargaining table

PICKET LINES REMAIN IN PLACE IN TACOMA

Seven thousand union men and strike sympathizers once again marched peacefully in a large circle
at the downtown intersection of Eleventh and A Streets -- 4:00 p.m. July 12, 1935
strike leaders once again carried American flags
although the marchers used the crosswalks, traffic was blocked
National Guard troops had received orders to prohibit picketing -- July 12, 1935
and to prevent demonstrators from assembling in the industrial part of the city
guardsmen in Tacoma were mainly young men -- many of them seventeen years old
demonstrators called the militia "Governor Martin's tin soldiers"
these troops had been recruits from agricultural regions east of the Cascade Mountains
guardsmen from the Puget Sound Region had many friends on strike
some of them had union cards of their own
one story is told in Tacoma that a guardsman who was unused to handling a bayonet
swung sharply and cut the cheek of a Guardsman next to him who burst into tears
Ready for trouble, Tacoma police officers stood by and guardsmen fixed their bayonets
like the day before they established a line across the Eleventh Street Bridge

PICKETS AND GUARDSMEN CLASH IN TACOMA

As they crossed the Eleventh Street Bridge, taunts and jeers greeted the shift-changing scabs going to and from the mills -- 4:00 p.m. July 12, 1935

Strikers clashed repeatedly with guardsmen who protected the movement of strikebreakers women and children joined in the booing and helped pelt the guardsmen with rocks and sticks

Guardsmen lobbed tear gas bombs into the crowds

but just as quickly, the wind blew the smoke back into their own faces

other tear gas canisters were picked up by the marchers and hurled back amid the guardsmen only a few of the militiamen were equipped with gas masks

Tacoma police called in heavier equipment

a military vehicle which expelled tear gas through its exhaust pipe was sent into the crowd

but its driver was pulled from the cab and attacked before the truck was overturned

it caught fire and burned in the middle of Eleventh Street

Troops abandoned the bridge as last significant battle with the guardsmen in Tacoma was over demonstrators soon dispersed -- but arrests followed

TACOMA SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) GENERAL UNION MEETING

At a Tacoma Central Labor Council meeting at which every local in the city was represented it was decided not to call a general strike -- Evening, July 12, 1935

but the Tacoma International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

voted not to work so long as armed troops remained in the city

TACOMA SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) BECOME MORE RADICAL

As a result of Governor Clarence Martin's military strategy

strikers became more radical than they were before

they blamed the governor; not the guardsmen

many of the strikers and their supporters had lost what little confidence they previously had in the impartiality of the government or an arbitration board

when that government allowed troops to be used against them

public sympathy had also been fanned in support the strikers

Governor Martin's use of National Guard troops during the strike caused labor to solidify against him labor forces began to demand his recall from office

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) REEMERGE IN TACOMA

Sawmill and Timber Workers Union Tacoma headquarters showed the strikers' solidarity strikers were organized into picket lines

three STW men appeared at each gate of every mill -- 8:30 a.m. Wednesday, July 13, 1935

pickets functioned like clockwork until the return of the troops that evening
Strike membership in Tacoma grew to 2,800 participants
similar displays of force were seen in the Northwest Joint Strike Committee
strongholds of Everett, Longview and Grays Harbor

INTERNAL STRUGGLES OF THE STW UNION CONTINUES

While State Police and guardsmen confronted strikers on the outside,
Abe Muir was busy sowing union dissension on the inside
previously tested strikebreaking tactics were again applied in Aberdeen and Everett
where Muir revoked the Charters of the union Locals
which continued to support the radical Northwest Joint Strike Committee
Muir granted new Charters to Locals under new leadership that did not support
the efforts of the Northwest Joint Strike Committee

ABE MUIR ISSUES A NEW CHARTER FOR THE EVERETT STW LOCAL

Communist-backed Northwest Joint Strike Committee in Everett
had struck six milling companies putting a working force of 2,000 union members on strike
Abe Muir removed the Sawmill and Timber Workers (STW) Charter of the radical Everett Local
he called the workers in the six largest Everett plants to six meetings
to issue them separate Charters from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Union
on a plant-by-plant basis
Muir considered revocation of the Everett STW Charter and installing a new local
as the only way to get rid of the insurgent leadership and bring about a peaceful settlement
Everett Sawmill and Timber Workers (STW) voted in a secret ballot-- July 13, 1935
against the Communist-backed Northwest Joint Strike Committee 328 to 272
this represented the support of 16% of the daily Everett STW workforce
however, Everett's radical leadership now faced a conservative challenge
Northwest Joint Strike Committee appeared to have lost control of the strike
as they had been undercut by both A.W. "Abe" Muir and Governor Clarence Martin

CONFUSION REIGNS IN EVERETT

Considerable responsibility for the turmoil in Everett must rest on the employers
who refused to begin negotiation talks with the newly organized conservative leadership
West Coast Lumbermen's Association insisted on opening mills under armed protection
Everett's situation was further complicated when four mills opened without union recognition
left-wing insurgents tried to stop the back-to-work movement
open-air demonstrations and a march on city hall were started
but the marchers were routed by riot clubs and gas bombs in the hands of state patrolmen

These aggressive actions by the State Patrol changed public opinion to favor the insurgent group
an insurgent crowd of 2,500 people stormed the Everett Labor Temple
and prevented the newly formed conservative unions from meeting -- afternoon July 13, 1935

EVERETT MILLS OPEN

STW District Representative Abe Muir and West Coast Lumbermen's Association negotiators
reached an agreement and six Everett mills opened at the same time -- July 15, 1935
West Coast Lumbermen's Association called in sixty state police who broke up all picket lines
standing with the police a "Muir man" would point out the STW leaders who were then arrested
Abe. W. Muir thus further confused the labor situation in Everett

CONFRONTATION ALSO TOOK PLACE IN TACOMA

Tacoma City Council passed an anti-picket ordinance -- July 15, 1935
National Guardsmen clashed with International Longshoremen Association (ILA) pickets
who were marching in support of Sawmill and Timber Workers strike

EVERETT RADICAL SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKER MEMBERS PROTEST

Insurgent Northwest Joint Strike Committee leaders
organized a protest parade of 2,000 strikers and sympathizers
Everett march began with an American flag at the head -- afternoon July 15, 1935
Police broke up the marchers and arrested twenty-four Sawmill and Timber Workers' leaders
including Max Barnett the secretary of the Communist-backed Northwest Joint Strike Committee
Civil rights were suspended in the Everett mill district
home-owners were chased from their own front yards
one man, waiting for a bus, was struck by police when he refused to move on
Several hundred demonstrators stormed the jail that night in protest of the police action

EVERETT STW STRIKE IS BROKEN

Everett Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) men were released from jail -- July 16, 1935
but the strike was broken
in the end labor unions were forced to accept the opening of the Everett mills
because they wished to stay in the American Federation of Labor
and this was possible only under the leadership of A. W. "Abe" Muir
West Coast Lumbermen's Association had brought the strike to an end
with help from the state police and National Guardsmen
West Coast Lumbermen's Association no doubt heaved a sigh of relief when the day was over
Everett marked the turning-point in the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union strike

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION EXERTS ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) quickly became the most influential of the left-wing pressure groups that operated within the Democratic Party in Washington

WCF claimed thirty thousand members across the state

they supported a program of advocating production for use -- rather than production for profit

WCF ran left-wing candidates from inside the Democratic Party

WCF popularized reforms such as support for unions, social programs and old-age pensions

Communist Party members played a central role in the Washington Commonwealth Federation

Party members were in WCF key positions and turned the state Democratic Party to the left

at times the communists dominated the state Democratic Party

they used that power to rewrite state laws and social policy

they supported candidates and issues that advocated a diverse agenda of reform

activists and supporters wrote initiatives for voters to sign and pass

STATE INITIATIVE 119 PETITIONS FOR A SOCIALIST WASHINGTON STATE

Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) attempted to gather signatures for a ballot proposal that asked for the creation of a Socialist state with state-owned factories, farms, banks, insurance companies, electricity and state-operated medical clinics

Because of the Communist Party influence in the Washington Commonwealth Federation this proposal ignited the most radical and riotous Democratic Party Conventions in state history

This campaign failed to gather enough signatures to make the ballot

however, it did give rise to Franklin Roosevelt's campaign manager and later Postmaster General James A. Farley one occasion offering the toast: **“To the 47 States of the Union and the Soviet of Washington.”**⁸⁰

BOEING BUILDS A NEW FACTORY TO CONSTRUCT A NEW AIRPLANE

Boeing Airplane Company was originally located in the Northwest because Bill Boeing lived here

location of the factories had little to do with geography or resources

after wooden airplanes were no longer built

plants could be built anywhere in the nation as airplanes could be delivered under their own power

William Boeing had struggled through periods of slow growth

Boeing Company developed the prototype of a bomber airplane to generate business

prototype was built at company expense in an effort to gain the U.S. Army Air Corps contact for a heavy bomber

Boeing's Model 299 was built at company expense with features that exceeded all requirements

armament consisted of up to 4,800 pounds of bombs

⁸⁰ Note: The story may be apocryphal: Farley denied ever making such a statement, but it's attributed to him in countless books.

located on two bomb racks in the bomb bay behind the cockpit
it was powered by four Pratt & Whitney R-1690 "Hornet" radial engines
each producing 750 horsepower at 7,000 feet
When the Model 299 was rolled out for public inspection
Richard Williams, a reporter for the *Seattle Times* coined the name "Flying Fortress"
it was bristling with multiple machine guns -- the most unique being the nose installation
which allowed the single machine gun to be fired at about any angle
an approaching enemy fighter would take to attack the bomber

END OF THE SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) STRIKE

Many STW locals sat down individually with plant owners to work out their various agreements
in some cases, men went back to work with slightly higher wages, somewhat better conditions
and sometimes, even union recognition -- late July 1935

Mills in Seattle, Bellingham, Aberdeen, Portland, Longview and Olympia
were soon working under these terms

Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) strike had, for all practical purposes, collapsed
even though employers continued to exaggerate the numbers of workers willing to return to work
Disagreements and scattered clashes throughout the Douglas fir region continued periodically
especially where lumber operators failed to rehire former radical unionists
militant locals were not above calling a "quickie" strike
to insure that a strike activist was reemployed

TACOMA SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) REJECTS THE NEW CONTRACT

In Tacoma, only 51 out of 1,157 workers voted to accept A.W. "Abe" Muir's proposal -- July 28
two days later [July 30] the same workers refused to even reconsider a similar proposal

EXPIRATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST WORKING AGREEMENTS LOOMS EVER CLOSER

While the longshoremen continued to boycott Northwest and British Columbia "hot" lumber
expiration date [September 30] of their working agreement with shipowners ever approached
Waterfront Employers of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles
notified the Pacific District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) -- end of July
that they would renew the award for a year provided the ILA would guarantee
that strikes, work stoppages, and violations would cease

COMMUNISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION EXPRESS CONCERNS ABOUT HITLER IN GERMANY

Meeting of the Seventh Communist Party Congress in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
refocused on the threats facing the movement
former challenges from White Russians, Russian dissidents, and European Empires

were no longer relevant

Communists shifted their attention to the rise of Fascism in Germany

they addressed the Fascist threat by aligning with the “Popular Front” movement

Joseph Stalin, the Premier of the USSR, announced through agents

who were involved with the anti-Fascist “Popular Front” movement

that Communists would become allied with Socialists in Western democracies

new Communist policy stated Party members should form coalitions

with all parties that opposed Fascism -- not just labor

it was ordered that the “Popular Front” movement would once again “bore from within”

to infiltrate liberal organizations around the globe

Communists allied with Socialists in European and North American democracies

GRAYS HARBOR SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) LOCALS HOLD OUT

Grays Harbor militants held firm -- state police continued to confront the pickets there

Raymond, Washington lumber workers voted nearly two to one

to reject Abe Muir’s agreement -- August 1, 1935

this vote clearly belied the media’s portrayal of the strike as the work of a handful of radicals

controlled by the Communist-led Northwest Joint Strike Committee

TIMBER INDUSTRY REACHES A PACIFIC NORTHWEST-WIDE AGREEMENT

West Coast Lumbermen’s Association and STW District Representative A. W. “Abe” Muir reached a compromise negotiated agreement -- August 2, 1935

- Sawmill and Timber Workers (STW) Union men who struck would be reemployed
- members would work for an hourly minimum of fifty cents for a forty-hour work week
- instead of strict union recognition and a “closed shop”

Sawmill and Timber Workers Union representation would apply

only to current union members -- there would be no closed shops

- employers agreed to acknowledge committees of union members

who were authorized to bargain over safety and working conditions in camps and mills

TACOMA STW VOTES TO ACCEPT THE LATEST PROPOSED WORKING AGREEMENT

STW strike virtually ended when the Tacoma Local finally weakened

they voted 1,391 to 97 to accept the third offer submitted by Abe Muir

and the West Coast Lumbermen’s Association -- August 3, 1935

This agreement called for reemployment of all union men without discrimination within thirty days

at a minimum wage of fifty cents an hour and the old forty-hour work week

WASHINGTON, D.C. CONFERENCE IS HELD TO RESOLVE PACIFIC COAST LABOR ISSUES

Longshoremen continued to boycott scab cargo “hot” logs and lumber from British Columbia
To increase the pressure on union leaders, U. S. Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady
called union representatives to Washington, D.C. for a conference
regarding the British Columbia tie-ups

Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen’s Association sent
Paddy Morris from Washington, Cliff Thurston from Oregon
and Harry Bridges from California

Sailors’ Union of the Pacific sent Harry Lundeberg and two other representatives
Masters, Mates and Pilots sent two captains

During the federal conference it became evident the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)
was under attack by employers

shipowners hoped to split the organization over the issue of British Columbia cargo
by insisting voting be conducted by separate craft conferences and crafts
federation members attending the conference rejected the employers’ demand

At the close of the meeting Harry Lundeberg reported that the conference
proved to be the severest test to date for the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)
shipowners hoped to split the organization

by insisting on separate craft conferences and craft votes on British Columbia cargo
Washington, D.C. conference demonstrated that the federal government
could not compel union members to handle hot cargo

TWO AMERICAN HEROES FLY OUT OF RENTON, WASHINGTON AIRPORT

Wiley Post, age 35, was a rakish pilot who wore an eye-patch
he was the nation’s top long distance flyer -- twice he had circled the earth alone
he was also a good friend of Will Rogers

Entertainer Will Rogers, age 56, with tousled hair and deft jabs at the establishment,
was the nation’s top humorist
he was the highest paid film star in America

After leaving Renton, Washington the men arrived in Juneau, Alaska
following an eight hour flight -- August 7, 1935

Bad weather forced them to remain in Juneau longer than expected
after a few days they continued on to Fairbanks, Alaska

GRAYS HARBOR SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS REMAIN ON STRIKE

Mass demonstration of 800 Aberdeen pickets -- August 12, 1935
led to Governor Clarence Martin appointing National Guard Brigadier General Carlos Pennington
to serve as an “arbitrator” to resolve the strike there -- August 13, 1935

FEDERAL SOCIAL SECURITY ACT IS SIGNED INTO LAW

Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the *Social Security Act* -- August 14, 1935

this is the signature piece of legislation and the most far-reaching of the entire New Deal era
it permanently changed the relationship between the American people, their government,
and the free market by guaranteeing pensions to those retiring at age sixty-five
Social Security Act levied a tax (1% in [1937]) to be paid equally between employee and employer
with guaranteed pensions to those retiring at age sixty-five [beginning January 1942]
who would receive monthly checks of between ten and eighty-five dollars
it also established a cooperative federal-state system of unemployment compensation
by levying a federal tax on total payrolls of those employing eight or more persons
(1% in 1936, 2% in 1937, 3% thereafter)

In addition, the Federal government offered matching funds to any state that made proper application
and submitted plans for administering one or more of the established services:

vocational rehabilitation, aid to the needy blind, old age assistance, aid to dependent children,
child welfare, services for crippled children, maternal and child health aids, and public health

FINAL SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS UNION (STW) SETTLES

Settlement was reached in the last area to hold out against the West Coast Lumbermen's Association
discouraged strikers in the harbor towns of Aberdeen and Hoquiam

voted to accept the operators' terms and the strike was over -- August 14, 1935

new American Federation of Labor (AFL) local chartered by Abraham W. Muir
in Aberdeen and Hoquiam was recognized for collective bargaining purposes

Original strike demands had been drawn up by radicals at a conference in Aberdeen

these were reduced by the "Longview agreement" negotiated by Abe Muir

eight-hour day and forty-hour week with a base rate of fifty cents an hour

however, any change in base pay or hours was to apply to all employees

(these were the same terms earlier opposed by union members who prolonged the strike)

for collective bargaining purposes operators reserved the right to negotiate

with any individual, committee, or committees of employees who represented the employees

Contract terms were accepted out of necessity as by then

most lumber workers were back in the mills or they were on their way to the logging camps

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS (STW) REFLECT ON THEIR EFFORT

Sawmill and Timber Workers (STW) strike had lasted for three months

strikers were not close to acquiring the goals which they had set for the strike

greatest benefit derived from the strike was the education of the strikers

Rank and file union members knew the strike had been broken -- and why

operators could not have smashed the militancy of strikers by their own efforts alone

Governor Clarence Martin, General Carlos Pennington and the National Guard, state police and American Federation of Labor Abraham W. "Abe" Muir had all played a role

In the early stages of the strike, management attacked the union they openly threatened vigilante violence through full-page newspaper ads sponsored by the "Committee of 500" -- Seattle Chamber of Commerce in disguise these ads ceased after an exposure of one of the committee's meetings in the Left-wing labor paper *Voice of Action*

Since picketing by the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) was forbidden many acts of violence were committed daily by desperate individuals there were street fights against known "scabs" and bombing of their homes and cars as well as of mill property military and police violence bred labor violence

Strike-breaking was kept to minimum as unions were able to obtain injunctions against the stopping of picketing in Aberdeen, Longview and Chehalis however, state police often paid little attention to court orders West Coast Lumbermen's Association, even with the armed forces of the state under their control, were not strong enough to break the strike use of the state's military forces in the attempt to break the strike influenced public opinion in favor of the strikers

Another decisive factor was the splitting of the union ranks by the union officials themselves workers lost their faith in the old-line conservative AFL union leadership and they lost their illusions about the impartiality of state government

STRUGGLES WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT HEAT UP

While the strike was over, labor peace had not been achieved during the ensuing months, minor skirmishes with employers broke out sporadically within the unions dissension and unrest still continued memory of internal union conflict which marked the strike could not be easily excised

Craft-based AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ) gained the reputation in the industrial Northwest woods of being high-handed, haughty and a little superior for the taste of Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) men stage was being set for a showdown between the powerful American Federation of Labor and respected Communist organizers

UBCJ made several mistakes while dealing with the timber industry workers first of all, Abe Muir failed to win any significant concessions during the strike also, AFL blatantly exhibited its elitism by only allowing the timber workers fraternal status which did not include full voting rights, or retirement benefits despite the fact that the UBCJ collected dues

this was seen as an undeserved insult to the integrity of the timber workers
Violent STW outbreaks were still reported as the men disagreed on the direction of the union
breach in worker solidarity, which had surfaced during the strike,
ultimately pushed the timber workers away from the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
and into the newly forming Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)
which sought to unite all of the workers into unions by industry
More militant sawmill workers chafed under the yoke of the conservative AFL
they saw the limitations of conservative craft unionism
they saw the need for their own labor-centered newspapers to reflect how they viewed the world
Sawmill and Timber Workers Union founded a newspaper of their own: *The Timber Worker*
they also printed countless other union-related and radical newsletters
that would function as a voice for labor and their demands
Harold Pritchett, sometime president of the British Columbia Shingle Weavers
continued to make his presence known as did other Communist activists in the STW
they felt United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ) President Bill Hutcheson
and AFL leader A. W. "Abe" Muir showed the lumber workers no respect

TRAGEDY STRIKES TWO AMERICAN HEROES

Wiley Post and Will Rogers set out from Fairbanks, Alaska bound for Barrow, Alaska -- August 15
Post became lost in a fog and set down with engine trouble at Walakpa, an Eskimo hunting camp
located twelve miles southwest of Barrow near the Arctic Ocean
Post and Rogers got directions to Barrow from an Eskimo family
Wiley Post made repairs on the engine
Clair Okpeaha, one of the Eskimos living in the camp, watched them take off -- 8:15 p.m.
he noted the airplane attempted to take off but the engine stalled as the floats cleared the water
it slammed nose-first and flipped onto its back
Okpeaha found Rogers and Post dead
he got into his kayak and paddled to Barrow to relay the news
Bodies of Wiley Post and Will Rogers were flown to Seattle
(today, a plaque honors them at the Will Rogers-Wiley Post Memorial Seaplane Base
at Renton Airport)

FIRST ALL AFRICAN AMERICAN UNION IN THE NATION IS FORMED

For years black workers had dominated Pullman sleeping car porter jobs on long-distance trains
conditions under which the porters labored were abominable
overtime pay was granted only if porters worked 11,000 miles or 400 hours per month
to overcome these conditions
A. Phillip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters [1925]

black union members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

were granted an American Federation of Labor Federation (AFL) charter -- August 16, 1935

this was the first all- black union to gain admission to the AFL

(however, it took until [1937] to gain an increase in pay

and a reduction in working hours for the members)

BOEING AIRCPLANE COMPANY WINS THE U.S. ARMY AIR CORPS COMPETITION

Model 299 flew from Seattle to the “flyoff” competition at Wright Field in Dayton, Ohio

this flight was made in nine hours and three minutes -- August 20, 1935

at an average cruising speed of 252 miles per hour -- much faster than the competition

also in the competition were a Douglas DB-1, and a Martin Model 146

Boeing’s four-engine Model 299 easily bested its twin-engine competition

BANKING ACT OF 1935 IS PASSED BY CONGRESS

This law revised the operation of the Federal Reserve System -- August 23, 1935

it introduced banking reforms designed to control speculation

and to make banks responsible and responsive to the public

it also established the *Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)* in the United States

PUBLIC UTILITIES ACT IS SIGNED INTO LAW

Public Utilities Act (sometimes known as the Wheeler-Rayburn Act)

was signed by President Roosevelt -- August 26, 1935

This law gave federal agencies new powers to regulate gas and electric companies

it required public utility holding companies

to register with the Securities and Exchange Commission

SAILOR’S UNION OF THE PACIFIC CHARTER IS REVOKED

Officers of the International Seamen’s Union (ISU) made plans to discipline

their defiant Pacific District unions which belonged to Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

an organization not authorized by the ISU

Pacific District unions tried to eliminate the international from their collective bargaining agreements

Sailor’s Union of the Pacific (SUP) led the rebellion as they persisted in giving shipping books

to former members of the Communist Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU)

WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS CHANGE TACTICS

Pacific Coast shipowners saw a possible opportunity to split the seamen

similar to their efforts with the longshoremen

Since the federal government proved to be ineffective in forcing union members to load hot cargoes

it was decided to smash the maritime unions

CONGRESS PASSES THE *REVENUE ACT*

FDR's "wealth tax" increased taxes on the income of the wealthiest Americans -- August 30, 1935
tax rate on individual incomes over \$50,000 was increased

taxes on individual incomes over \$1 million were steeply graduated

top rate was set at seventy-nine percent for those making in excess of \$5 million a year
estate taxes on individual estates over \$40,000 were increased

this was a largely symbolic measure -- over 95% of American families paid no income tax at all
even so, it was a particularly upsetting tax to wealthy conservatives

Business taxes were also adjusted

small corporations saw their tax bill increase to a rate increase to twelve percent

while corporations earning in excess of \$15,000 saw their tax rate increase to fifteen percent
some excess profits (those over ten percent) were taxed at a six percent rate

profits in excess of fifteen percent were taxed at twelve percent

and profits in excess of fifteen percent were taxed at a twelve percent rate

FDR DEVELOPS A FINANCING SCHEME FOR GRAND COULEE DAM AND OTHER PROJECTS

(President Franklin Roosevelt had visited the Grand Coulee Dam site

while construction on the low dam project was still under way

he returned to Washington, D.C. where he got Congress to approve the high dam

his plan to use millions of dollars appropriated to the Public Works Administration

was challenged by the U.S. Supreme Court which ruled that only Congress could authorize
construction of dams across navigable rivers -- FDR financing scheme failed)

Scrambling to legitimize the more than twenty federal dams that were already being built
using money appropriated to the Public Works including Grand Coulee

President Franklin Roosevelt was helped by a second U.S. Supreme Court decision

which allowed for the acquisition of public land and Indian Reservations

Roosevelt's administration pushed a new *Rivers and Harbors Bill* through Congress -- August 30

this law authorized construction of a dam at Grand Coulee but made no provision for irrigation

however, the fact that the project was assigned to the Bureau of Reclamation,
rather than the Corps of Engineers,

guaranteed that it would include an irrigation system at some point

Congress authorized funding for the upgraded high dam

now the most significant legislative hurdle for the high dam had been overcome

SHIPOWNERS ATTEMPT TO BREAK THE PACIFIC COAST STRIKE

After the failure of the Washington, D.C. conference to break the coastal strike

shipowners sought other ways to coerce longshoremen and maritime workers into compliance as they turned to their uptown allies

over 200 representatives of chambers of commerce and industrial associations from principal Pacific Coast port cities met -- early September

this secret conclave sponsored by San Francisco Waterfront Employers' Thomas G. Plant was interpreted by maritime workers as a strategy session to smash their unions

Alfred Lundin, president of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, warned: **“Further progress of the maritime worker unions under their present leaders bodes disaster. The shipowners and commercial interests cannot win their fight without public support.”**⁸¹

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY SPREAD CONCERN AROUND THE WORLD

(Adolph Hitler became the Head of State with the death of President Hindenburg [August 2, 1934] he issued a new law combining the offices of Chancellor and President,

and pronounced himself Reichsführer [Leader of the Third Reich -- German Empire])

Hitler imposes comprehensive new laws codified the racial policies -- September 15, 1935

German citizenship was granted only to those

belonging to “a national of German or related blood”

SEATTLE JEWISH SETTLERS BECOME ALARMED ABOUT EVENTS IN EUROPE

Both Ashkenazim (central or eastern European) and Sephardim (Spanish) Jews

had become more prosperous in America -- each developed new cultural institutions

Ashkenazic newspaper, the *Jewish Transcript* (had been founded [1924]

Sephardic Brotherhood Cultural Society was founded -- 1935

Seattle Conservative Jews formed their first congregation -- 1935

but the solidarity of the Jewish community was never complete

because no one was able to bridge effectively the gulf

between the Ashkenazim and Sephardim traditions

Difficulties which greatly worried Jews were happening thousands of miles away

as the Nazis government began its campaign against Jews

Pacific Northwest Jews helped those who could escape

Emigree Bureau in Seattle locally lead the efforts in resettlement

it extended financial, housing and social contact opportunities to new arrivals

Sephardic Jews was particularly active in raising money for Jews

who were victims of Italian Fascism

CONSTRUCTION OF BOULDER (HOOVER) DAM ON THE COLORADO RIVER IS COMPLETED

Construction of Hoover Dam by Six Companies, Inc. led by contractor Henry J. Kaiser

⁸¹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 339.

was the result of a massive effort involving thousands of workers at a cost over one hundred lives even at that, it was completed two years ahead of schedule

President Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated the dam -- September 30, 1935

(power plant wings were completed and the first generator began operation [October 1936] seventeenth and final generator went into commercial operation [1961])

PACIFIC COAST AGREEMENT EXPIRES -- LONGSHOREMEN ACCEPT A NEW AGREEMENT

In the middle of the Pacific Coast "hot" cargo confrontation all awards and agreements

with longshoremen and the maritime unions expired on the same date -- September 30, 1935

Longshoremen voted to independently renew their 1934 strike arbitration award for a year without considering the interests of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

Harry Bridges protested his membership's decision,

but as a supporter of union democracy he adhered to it

his decision had a good deal to do with self-interest but nothing to do with Communism

this was one of the earliest rifts in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific's united front

MARINE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) IS TESTED

Maritime unions wanted to negotiate improvements in their wages and working conditions

however, after ratification by the longshoremen, the agreement was renewed

by virtue of the automatic renewal clause

Pacific Coast federation members attempted to adhere

to the Industrial Workers of the World principal that "An injury to one is an injury to all"

under this premise Pacific Coast maritime workers, and particularly unlicensed seamen,

greatly improved their working and living conditions with job actions during 1935

however, this principal required mutual cooperation and sacrifice to succeed

as any union that tied up a vessel expected and received support from other unions

union people would not scab on each other

Debate over the right of one union to decide unilaterally on policies of job action and hot cargo without consulting other unions brought together delegates from affiliated unions

in an emergency convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) -- October

Seattle, Tacoma and most of Washington's ILA did not bother to attend the San Francisco conference

as this appeared to be a conflict between the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP)

and the San Francisco Communist dominated Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU)

FISHER FLOUR EMPLOYEES GO ON STRIKE IN SEATTLE

Fisher Flour Mills Company refused to recognize the two unions operating in their mills

Fisher Mills employees were pressured to join the company union

union men also felt they were discriminated against in several other ways

two months of futile talks and delays faced by the two unions working at the mill
had produced no results

Fisher Flour Mills Company was shut down by striking workers -- October 11, 1935
union members called for a boycott of all feed and flour sold by Fisher Flouring
during the strike trucks that left the mill were escorted by police

when products failed to sell in any market these trucks had to be brought back fully loaded
Boycott of Fisher Mills products was one of the most effective in labor history
bakery workers struck as far away as Richmond, Virginia
in Gulf cities, loggers shut down their camps
longshore gangs and ships' crews all over the world
walked off ships rather than handle Fisher flour

Fisher Flouring Company went so far as to run advertisements stating the strike was over
and the men had returned to work as usual -- these ads were false
(After four months of hardship and suffering the warehousemen's strike and boycott
produced an outstanding victory for the unions)

GRAND COULEE DAM IS TOO LARGE A PROJECT FOR ONE COMPANY

Six Companies, Inc. was nearing completion on the lower Colorado River's Boulder (Hoover) Dam
Six Companies, Inc. agreed to join together as Consolidated Builders, Inc.

and construct the high dam at Grand Coulee as a cooperative effort -- October 1935

MWAK, a consortium of three companies, served as the primary contractor
on the Grand Coulee Dam project

New design, chosen and approved by the Bureau of Reclamation office in Denver
included several obvious improvements,

one of which was for the pumping plant for irrigation water
an additional \$7 million was added to the contract

GRAND COULEE CONSTRUCTION PROJECT WAS ENORMOUS

Ahead lay the largest building project to that time

forty-five million cubic yards of rock and soil were excavated

Grand Coulee Dam would be 4,300 feet long at the crest and 550 feet above lowest bedrock

it stretched 5232 feet across the Columbia River's channel

thickness at base.....500 feet

thickness at top..... 30 feet

11.975 million cubic yards of concrete

would make a pyramid three times the size of the Great Pyramid of Cheops

or a two-lane highway from Seattle to Miami with three foot wide side walk

with a million cubic yards of concrete remaining unused

In addition to the two cofferdams, more small dams were constructed to divert the Columbia River around the dam sites then construction teams went to work on the high dam itself

To carry water to the hydroelectric generators a huge pipe eighteen feet in diameter was installed this was large enough for a train to pass through this pipe carried enough water to supply one gallon per hour to every person on earth

U.S. Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon wrote of the project: **“...It is nearly a mile long and as thick as two city blocks at the base. Already it towers thirty stories above bedrock, and soon it will be higher. Its bulk is three times that of the Great Pyramid; it contains enough concrete to pave a roadway around the globe. Behind it there is filling up an enormous reservoir that will be almost as long as Lake Ontario.**

“This is the Grand Coulee Dam, started in 1933 and to be finished by the end of this year [1940] Grand Coulee will irrigate and reclaim 1,200,000 acres of land. This is an area equal in size to the whole state of Delaware. It is not much less than the acreage of all the farms in New Jersey....”⁸²

“Not all Grand Coulee’s fabulous supply of power will brighten farmhouses and move the wheels of factories. Five of the eighteen generators will operate a dozen stupendous pumps, one of which could pump enough water for New York City. Each pump can lift fifty tons of water a second. And here is what the pumps will do. Grand Coulee Dam will raise the level of the Columbia River approximately 250 feet. The pumps will hoist part of the river another 250 feet, through great tunnels and conduits, from which it will flow into a deep chasm a mile wide and from twenty-five to thirty miles in length. This chasm, with walls as precipitous as the front of a safe, is the Grand Coulee of the Columbia River. It was carved ages ago when the river was diverted from its course by the Pleistocene ice sheet. The dam and pumps will duplicate the job the ice sheet did.”⁸³

GRAND COULEE DAM IS A MASSIVE PUBLIC WORKS PROJECT

More than 8,800 workers at the peak lived in nearby towns or settlements:

Grand Coulee, Electric City, Coulee, Coulee City, Elmer City, Delano, Osborne,
Grand Coulee Heights, Rim Rock, Government Town, Basin City, Mason City,
Engineer’s Town and Coulee Dam

preference was given to hiring people from Grant, Lincoln, Douglas, and Okanogan counties

which suffered from high unemployment and were located close to the construction site

women were hired to work at dorms and the cookhouse but not on the rest of the dam site

payroll was about \$120,000 per week -- the largest in the state

construction crews worked thirty-six hours in a seven day week

at an average wage was eighty cents an hour

One quarter of all government expenditures spent on water projects went to Washington

⁸² W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 459-460.

⁸³ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 461.

millions of dollars were pumped into the state's economy
Eighteen turbines develop 2.7 million horse power
horsepower rating of each turbine.....150,000
final capacity in kilowatts..... 108,000
combined capacity of the generators was rated at 2,280,000 kilowatts
Immense pumping plant capable of lifting 500 tons of water per second
raised water from the lake behind the dam 280 feet to be dumped into the dry canyon
(Grand Coulee Reservoir) blocked by two dikes (one dike ninety feet high)
this water would supply water to the Big Bend irrigation district
several thousand miles of canals, waterways and ditches were constructed
Total cost of project.....\$435,743,000
lack of fish ladders blocked the annual salmon migration to half the Columbia drainage area
seventy-seven lives were lost during construction
Benefit to the state's economy was enormous:
homes and work for 100,000 employees
population in the Pacific Northwest increased to 1,403,000
taxable wealth in the Pacific Northwest increased by \$3,000,000,000

COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT FEATURES TWO LAKES

Grand Coulee Dam formed 151-mile-long Lake Roosevelt
water from the lake was released to sixteen generators in the powerhouses
excess water flowed over the 320-foot tall and 1,650-foot-wide spillway
to continue on as the Columbia River
Another lake twenty-seven miles long was created when water was pumped from Lake Roosevelt
uphill 283 feet above the dam into the Grand Coulee
this lake was named after Frank Banks, chief engineer for the Bureau of Reclamation
it provided irrigation water for more than 500,000 acres of arid Eastern Washington
within the Columbia Basin Irrigation District
(According to the federal Bureau of Reclamation the yearly value of the Columbia Basin Project is
\$950 million in power production, \$630 million in irrigated crops, \$50 million in recreation
and \$20 million in flood damage prevention

DISASTER HITS THE BOEING AIRPLANE COMPANY'S MODEL 299 HEAVY BOMBER

When Army Air Corps pilot Major Ployer Peter Hill and Boeing employee Les Tower
took the Model 299 on a second evaluation flight -- October 30, 1935
crew forgot to disengage the airplane's "gust lock" which held the bomber in place
while the aircraft was parked on the ground
Model 299 entered a steep climb, stalled, nosed over and crashed, killing Hill and Tower

crashed airplane could not finish the evaluation

Boeing was legally disqualified from the consideration for the contract
None-the-less, through a legal loophole U.S. government ordered
production of thirteen of the heavy bombers

DEMOCRATS CONTINUE TO DOMINATE NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS

Election results showed strong continued support FDR and the New Deal -- November 5, 1935
Washington's Congressional delegation remained solidly Democratic
Washington Commonwealth Federation Democrat candidates met with great success
twelve additional State Senate seats went to Democrats bringing the total to thirty-seven
State House of Representatives added twenty-one Democrats for a total of ninety-one
Washington Commonwealth Federation members had won positions in the legislature and Congress
WCF became a broadly successful political organization with a great deal of political influence
WCF united support for New Deal programs in the state and in the legislature
Washington had some of the most liberal and comprehensive pension and welfare policies
in the nation (by the end of the [1930s])

CHINESE CULTURAL CHANGES LEAD TO ADVANCES FOR THE YOUNGER GENERATION

In spite of the long pattern of discrimination against them in this country
Chinese settlers in the Pacific Northwest made some gains -- at least the younger generation did
young people demanded freedom to date and some even married Caucasian spouses
younger generation broke away from the Chinatown ghettos
(by the end of the [1930s]) Chinese people were distributed throughout residential areas
many of their parents begrudged their children's rather rapid departure from ancestral ways
children rebelled against Chinese language schools
which were conducted daily after public school and also on weekends
however, the traditional Chinese work ethic remained undiluted in later generations
second and third generation Chinese moved upward in the professions and in business

INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) CONVENTION IS HELD

AFL Convention convened in Atlantic City, New Jersey -- early November 1935
Task of organizing steelworkers drove a wedge between convention delegates
AFL was controlled by craft unionists
who looked down on both industrial workers and industrial unions as unskilled laborers
Organizing drives in the automobile, rubber and steel industries had been authorized [1934]
but the AFL gave little financial support or effective leadership to the new industry-wide unions
AFL's timid organizing effort discouraged workers in unorganized industries
where, at great personal risk, they had already achieved some organizing success

in fact, the AFL dissolved hundreds of industry-wide federations (non-voting) unions
John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers President and vice-president of the AFL
was presiding over the convention when one craft union president made a demeaning remark
about an unskilled worker delivering an organizing speech on the convention floor
John L. Lewis walked over and knocked the offender to the floor
Lewis then relit his cigar and returned to the rostrum to again lead the meeting
Lewis' image as someone willing to fight for workers' right to organize was established
John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers President and vice-president of the AFL
called for a new organizing strategy
unions should be organized industry-wide rather than on a craft basis
this, he reasoned, would allow for more inclusive organization
especially of nonwhite workers, women workers and unskilled workers
when the proposal was voted down by the convention delegates 18,024 to 10,933,
John L. Lewis set out to accomplish the task on his own

LABOR'S CIVIL WAR BEGINS

Shortly after the AFL Atlantic City, New Jersey United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis
called together eight other industrial union presidents to discuss formation of a new group
within the American Federation of Labor to carry on the fight for industry-wide organization
Lewis and eight other union presidents formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)
within the AFL with the purpose of organizing workers on an industry-wide basis

CONGRESS FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION (CIO) IS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE CIO

John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers was elected chairman
of the newly formed Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)
organized within the American Federation of Labor (AFL) -- November 9, 1935
Lewis tenaciously set out on his mission to organize the unorganized
he focused on organizing semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the mass production industries
under industrial union protection and representation
CIO gathered up unions as fast as possible
it quickly gained legitimacy and became a thorn in the AFL's side
as there was now a competitor to the AFL's monopoly on union dues
even so, the CIO was not opposed to the AFL itself

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION (CIO) GROWS IN NUMBERS

Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
efforts to organize unskilled workers was supported by Communist Party members
thousands of workers joined unions and went on strike as picket lines moved uptown

Initially, the CIO paid little attention to the timber industry because of their organized status
Sawmill and Timber Workers preferred the industry-wide organization of the CIO
to Abe W. Muir's United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Union of the AFL
however, the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union relationship with the CIO soon blossomed
Committee for Industrial Organization also gained control
of the Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association
except in the Port of Tacoma which remained loyal to the American Federation of Labor

MARITIME STRIKE EXPANDS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Nearly 500 ferry and freight boat employees of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Ferry Boatmen
tied up shipping on Puget Sound -- November 15, 1935
Negotiations to achieve an eight hour work day and "decent living wages" remained deadlocked
this strike involved six companies
Forty-seven vessels remained tied up
while eight others operated under special permission from the unions
and one company has signed an agreement with the two unions

CONCRETE POUR ON THE HIGH GRAND COULEE DAM BEGINS

Rock at the end of the high dam had to be polished so concrete would adhere to when it was poured
teams of tombstone polishers used brushes, soap and water to accomplish this task
Other teams of workers began to pour concrete -- December 6, 1935
bulk concrete was delivered on site by rail-cars
where it was further processed by eight large mixers
concrete was poured into fifty-square-foot columns by crane-lifted buckets
each bucket supported eight tons of concrete
concrete was poured at the rate of more than twenty tons a minute
until ten and a half million cubic yards of it shone whitely between the sun-scorched hills
Engineers faced a major crisis within Grand Coulee Dam itself
drying concrete produced heat, but the dam had to cool off to be strong
some engineers estimated that the work would be delayed more than 100 years
before the dam would be strong enough to hold back the Columbia River
to cool the concrete and facilitate contraction,
about 2,000 miles of pipe was inserted into the drying mass
cold water from the river was then pumped into the pipes
reducing core temperatures that exceeded 105°F down to 45°F
this caused the dam to contract about eight inches in length
gaps were filled with grout
work progressed on schedule

(*Wenatchee Daily World* announced that the river was diverted [December 15, 1936]
by early the next year people arrived in mass to the see the exposed river bed)

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER (P-I) WRITERS JOIN THE NEWSPAPER GUILD

Newspaper writers were some of the earliest private sector white-collar workers
to recognize the effectiveness of unionization

Thirty-five *Post-Intelligencer* writers after four months of effort successfully organized
a Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) Newspaper Guild chapter -- December 1935
despite owner William Randolph Hearst telling them they were too professional for unionism
(Hearst proved to be a first class red baiter, witch hunter, and union hater)

P-I joined in the *Seattle Times*' battle against Dave Beck and his AFL Teamsters
newspapers, and radio called Beck an outlaw

Beck sued for libel again -- again the case was settled out of court

Hearst writers shifted the attack

they argued their freedom of the press was endangered by Beck's lawsuits

FERRY WORKERS STRIKE COMES TO AN END

Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Ferry Boatmen refused all proposals brought to them
finally the union workers won a significant victory -- December 13, 1935

as Governor Clarence Martin agreed to appoint an arbitration board to resolve discrepancies
in hours, wages and overtime December 13, 1935

labor troubles were resolved and the boats returned to their normal schedules

DOUGLAS AIRCRAFT COMPANY DELIVERS A VERY POPULAR AIRPLANE

California competitor to Boeing produced the DC-3

more than 10,000 planes were produced by Douglas for commercial and military use
this plane was capable of carrying freight only up to 1,495 miles at 192 mph

Production of the DC-3 was begun and the first successful flight was taken -- December 17, 1935

HARRY LUNDEBERG RESIGNS AS PRESIDENT OF THE MFP

Lundeberg left his position with the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

when he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the International Seamen's Union (ISU)
succeeding long-time ISU leader Andrew Furuseth

William Fischer, the man Lundeberg had appointed vice president,
became president of the MFP -- December 1935

Through this succession Harry Lundeberg maintained considerable influence in the MFP

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC (SUP) FACES A CRISIS

Steam schooner sailors in a resolution signed by 300 men demanded a six-hour day in port
Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) passed the resolution -- December 16, 1935
Meanwhile, rumors of the International Seamen's Union (ISU) threatening to revoke
Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) charter continued to circulate on San Francisco's waterfront
New rumors that indicated the ISU would announce the opening of an office in San Francisco
to "safeguard the interest of the international union" surfaced -- end of December 1935
Sailor's Union of the Pacific Secretary-Treasurer Harry Lundeberg warned that the action was
"probably a move to be ready to LIFT THE CHARTER of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific"⁸⁴

CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK DISPLAYS BIZARRE BEHAVIOR

First District Congressman Marion Zioncheck had always fought hard and at times brilliantly,
for progressive causes as far back as his student days at the University of Washington
Congressman Zioncheck was an ardent supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal
he spent his first three years in congress as a sober, hard-working, dedicated legislator
Who was little known outside of Washington state
however, after three years in congress, his tireless work in behalf of the president's agenda
he began to show signs of cracking up due to alcoholism and mental illness
his hard work in congress was overshadowed by out of control escapades
Zioncheck entered the lobby of a posh Washington, D.C apartment house
in the early hours of the New Year -- January 1, 1936
he pushed the switchboard operator aside and merrily plugged in every telephone in the building
then wished all of the tenants a Happy New Year
four husky policemen testified in court that Congressman Zioncheck was so drunk
that they had to support him when they removed him from the building
Congressman Zioncheck was convicted of drunken and disorderly conduct
he took a copy of the court proceedings to the U.S. House of Representatives
and asked for unanimous consent to have the report printed in the Congressional Record

VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON EXPANDS ITS PORT

(Port of Vancouver, Washington added storage facilities and railroad spurs
to accommodate increased cargo handling [between 1933] and 1936
it purchased twenty-two acres of property downriver from the railroad bridge [May 1935])
Port of Vancouver received a \$136,000 grant
from the federal Public Works Administration (WPA) --January 1936
this was used to develop Terminal 2
which had an 860-foot dock and a warehouse enclosing 88,000 square feet

⁸⁴ Otilie Markholt, Maritime Solidarity, P. 252.

additional dredging was completed and the turning basins were enlarged

COMMUNISTS ARE ATTACKED BY VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS (VFW)

In Seattle VFW members stormed a meeting sponsored the Communist Party -- early January 1936
veterans entered the room it fiercely violated both property and civil rights
King County prosecutor's office filed charges against two of the raiders
Rae Miller and John Garvin

In spite of great political furor in opposition to the charges,
Prosecuting Attorney Warren G. Magnuson proceeded with the case
those who feared Communists even more than the loss of their own constitutional rights
targeted Magnuson as an enemy (then and for the rest of his political career)

U.S. SUPREME COURT ABOLISHES THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

In *U.S. v. Butler* the Supreme Court ruled 6-3 the *Agricultural Adjustment Act* was unconstitutional
on the grounds that the act did not levy a tax but rather tried to control production
and thus exceeded government responsibilities -- January 6, 1936
this [1933] law restricted agricultural production by paying farmers subsidies
not to plant part of their land (that is, to let a portion of their fields lie fallow)
and to kill excess livestock
its purpose was to reduce crop surplus and therefore effectively raise the value of crops

INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) FACES THE PROSPECT OF CHANGE

ISU primarily represented maritime employees along the Eastern seaboard and Gulf coast
on the west coast its main affiliation was with the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP)
whose charter was held by the ISU
ISU's only president, Andrew Furuseth had led the sailor's union since [1892]
it was apparent that after the [1934] labor struggles a new generation of labor leaders
had taken over making changes in union goals and tactics that were sweeping across the nation
it was possible that no change within the old ISU structure would have satisfied the activists
who wanted new leaders and a more aggressive program in tune with the times

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) REPRESENTS MARITIME WORKERS

Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) represented a new form of union organizational thinking
it was composed of West coast International Seamen's Union (ISU) locals
principally the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) headed by MFP President Harry Lundeberg
plus longshoremen and other groups of skilled AFL maritime workers
Along the West Coast, the unions of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific had a unique labor unity
after the [1934] strike it had been agreed by the Pacific Coast maritime unions

that there would be one overall labor body to coordinate the actions the unions undertook
this would be the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)
each union elected delegates to meet weekly and review all impending actions against shipowners
once an agreement on a course of action was reached by the MFP,
all unions were then notified of the proposed activities
thus the Federation strengthened all AFL craft unions in the maritime industry

SAN FRANCISCO LONGSHOREMEN IGNORE THE NEEDS OF THE MFP

Harry Bridges' San Francisco International Longshoremen's Association gave notice of its desire
to modify the terms of the of its agreement with the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific
not only did they want to changes some aspects of their labor contract
but they also wanted to be able to act jointly with the other maritime unions
if those organizations decided they wanted to change any of their working conditions
Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) union members elected a joint strike committee
members of the MFP and International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were represented
Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast Negotiating Committee was to bargain a new agreement
with the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific
Preparations were begun for a showdown

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC (SUP) IS BEING ATTACKED FROM THE OUTSIDE

Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) came under attack from the outside
SUP President Harry Lundeberg claimed that San Francisco longshore leader Harry Bridges
was attempting to take over the Sailors Union of the Pacific from the outside
in an effort to destroy the International Seamen's Union (ISU)

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC (SUP) IS BEING ATTACKED FROM THE INSIDE

Thirty-third annual convention of the International Seamen's Union (ISU) met -- January 1936
ISU executive board members pushed through a constitutional amendment
giving themselves the power to revoke the charter of any local union at any time
Leaders in the ISU charged that Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) officials
were not holding their required elections
they also had admitted into the union
former members of the Communist-backed Maritime Workers Industrial Union (MWIU)
further they had negotiated contracts with shipowners without the approval of the ISU
ISU reactionaries demanded that Harry Lundeberg and other SUP leaders be removed from office

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC (SUP) HAS ITS CHARTER REVOKED

Failing in their effort to have SUP President Harry Lundberg removed as the SUP president

International Seamen's Union (ISU) executive board members revoked the charter of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) -- January 12, 1936 they then expelled the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) from the ISU claiming it had been taken over by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Communists and other radicals

With the expulsion of the SUP from the International Seamen's Union (ISU) ISU's decay in leadership could no longer be denied

ISU President Andrew Furuseth's philosophy was obsolete in the face of the new and more modern spirit alive in the rank and file membership When the International Seamen's Union (ISU) expelled the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) it was, in effect, the death certificate of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) and the ISU

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC FORMS AN INDEPENDENT LABOR UNION

Harry Lundeberg and other West Coast militants replied to the revocation of the SUP charter by putting the union on an "emergency program" footing

Substitute membership books were printed, in which each member signed a pledge to support the expelled union's elected officers

Thousands of sailors responded to the emergency call, and the now-independent SUP was able to maintain its strength as the representative of the West Coast sailors

After the loss of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) members International Seamen's Union (ISU) went into a rapid decline

WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS PREPARE FOR A FIGHT WITH LABOR

Negotiations between the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast and maritime unions loomed in the future and a strike would be necessary to achieve their bargaining goals ships would be tied up along the entire West Coast from Alaska to Mexico

Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast wanted to break the Maritime Federation of the Pacific waterfront unions were informed that shipowners were dissatisfied with the existing contracts they did not want to renew them but rather would return to [1934] working conditions

San Francisco's waterfront was alive with activity

longshoremen were working day and night shifts as employers stepped up the pace to get as much cargo moving as fast as possible and their ships out to sea

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC (SUP) ISSUES DEMANDS TO EMPLOYERS

Fifty-nine steam schooners are tied up

as the men refused to work more than a six hour day -- January 18, 1936

these ships ply coastwise between the northern lumber regions of Canada and San Francisco Steam schooner *Pennsylvania* was tied up for several days as the east coast ISU seamen

refused to man her unless they received the same rate of pay as west coast SUP crews

SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST TAKES A STAND

Shipowners' Association of the Pacific instead of negotiating tied up their vessels
when steam schooner crews refused to work more than six hours

Sailors' Union of the Pacific President Harry Lundeberg described the situation

in a letter -- January 22, 1936: **“The shipowners tied the steam-schooners up for lack of business, they said they didn't lock the men out, the Sailors didn't strike.... The steam-schooner situation is ready to break anytime now.... The only thing that holds it back right now is the shipowners are waiting for the I.S.U. Convention to yank the West Coast charter.”**⁸⁵

BOEING AIRPLANE COMPANY CONTINUES DEVELOPMENT OF ITS MODEL 299 BOMBER

More powerful Wright R-1820-39 “Cyclone” engines replace the original Pratt & Whitney engines

Boeing adopted a checklist to avoid accidents like the [October 30, 1935] Model 299 disaster

Boeing's Model 299 was officially designated the “B-17” -- January 1936

and was nicknamed the “Flying Fortress”

As the danger of global conflict grew, Boeing opened Plant 2 between Boeing Field

and south Seattle's Duwamish River to build the prototype for the B-17 Flying Fortress

(Boeing made additional improvements with larger flaps, rudder and a Plexiglas nose [1937])

COLUMBIA RIVER IS GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT IS WELL UNDER WAY

Powerhouse and pump station foundations were finished

Grand Coulee Bridge was completed -- January 24, 1936

three additional temporary bridges downstream also were also constructed

to move sand and gravel across the river for cement mixing

along with vehicles and construction workers

POWER COMPANIES ATTEMPT TO EXPAND IN WASHIGTON STATE

Public power advocates tried once again to build a dam in Snohomish County

opponents brought up the need for tax increases and condemnation of private property

The Everett Herald was against the idea, as was nearly every mayor in the county

proponents argued that a publicly owned utility

would give citizens an active voice in policies affecting service and operations

rates would be lower because they would not be driven by the need to make a profit,

financial benefits of the utility would stay in the community

rather than go to stockholders throughout the nation

⁸⁵ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 252.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER ALL OF McNEIL ISLAND

U.S. Government acquired the entire island either by purchasing the land outright or by using *eminent domain* (taking private property for public use) to acquire the land
Biggest problem for the penitentiary was the water supply⁸⁶
wells and springs were inadequate and unreliable
prisoners were detailed every day to pump water by hand into a reservoir on top of the cellblock
bathing facilities consisted of water heated in a barrel with hot bricks
when the water supply ran low, prisoners bathed in the frigid salt water of Puget Sound
Work was begun to finally solve the water supply problem by damming Eden Creek, creating a substantial reservoir named Butterworth Lake, and piping water to the prison -- 1936 with the addition of a water filtration plant,
the penitentiary now had its own adequate water supply system⁸⁷

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION FORMS ITS OWN TICKET OF CANDIDATES

WCF was composed of a mixture of farmers, labor, liberals, Socialists and Communists
Their desire to extend relief to poverty-stricken groups led the WCF to form its own political party
WCF hoped to generate campaign support by running Progressive candidates
and publicizing a comprehensive platform of social insurance, work programs, labor rights, and taxation of businesses and the wealthy in order to fund education and social programs
Washington Commonwealth Federation's Election Committee
was chaired by the Executive Director of the WCF -- Communist leader Howard Costigan
he had the responsibility of overseeing the selection of candidates to strengthen the slate
Costigan received letters from districts voicing their opinions about who should be endorsed and who might mistakenly split the WCF vote
Costigan's goal was to place one candidate per office in each legislative district

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION (WCF) SPONCERS SOCIAL REFORM

Both WCF members and Communists wanted to take Washington State's economy out of the hands of Wall Street and put it back in the hands of Washington residents
Social policies of the WCF centered on questions of labor rights:
•WCF supported the right of every worker to join a union,
•WCF called for the abolition of "yellow-dog" contracts,
(agreements workers were forced to sign guaranteeing that they would never join a union)
•WCF discouraged company-run unions,
•unlike Governor Clarence Martin, WCF was not in favor of using state or police to break strikes
To the Washington Commonwealth Federation education was a primary hope for social advancement

⁸⁶ Daryl C. McClary, HistoryLink.org, Essay 5238, April 17, 2003.

⁸⁷ Daryl C. McClary, HistoryLink.org, Essay 5238, April 17, 2003.

they felt the need for increased taxation to fund improved school conditions and teachers' salaries,
and advocated for cooperation with the federal government
to establish a permanent adult education program
among other proposals security of tenure and substantial pensions for educators
were two attempts at keeping teachers in school and educating promising youth
Economic and social reform were focal points in the WCF's Progressive agenda
they pushed for a corporation franchise tax and increasing taxes on businesses and the wealthy
to support federal social programs
they proposed a "production-for-use" initiative to be distributed to the voters

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION TURNS AWAY FROM COMMUNISTS

Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) ended its relationship with the Communist Party
because such an affiliation raised fears in the public
that WCF was being directed from the Soviet Union
to avoid even the appearance of Communist influence the WCF at first refused to seat
"suspected Communists" at their conventions

However, the political reality of Progressives organizing to work against European Fascists
and obstinate politicians like Governor Martin justified some cooperation with the Communists
WCF agreed to allow Communist seats at their convention and a voice within their federation

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION (WCF) RECEIVES OUTSIDE SUPPORT

WCF gained outside encouragement from the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA)
which supported a WCF effort to survey the unemployment situation in the Northwest
and demonstrated the need for mass relief for the unemployed to doubtful federal officials
WPA hoped to acquire a two billion dollar grant from the United States Treasury
for work projects, including slum clearance, street improvement, flood control,
and park and school maintenance in working-class neighborhoods

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION LEADS THE STATE'S DEMOCRATS

WCF filled the void in its membership from the loss of Communist supporters
by turning to the Washington State Democratic Party -- February 1936
as the base for putting their political agenda into action

Washington Commonwealth Federation was the radical left-wing of the state Democratic Party
WCF successfully gained control of the political party

Critics said WCF members were also Communist Party members

in fact, Communist Party leadership was critical to the formation of the WCF's agenda
but it was never a front for Stalin's doctrine

rather, WFC Communists were strong advocates of anti-Fascist and pro-New Deal ideals

DAVE BECK LEADS THE SEATTLE BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS UNION

Beck positioned himself to gain good contracts with Seattle businesses

his genius in organizing workers came from skillful negotiations with companies

his respectable approach to negotiations emphasized common interests with management

after all, higher costs could be passed on to consumer through higher prices

Beck had no time for labor radicals -- he was quick to adjust his leadership style

when positive negotiations with business owners proved to be more fruitful

he dropped his former strong-arm and goon-squad tactics

critics called his bargaining success labor price-fixing -- others said it was collusion with business

Beck believed it provided good wages and working conditions for his members

Dave Beck defended capitalism

better wages and working conditions guaranteed a stable, reliable work force

Seattle became a conservative labor town with Dave Beck as its most potent leader

SOIL CONSERVATION AND DOMESTIC ALLOTMENT ACT PASSES CONGRESS

Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act was enacted by Congress -- February 29, 1936

this law replaced the Agricultural Adjustment Act

(that had been declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court [January 6, 1936])

Farmers were to be paid for withdrawing land planted with soil-depleting crops

and for their efforts to control erosion and soil wastage

WILDCAT (UNAUTHORIZED) STRIKE ABOARD THE *SS CALIFORNIA*

Joseph Curran was a seaman aboard the Panama Pacific Line's ocean liner *SS California*

which was then tied up at San Pedro (port for Los Angeles)

although he had joined the International Seamen's Union (ISU),

Curran did not participate in union activities

At sailing time, Joe Curran and the crew of the *SS California* went on strike

they refused to cast off the lines unless West Coast wage scale and overtime wages were paid

Curran and the crew also refused to leave the ship

as they knew the owners would simply replace them with strikebreakers

their strike was essentially a sit-down strike -- March 1- 3, 1936

(sitting down on the job was a new type of action that was to become common)

Finally, United States Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins personally intervened in the dispute speaking to the strikers by telephone, Perkins agreed to arrange a grievance hearing

once the ship docked at its destination in New York City

she said there would be no reprisals by the company or the government against the strikers

JOHN F. DORE IS REELECTED MAYOR OF SEATTLE

After being defeated as Seattle Mayor by Charles L. Smith [March 6, 1934]

John F. Dore ran for reelection

Before his election to office he tried to straddle the political fence

declaring Dave Beck and Harry Bridges were “the two greatest friends I ever had”

When he took office, Mayor Dore said

Dave Beck had been the most important factor in his election

he continued to enjoy the solid, continued support of Dave Beck and the Teamsters Union
As political issues became increasingly volatile

Mayor Dore was forced to join with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) forces

he stated that he was going to pay Dave Beck back if it was the last thing he ever did

As Beck’s aggressive recruiting tactics became more and more high-handed

it was evident that Mayor Dore’s choice of friends might well put an end to his political career

SECOND STAGE OF THE SKAGIT RIVER HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT IS COMPLETED

The project, privately owned and operated by Seattle City Light, provided electric power
for the City of Seattle and surrounding communities

(first construction effort in the project was Gorge Dam [1921-1924])

Construction of Diablo Dam on the Skagit River, the second of three dams, was begun [1927]
at 389 feet this was the tallest dam in the world at that time

however, due to political issues, the dam produced no electricity for Seattle until 1936
when the first of two massive 78,000-kilowatt generators was installed

(Skagit River Project Superintendent James Ross

had been dismissed by Seattle Mayor Charles L. Smith who was, himself, recalled)

newly-elected Seattle Mayor John F. Dore reinstated Superintendent Ross

(Final construction effort in the Skagit Project was Ruby Dam [1937-1940])

Ruby Dam was renamed Ross Dam in honor of James Delmage Ross [1872–1939],

Superintendent of the Skagit River Project

second and third stages of Ross Dam were completed [1953]

when the dam was built to its final height of 540 feet)

WAREHAEUSER EXPERIENCES A BOOM IN PLYWOOD PRODUCTION

Plywood operations at Weyerhaeuser Timber Company’s Longview plant

proved to be so successful that a second mill was opened in Everett -- 1936

DAVE BECK RISES IN POWER IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST TEAMSTERS’ UNION

Dave Beck was easily the Brotherhood of Teamsters most powerful regional leader in Washington
and a dominant personality in Pacific coast labor

Capitalizing on the revolution taking place in motor transportation,

Dave Beck moved rapidly up the ranks of the Brotherhood of Teamsters

Beck's Teamsters forced many trucking industry drivers to accept the union and its contract or be denied access to pick up or deliver goods in unionized cities

Structurally, the Brotherhood of Teamsters locals were strong, autonomous, and independent they organized, provided benefits and negotiated bargaining agreements for union members who worked in a specific trade in a specific city

such as the bakery truck drivers in Tacoma or the laundry truck drivers in Seattle

Teamsters Union bargained with the employer or employers

only in the cities where members worked

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION PROPOSES RADICAL CHANGES

WCF opposed America's involvement in the war brewing in Europe

compulsory military training was viewed as a violation of civil rights

when the American Student Union of the University of Washington

submitted a petition for making military training optional in Washington State,

WCF listened and adopted the proposal in their political platform

Farmers lost a lot of revenue because private enterprise distributed their goods in the open market

for those farmers who still struggled, the WCF endorsed a plan that would provide assistance

by initiating state-owned corporations to distribute farm products

WCF was instrumental in working for passage of important social policy for Washington residents

WCF continued its push for a ballot proposal to be sent to the voters

that asked for the creation of a socialist state

WCF'S INITIATIVE 119 PROPOSES WASHINGTON BECOME A SOCIALIST STATE

Socialism had risen out of the ghost of the Utopian Colonies [1900-1910]

this proposal would have created state-owned factories, farms, insurance companies,

public electric utility companies and state-operated medicine

WCF's "production for use" rather than "production for profit" plan

Initiative 119 proposed to take idle factories and farmland and turn them into cooperatives

it was suggested this plan would assure adequate funds for farms to remain in operation

this plan was designed to employ the jobless as well as eliminate the market middle-man

four districts would be set up where factories would be operated by employed city workers

they would receive either a wage or commodities for their labor

because not contributing to the state's debt was an obvious goal of financing the project

funds essential to this program were to be acquired from a small tax and federal aid

TEMPERS FLARE ON THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES' FLOOR

Congressman Marion Zioncheck and Congressman Thomas Blanton (D-Texas) had long been at odds and exchanged bitter remarks frequently during house debate Zioncheck criticized what he termed “innuendoes” against members of the house he referred to the fact that Blanton “Once said I was doped.”

Congressman Zioncheck stated on the U.S. House Floor,

“I am going to put into the record that Blanton is the son of a Texan” -- April 14, 1936

Zioncheck then he said he would revise his remark to leave a “blank” for the offensive word Blanton jumped out his chair as Zioncheck, who was much younger, stood up to meet Blanton they tried to swing at each other with their fists on the floor of the house but they were prevented by other members from engaging in a fist fight

CONGRESSMAN ZIONCHECK GOES ON THE ATTACK

On again on the Floor of the U.S. House of Representatives,

Washington’s Congressman Marion Zioncheck launched into a defamatory attack on U.S. Representative Tom Blanton (D-Texas) regarding his political activities and his stand against Communism -- April 19, 1936

Congressman Blanton the Congressional Record be expunged of the attack

CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK IS REBUKED BY HOUSE MEMBERS

After yet another verbal assault on Texas Congressman Blanton,

House members soundly rebuked Zioncheck by voting 274 to 0

to expunge from the Congressional record a page and a half of remarks

Zioncheck had inserted [April 19] about Representative Blanton (D-Texas)

After the vote to expunge the record was taken Congressman Zioncheck in the angry speech

declared Director of the FBI J. Edgar Hoover “may know the answer to the Hauptmann murder”

Zioncheck denounced Hoover as a “dictator” and “master of fiction” -- April 21, 1936

Zioncheck began to show signs of psychological difficulties due to alcoholism and mental illness

the congressman built such a record of outlandish behavior both on and off the House floor

that even Congressmen who liked a little eccentricity to enliven the legislative atmosphere

had begun to regard him as the capitol’s number one problem child

CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK GETS MARRIED

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes stated Zioncheck asked him to officiate in his marriage

to twenty-one-year-old stenographer Miss Rubye Louise Nix

Ickes was unwilling and informed the congressman he had no authority to perform marriages

After a twenty-four-hour courtship, or perhaps no romance at all,

Zioncheck went to Annapolis, Maryland where he borrowed \$2 to buy a marriage license

Ruby Louise Nix became the congressman’s wife

WCF IS OPPOSED TO GOVERNOR MARTIN'S POLITICAL AGENDA

Governor Martin's conservative Democratic political agenda was not well received by the WCF according to Communist Party and WCF leader Howard Costigan:

- Martin refused to tax the rich;
- Martin approved the misuse of approximately \$30,000,000 worth of funding that was intended for the impoverished and unemployed but, in fact, only increased the gap between the working and upper classes;
- Martin also deflected a "free education" proposal as well as increased salaries for teachers;
- as a representative of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal Democratic Party, Governor Martin was supposed to have labor's best interest in mind but his management of union strikes showed quite the opposite;
- Martin's plan for old age pensions was inadequate to the needs of most working citizens he claimed to have administered 25,000 pensions but the number barely reached 20,000 and the benefit sent was only twenty dollars a month

TEAMSTERS FORM JOINT COUNCILS TO COORDINATE THE UNION'S EFFORTS

Over-the-road truck drivers did not live and work in one place but rather drove long-haul assignments Dave Beck realized how important it was to develop a means to negotiate region-wide contracts to ensure consistency in wages and benefits

if that did not occur, trucking company owners could easily move a terminal to an area where negotiated wages were low

Teamster Joint Councils were established to further the members' influence across a broader area where there were three or more Teamster locals in one location

Dave Beck negotiated the first area-wide trucking agreement -- 1936

covering over-the-road drivers in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana

Teamster Joint Councils coordinated Teamster activities

they focused on recruiting new members and organizing new locals

they decided jurisdictional matters within the region

Dave Beck's Teamsters controlled truck drivers in Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland and Fresno

STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IS EXTREMELY CONTENTIOUS

Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) shaped Washington state politics

during the 1936 State Democratic Convention held at the Morck Hotel in Aberdeen -- May 23

3000 delegates composed of a mixture of farmers, labor, liberals, Socialists and Communists

wore colored arm bands: yellow for conservatives and orange for liberals

King County Prosecutor Warren G. Magnuson was elected as permanent chairman of the convention since the death of Scott Bullitt [April 10, 1932] Magnuson carried on the task

of holding together the Democratic Party's liberal and conservative wings
Progressives discontent with Governor Martin led to a revolt against him during the convention
however, WCF Convention Delegates and other progressives
were unable to deny Governor Martin's re-nomination (and subsequent reelection) -- 1936
Initiative 119 ignited the most radical and riotous Democratic Party Convention in state history
WCF had a majority of the convention delegates and pushed through a radical plank
calling for state ownership of basic industries and other Progressive measures
at 1:00 a.m., Magnuson left the platform for a backroom meeting
with liberal and conservative leaders
when he returned to the rostrum, Magnuson brought with him a compromise
(this type of result became a signature for Magnuson)
convention endorsed state Socialism as envisioned in Initiative 119 "in principal"
liberals of the Washington Commonwealth Federation had won enforcement of I-119
conservatives had saved face by avoiding the specific demands of the Initiative

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION PUSHES ITS LIBERAL AGENDA

Petitions in support of Washington Commonwealth Federation's Initiative 119 were drawn up
voters were asked to sign petitions in support of the proposal
to bring the issue to the general election ballot
campaign headquarters were established in every legislative district
WCF argued that continued farm production would boost Washington State's economy of as a whole

WCF RUNS ITS OWN CANDIDATE AGAINST GOVERNOR CLARENCE MARTIN

Washington Commonwealth Federation was delighted to support
King County Commissioner and radical radio personality John C. Stevens
in a Primary election race against Democratic Governor Clarence Martin
State voters were faced with a complicated choice
between the rich, honest, unimaginative, conservative incumbent
and his rich, opportunistic, brilliant, radical opponent
John Stevens' platform was a complete reverse of that of Governor Martin's administration
with the timber workers' strike in mind, Stevenson encouraged passing a six-hour work day
as well as higher wages

John Stevens' political agenda was straight from the Progressive menu:

- Stevens offered a program for fair taxation based on property holdings;
- he strived to increase educational funding and provide better salaries for teachers;
- he advocated for an old age pension for the elderly;
- heading Stevenson's ticket, and marking him as a radical, was his support for Initiative 119

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION RUNS A WELL ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN

Since WCF was not a financial powerhouse, it relied on its members and candidates

to help pay campaign expenditures

candidates for state office were expected to pay ten percent of the cost

to operate a campaign headquarters while county commissioners paid twenty percent

WCF worked hard to spread its campaign, and especially its radical pro-reform message,

throughout the state and to finance the effort properly

WCF used every advertising outlet at their disposal

including a sound truck donated by the Commonwealth Builders, Inc. for public speeches

most valuable source of advertisement, other than WCF's own newspaper, *The Sunday News*

was Saul Haas' KIRO radio station which featured installments of political news

in its normal programming

in addition to speeches, newspapers, radio, and print propaganda,

committees were formed to supervise all aspects of the election campaign

and to make the WCF's electoral slate attractive throughout all regions of the Washington

MIDWEST FARMERS CONTINUE TO FACE IMPOSSIBLE ODDS

Those who stayed on the land during the depression and drought faced an environmental nightmare

dust storms came in spring (and summer) when farmers had to be out on the land planting seed

after a hard day's work, dust would have sifted under their goggles and through their clothes,

often wind would lift the soil and the newly planted seed, destroying all of the day's work

Midwest farmers also faced an infestation of grasshoppers and a weed called Russian thistle

swarms of grasshoppers in the millions descended from the north like a plague

they would darken the skies as they approached, only distinguishable from a dust storm

by the unique glittering appearance of their translucent silvery wings

wherever they landed they ate crops, pastures and plants that had survived the drought

and left destruction in their wake

they were so thick they often clogged the radiators of cars and made the roads slippery

chickens and turkeys ate the insects giving a foul taste to meat and eggs

there was no pesticide and no way to control the infestations

Russian thistle piled up against fences and barns, often to a depth of twenty feet

at the peak of the thistle crisis there was not even hay to feed starving livestock

this caused the price of cattle to drop to three-and-a-half to four cents per animal

CHALLENGE TO WASHINGTON'S BLANKET PRIMARY ELECTION LAW IS DECIDED

(Washington State voters had successfully petitioned the legislature

to change the state's Primary Election law in Initiative 2 in a "Blanket Primary" system

that allowed voters to cross political party lines and vote for any candidate of any office

Washington State Legislature passed Initiative 2 as written [February 21, 1935]
both Democrat and Republican Party leaders challenged the new law in court)
Washington's Supreme Court upheld the blanket primary statutes (*Anderson v. Millikin*) -- June 1936
representing the state in the case against the political party leaders
was Seattle Prosecuting Attorney General Warren G. Magnuson

WASHINGTON CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK CONTINUES TO ACT STRANGELY

Zioncheck exhibited an erratic personality by carrying out bizarre exploits
he and his wife Rubye Louise were arrested by Capitol police
for cavorting late at night in the fountain pool on the capital grounds
and driving on the White House lawn
they were charged with being drunk and disorderly
he was placed in the Baltimore mental hospital from which he shortly escaped
vacationing in Puerto Rico, and again drunk, Zioncheck wrecked a car
when confronted by the local police he demanded U.S. Marine protection
back in New York, he and Rubye again made news after an all-night drinking party
in a midtown nightclub
Closely watched by the national media, Congressman Marion Zioncheck responded to the publicity
by announcing he was considering running for governor

DROUGHT CONDITIONS CONTINUE TO SWEEP ACROSS THE MIDWEST

Number of dirt storms increased and spread out of the Plains states and across most of the nation
One very pleasant day the ground began to tremble -- June 19, 1936
an earthquake tore open the hard Oklahoma soil
from Kenton to Perryton and from Liberal to Stratford
at the same time, temperatures broke the [1934] record high by soaring above 120 degrees
(extreme temperatures would continue into the fall)
Other earthquakes followed throughout the Plains states -- June 21

CONGRESS MANDATES THE CONTINUOUS DISCHARGE ("FINK") BOOK

Congress passed the *Merchant Marine Act* of 1936 which required sailors
to carry a permanent identification booklet in lieu of discharge certificates for each voyage
in it a man's entire record of voyages and conduct would be revealed to each new employer
this was an obvious effort to reinstitute blacklisting of known labor militants
This requirement to carry a "fink book" was met by deep resentment and anger among sailors
throughout the U.S. over 50,000 signed pledge cards refusing to take the book -- June 29, 1936
Although the Communists at first supported the fight against the fink books, it became apparent
they were not happy opposing something that FDR and his administration supported

fink books became the basis of a new conflict between the Sailors Union of the Pacific leaders and Communist union activists who wished to support Roosevelt in an anticipated war against Fascist uprisings in Europe rank and file sailors did not support the Communist position on European issues

CONGRESSMAN ZIONCHECK ADDS TO HIS RECORD OF UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOR

He exhibited an erratic personality accompanied by bizarre exploits each incident was reported in newspaper headlines:

“Zioncheck Wades in Rockefeller Center Pool”

“Zioncheck Delivers Satchel full of Beer Bottles to White House”

“Zioncheck Charges Vice President with Kidnapping His Wife”

Beset by the press and by critics of Roosevelt’s policies, Zioncheck became depressed he hinted that he might not seek reelection to a third term in Congress

Emotionally and physically drained and publicly ridiculed Zioncheck left Washington, D.C to visit his sick mother in Seattle and campaign for reelection

HARRY BRIDGES IS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT ILA

Collective success during the San Francisco longshore strike and the general strike [1934] led to Harry Bridges becoming

President of the Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA)

pro-Communist Harry Bridges took up the leadership reins -- July 9, 1936

Harry Bridges’ goal to unite the Pacific Coast labor force of longshoremen and sailor unions

began to take place as he developed plans to bring solidarity to the unions of the waterfront

HARRY BRIDGES BEGINS IN “MARCH INLAND”

Cargo which arrived by ship had to be unloaded onto the docks

Pacific Coast International Longshoremen’s Association President Harry Bridges claimed jurisdiction over these workers

Cargo was next moved to warehouses on the docks for storage

warehouse workers had been placed under the International Longshoremen’s Association [1917]

but they had been largely ignored by the international union

Finally, goods were trucked from port warehouses to various parts of the city

for storage in uptown warehouses to be trucked to all parts of the nation

these workers had been placed under the International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA) [1917]

but they had been largely ignored by the international union

Warehousemen’s Union had recruited, at most, 300 new members

Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA) President Harry Bridges

led his (AFL) longshoremen on a “March Inland” to recruit new union members

he focused on unorganized and Teamster warehousemen
he set out in San Francisco to recruit the warehousemen into the ILA
Harry Bridges aggressively organized nearby nonunion warehouses
all wholesale coffee houses, wholesale grocery, hardware, drug stores, cold storage plants
as well as hay, fuel and feed firms and the general warehouses were organized
Bridges entered into competition with anti-Communist ILA President Joe Ryan
who adhered to craft unionism
this conflict was sharpened by their ideological differences
and AFL's refusal to ally itself with unskilled workers
or to represent unskilled workers in negotiating bargaining agreements
(Bridges ended up almost doubling San Francisco Local 38-44's membership
which included more than 4,500 warehousemen inland from the docks [end of 1936])
Portland, Los Angeles and other port cities also saw successful organizing drives

WARREN G. MAGNUSON ANNOUNCES HIS RUN FOR CONGRESS

Warren Magnuson was first elected to the state legislature at age twenty-seven -- [November, 1932]
next he was elected King County Prosecutor [1934]
Magnuson began talking openly with Governor Clarence Martin and U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone
about his congressional ambitions
he joined the Left-wing Washington Commonwealth Federation
After informing U.S. Representative Marion Zioncheck of his intentions
Magnuson filed against his college classmate
for the First Congressional District office -- August 1, 1936

CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK CHOOSES NOT TO RUN FOR REELECTION

He announced he would not seek office for a third term because of the ill health of his mother
(or, perhaps, because Warren Magnuson had entered the race two days before) -- August 3, 1936
In fact, Zioncheck's political allies were abandoning him as his reelection drew closer
Washington Commonwealth Federation leaders promised only to support no candidate
they would provide an endorsement to Zioncheck

CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK'S SHOCKING DEATH

Congressman Zioncheck accompanied by his wife Rubye Louise and brother-in-law William Nadeau
were on their way to a to a meeting of postal workers who had supported him in his bids for office
they stopped in front of Seattle's Arctic Club in the downtown Arctic Building
where Marion's campaign headquarters was located on the fifth floor
Congressman Zioncheck told his wife he was going upstairs for a minute
but after a considerable time he still had not returned

William Nadeau went to the fifth floor to check on the congressman

Nadeau found the congressman seated at his desk writing and encouraged him to hurry

Marion Zioncheck put on his coat as if to leave

then he suddenly whirled and bolted across the room

he rushed to the open window and plunged out headfirst

Marion Zioncheck died after plummeting to the sidewalk at 3rd Avenue and Cherry Street

he struck the pavement directly in front of the car occupied by his wife Ruby

she screamed and fainted

Congressman Zioncheck was dead at the age of thirty-five -- late afternoon August 7, 1936

William Nadeau found a hastily written note on Zioncheck's desk which read: **"My only hope in life was to improve the condition of an unfair economic system that held no promise ... (or) even a decent chance to survive let alone live."**

Marion Zioncheck's suicide cleared the way for a First Congressional District seat to a bid

by King County Prosecutor Warren G. Magnuson (who was elected the following [November]

(There are still some members of Zioncheck's family who believe

that he was pushed out of the window and that the note left was not written by him

they point to several run-ins that Zioncheck had with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover

once Zioncheck sent a truckload of manure to Hoover's front steps and had it dumped

CONGRESSMAN MARION ZIONCHECK IS MOURNED IN DEATH

Both the University of Washington and Boeing closed down for half a day in his honor

Perhaps feeling no small amount of guilt over the death of his college friend and associate

Magnuson noted in a speech, **"[Congressman Marion Zioncheck] was the most brilliant of our young Democrats, passionately devoted to the idea of leadership. He felt the corporate structure must be made amenable to community spirit. He was opposed to the application of forces by an armed minority. He believed the days of Cain and the exploitation of neighbors must give way to the Golden Rule.**

Marion felt too profoundly and too intensely, a heavy responsibility to his fellow man. There are many impression and recollections of our dead comrade. I give them to you with only one hope -- that we shall continue together where he left off."⁸⁸

(Congressman Zioncheck is buried in Evergreen-Washelli Cemetery in Seattle)

WARREN G. MAGNUSON'S CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN

Warren Magnuson promised his friend Sal Haas (Roosevelt's state reelection campaign manager)

he would run on the programs proposed by FDR and the New Deal

Magnuson strongly supported Franklin D. Roosevelt as the savior of capitalism

Maggy's speeches promised **"water power for the benefit of people -- without profit"**⁸⁹

⁸⁸Scates, Shelby. *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 58.

he also demanded federal money for further development of the Bremerton Naval Shipyard
he said Social Security and Unemployment Insurance should be provided to all workers
he noted the Civilian Conservation Corps must continue to shore up the free-falling economy
business could survive only if people had jobs which paid sufficient wages
to allow for the purchase of their industrial products

in a radio address, Magnuson stated: **“A democracy survives only when it adjusts itself to economic change. The world faces a machine age, fast moving progress that necessitates alertness to its consequence. Some countries fail.... The result is dictatorships and monarchies. Scandinavians faced the same problems and adjusted with unemployment insurance, public utilities, cooperative enterprises -- far sighted reforms while we slept.”**⁹⁰

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER (P-I) EXPERIENCES LABOR PROBLEMS

Seattle had three daily newspapers: *Seattle Times*, *Post-Intelligencer*, and the *Seattle Star*

P-I workers attempted to organize a Chapter of the newly-created American Newspaper Guild affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) -- 1936

P-I owner William Randolph Hearst refused to even discuss the matter with the union

Hearst's editorial writers argued that freedom of the press was endangered by unionization
he did not understand how much his anti-FDR positions and other anti-labor writings
offended the working community of Seattle

Two longtime editorial employees of the *P-I* were fired -- August 14, 1936

management cited their inefficiency and gross insubordination,

but the men claimed the action was because they had joined the American Newspaper Guild
although tiny, with a local membership of only thirty-five, the Guild threatened a strike
unless the two men were reinstated

Guild members gained the support of the Seattle Central Labor Council
whose most influential member was Dave Beck

CONSTRUCTION CONTINUES ON THE GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT

MWAK, the primary construction company, had begun constructing cofferdams [January 1, 1935]

Columbia River's entire channel between the east and west cofferdams
had been diverted as the foundations were constructed

Once the west foundation of the dam was complete, portions of the cofferdam could be dismantled
allowing water to flow through part of the dam's new foundation on the west end -- August 1936
(Construction of the east coffer dam was dismantled in early [December])

WASHINGTON'S FIRST "BLANKET" PRIMARY ELECTION IS HELD

⁸⁹ Scates, Shelby. *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 67

⁹⁰ Scates, Shelby. *Warren G. Magnuson*. P. 52.

Former governor Roland H. Hartley was the lone Republican in the primary race

Six candidates filed for the governor's office as Democrats -- 1936

Governor Clarence Martin, at the end of his first term, found his political party divided

Martin faced opposition from five candidates within his own Democratic Party

his strongest Primary Election opposition was from John C. Stevenson

liberal leader of the Washington Commonwealth Federation

John C. Stevenson maintained a radically liberal philosophy

he was a strong advocate of "production for use" economics

Nobody trusted the public opinion polls very much

but when gamblers started giving odds of two-to-one in favor of Governor Martin

Washington Commonwealth Federation bosses decided it was time to quit

at the last possible moment they held a quick caucus meeting

Commonwealth Federation leaders announced they were leaving the Democratic Party

and would file their own ticket of candidates for the upcoming election

Communist Howard Costigan who left his position as Federation executive secretary

had been selected at the caucus meeting to be their candidate for governor

this infuriated Stevenson and his supporters and it helped to split the Federation

Under the newly-implemented election system, voters could vote for one candidate for each office

no matter the candidate's political party affiliation

many conservative Republicans voted for Governor Martin in the Democratic primary

they happily took the opportunity to select a conservative Democrat to run against Hartley

they "**crossed over**" party lines to assure Martin became the Democratic candidate

running as a supporter of the New Deal -- but in fact an economic conservative

PEARL WANAMAKER SEEKS HIGHER OFFICE⁹¹

State Representative Pearl Wanamaker challenged incumbent Mon Wallgren

for the 2nd Congressional District seat in the 1936 Democratic primary election -- August 18

she lost badly

Pearl took a job as a lobbyist job for the Washington Education Association (WEA) -- 1936

in the upcoming [1937-1938] legislative session

POST-INTELLIGENCER NEWSPAPER GUILD MEMBERS STRIKE

Wearing AFL armbands and "Hearst is Unfair" signs a few American Newspaper Guild members

began marching meekly in front of the *P-I* Building -- morning August 19, 1936

they were joined by hundreds of local citizens who were either pro-union or anti-*P-I*

warehousemen from Seattle's busy waterfront dropped their hooks and joined the line

creating a crowd that completely circled the newspapers' building

⁹¹ Michael Hood, HistoryLink.org, Essay 9171, September 26, 2009.

Newspaper Guild members received an outpouring of support

American Federation of Labor's International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in Seattle joined the picket line of the striking *P-I* union members

Dave Beck ordered his AFL affiliated Teamsters to participate in support of the Newspaper Guild when Teamsters refused to cross the *P-I* picket lines, it became difficult to print the paper, much less deliver the newspaper to readers and advertisers

P-I writers declared that Sawmill and Timber Union (STW) workers also joined the Newspaper Guild picket line

effectively cutting off the supply of newsprint to the paper

P-I management asked the *Seattle Star* to print its morning edition -- the *Star* agreed *Seattle Times* joined the struggle against the union and published anti-Beck editorials

Beck sued the *Times* for defamation of character and liable

but the issue was settled out of court

Hearst writers shifted the attack as they now argued their freedom of the press was endangered by Dave Beck's lawsuits

Violence erupted when several non-striking employees were beaten as they tried to sneak through the strikers' blockade

P-I was forced to suspend operations

NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MARITIME INDUSTRY ARE AT A STANDSTILL

During contract talks with the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast Negotiating Committee shipowners insisted they wanted to restore the [pre-1934] strike conditions they demanded that unions give up control of the hiring halls

and that the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) give up the six-hour day they had won in [1934]

At the same time the sea-going unions demanded an eight-hour day aboard ship with paid overtime along with many other long-sought conditions and improvements

shipowners replied that the whole matter must be resubmitted to arbitration

and, in the meantime, [pre-1934] conditions would be re-imposed

It was apparent that shipowners were intent on a lock-out of their union employees

in a effort to destroy unions' solidarity along the Pacific coast

shipowners were well-prepared

they had assessed all their members a tonnage tax [since 1934] that was put into a fund to "take on the unions" -- the fund amounted to well over \$200 million

on-the-other-hand, the ships' Firemen's Union bank account amounted to less than \$2,000

most maritime unions had even less in their treasuries

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) unions were less the two years old -

thus they had little money either

SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC HAS UNION LEADERS ARRESTED

With only thirty-three days left to negotiate before time ran out

in San Francisco, five gold-braided lieutenants, captains and an inspector all in police uniforms charged through the Marine Federation of the Pacific's (MFP) main office and into the office of Marine Firemen's Union spokesman Earl King

King came out of the office handcuffed and was hauled off to jail -- August 29, 1936

it was a shocking occurrence that rocked the waterfront

Afternoon's newspapers carried the headlines: "Union Leader Arrested in Murder Conspiracy"

an article told of a ship's chief engineer who was stabbed to death on board the SS *Point Lobos* while it was tied up in Alameda, California and how the killers got away

(all of this had taken place some five months earlier)

police had tracked down one of the killers and arrested him in Texas

he was supposed to have confessed and named not only Earl King,

but Ernest Ramsay, a minor union official, and Frank Connor, a ship's union delegate

newspapers played up the story as the murder of an anti-union engineer by a union goon squad

Those who knew the three men also were aware that they were incapable of such an act

if the maritime employers thought their arrests would divide the ranks, they were mistaken

rank and file union members became more closely united than they had ever been

they believed shipowners had something to do with this plot

to remove progressive union leaders during negotiations

and a strike-threatening situation

Negotiations continued with the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast Negotiating Committee

PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL LONGSHORE ASSOCIATION (ILA)

Entered into negotiations with the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast

no agreement could be reached -- even on how to proceed in the effort to achieve a settlement

longshoremen held fast for negotiation -- employers demanded arbitration

As the old contract was running out both, sides prepared for a showdown -- September 1936

MOST PACIFIC NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT MANAGEMENT OVER THE MARITIME UNIONS

Newspapers along the coast, with the exception of the *San Francisco News*,

blasted away daily with scare stories of the impending disaster

that unions intended to "let loose on the people"

Red-baiting stories of "Communist conspiracies" were being "uncovered" daily

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was the man most hated by shipowners

he was referred to as "that Red in the White House," and he was coming up for reelection

maritime employers hoped Alf Landon, the Republican candidate, would beat Roosevelt

Employers were also counting on rifts in the ranks of labor

like the one Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP), was generating

Lundeberg and Harry Bridges were feuding over union policy

employers intended to take advantage of this rift and widen it into a chasm

SEATTLE *POST-INTELLIGENCER* STRIKE CONTINUES ON

Seattle's newspaper establishment was irate

Hearst's *P-I* issued a statement that "radical racketeers" were threatening the community

Seattle Times publisher C.B. Blethen, usually the archenemy of Hearst, joined in

he loudly condemning the strike -- and above all, Dave Beck

"Seattle is now the plaything of a dictator,"

Blethen wrote indignantly in a bold front-page editorial which noted: **"The suspension of The Post-Intelligencer is more likely than not to mark the place where Seattle lies -- dead. How do you like the look of Dave Beck's gun? The shame of it!"**

Industrial workers rallied to the support of the American Newspaper Guild in Seattle

OTHER UNORGANIZED WORKERS LOOK TO UNIONS FOR PROTECTION

Inspired by the solidarity on the waterfront,

bakery wagon drivers in various parts of California unified their locals

retail clerks, affected by the upsurge of militancy in other unions,

organized unions which invaded department and chain stores

striking lettuce pickers in Salinas, California one hundred miles south of San Francisco,

turned to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) for financial aid

when vigilantes attempted forcibly to break their union

even organizations representing the unemployed received longshoremen's backing

in their opposition to efforts to lower or curtail relief wages and benefits

In the Northwest, lumber workers set up an alliance similar to the Maritime Federation

they pledged to cooperate with the waterfront unions

Management bargained with whatever union was on top at the time

competition between unions was hard for employees and employers alike

only time healed some jurisdictional disputes

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) EXPELLS CIO UNIONS

John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) continually challenged

the more conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL)

pressure mounted on the West Coast AFL longshoremen to join the CIO

along with the newly organized warehouse industry affiliates

Ignoring the AFL's continued protests and threats,

CIO helped workers in the steel, automobile, rubber, and other industries to organize and bargain Labor victories on the West Coast and the expansion of union protection to unskilled workers led the International AFL Executive Council to denounce as illegal all ten Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions and their four million members AFL Executive Council ordered state federations and cities' central labor councils to begin to expel Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) unions from the American Federation of Labor

CIO unions were expelled from the American Federation of Labor -- September 10, 1936 CIO executive officers countered with a resolution authorizing their Executive Board **“to issue certificates of affiliation to national, international, state, regional, city central bodies and local groups whenever it is deemed such action is advisable.”**⁹²

however, no action to charter new CIO affiliates was taken as the debate raged inside the American Federation of Labor

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) RECRUITS NEW MEMBERS

Under the leadership of John L. Lewis the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) stressed industrial unionism and the organization of unskilled and semiskilled workers on an industry-wide basis

After being expelled from the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) undertook a major organizing effort

Lewis and his followers continually challenged the more conservative

American Federation of Labor (AFL) to represent an ever-increasing number of members AFL responded with its own massive organizing drive

SAWMILL AND TIMBER WORKERS REBEL FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

American Federation of Labor (AFL) arrogance was not compatible with the rough timber workers who felt discounted because they were designated “unskilled” workers

AFL put little effort and money into organizing the timber industry Sawmill and Timber Workers Union members continued to be disappointed with the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

and, more specifically, with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ) which represented their interests in the AFL

Radical leaders of the Sawmill and Timber Workers called for a secret convention woodworkers of the Northwest gathered in Portland -- September 18, 1936

to add heat to the smoldering fire, Communist Harold Pritchett once again stepped into power (he had been the president of the Sawmill and Timber Workers local in British Columbia now, after a three year break, Pritchett chaired the “rump” convention

⁹² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 318

Convention delegates formed a new union, the Federation of Woodworkers

this was an independent union unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF WOODWORKERS REPRESENTS RADICAL WOODWORKERS

American Federation of Woodworkers asserted its power as an independent labor union

70,000 woodsmen of the Northwest were now well on their way to building their own identity

Communist Harold Pritchett was elected the president of the Federation of Woodworkers

this was a result of Communists being seen as the leading the opposition to AFL elitism

Communists were once again “boring from within”

other Communist CIO members resisted American Federation of Woodworkers’ organizing effort

they exposed the weak position of the International Woodworkers of America

and exploited grievances against United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ)

However, in reality the Federation of Woodworkers was weak and foundationless

this new Federation was not chartered by United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (AFL)

and was officially unaffiliated with any of the major union organizations of the time

UBCJ President Maurice Hutcheson and AFL leader Abe Muir

made no attempt to mend the relationship and hostilities loomed ahead the timber workers

COMPETITION FOR UNION TIMBER INDUSTRY MEMBERSHIP IS INTENSE

Weak and without foundation though it was, the independent Federation of Woodworkers

set out to recruit new members with unprecedented vigor

To compete with this onslaught, John L. Lewis’ Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

chartered the International Woodworkers of America (IWA)

International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and American Federation of Woodworkers

fought each other bitterly

disputed strikes, challenged elections, boycotts, plant shutdowns

and standoffs with employers arose from this mutually destructive wrangling

Competition for union members in the timber industry

was hard for both employees and employers alike

management bargained with whatever union was on top at the time

(only time healed some jurisdictional disputes)

SHIPOWNERS’ NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE WITH MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC

Shipowners’ Association of the Pacific Coast was becoming increasingly more confident

to them it was just a matter of waiting out the time until the maritime labor contracts expired

however, maritime unions did not want to give the employers any excuse

to say that a lockout was provoked

In the middle of a round of negotiations -- September 23, 1936

shipowners informed the Maritime Federation of the Pacific that when the old contract expired they would no longer accept ships' crew replacements from union halls here was still another week to go before the ran out [September 30]

It was common knowledge that a number of smaller shipowners had a strong desire to avoid a strike they were willing to meet the demands of unions, but three main companies on the Pacific Coast, Matson Line, Dollar Line, American and Hawaiian Line held the smaller companies in check seeds of discontent among the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast were sown unions set out to take advantage of the rift

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEMANDS AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

With only a few more days to go before the men would officially come off the ships, word came from the federal government to continue negotiations [until October 15] both sides agreed -- the charade of negotiations went on Not a single union member on the entire Pacific waterfront believed the shipowners would cave in each maritime union organized a strike committee

PACIFIC COAST MARITIME LABOR AGREEMENT RUNS OUT

Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast Negotiating Committee, failing to arrive at an agreement through collective bargaining, recommended to member each union that a referendum of their membership be taken to empower their representatives on the Pacific Coast Negotiating Committee to take strike action on [October 28, 1936]

On the East Coast International Seamen's Union (ISU) officials resisted efforts to call a general sympathy strike in support of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific this incited more unrest among the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) rank and file numerous unauthorized sympathy strikes took place anyway

HARRY BRIDGES MEETS WITH ILA PRESIDENT JOSEPH RYAN

Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association President Harry Bridges and Mat Meehan, editor of the *Pacific Coast Longshoreman*, the official publication of the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association were sent to New York to solicit support from the International Longshoremen's Association they met with ILA International President Joe Ryan and Atlantic and Gulf District ILA officers

It was reported on the West coast that President Ryan **"has assured the Pacific Coast that there will be complete co-operation between all Districts in support of the Pacific Coast should a lockout be**

forced by shipowners. The time has finally arrived when the Longshoremen of the United States are in complete agreement for their mutual benefit.”⁹³

DAVE BECK EXTENDS HIS INFLUENCE BEYOND SEATTLE

In Washington State and parts of Oregon and California the International Brotherhood of Teamsters anchored the American Federation of Labor (AFL) labor efforts
Death of San Francisco’s Teamster International Vice-President Mike Casey caused Dave Beck to move from a statewide power into a larger labor role on the West Coast when the West Coast’s American Federation of Labor (AFL) leadership position was handed over to Dave Beck instead of his rival, Harry Bridges
Dave Beck, West Coast leader of the Teamsters Union. was very concerned about Bridge’s efforts
Teamsters were ordered to cross International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA) picket lines in an attempt to acquire ILA members for membership in the Teamsters Union
but the Teamster Joint Councils in Los Angeles and other California ports remained unworried

MARITIME NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

Federal government again requested that negotiations be extended -- October 13, 1936
an investigation would be conducted into the process and arbitration would resolve the issues
Along the Pacific Coast, Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) members were polled to discover if negotiation should be extended to [October 29]
or would members strike immediately
Resulting vote was overwhelming -- MFP members voted to extend the cut-off date
unions knew it was important to keep the blame for the strike on management
to keep the public on their side

SS CALIFORNIA DOCKS IN NEW YORK

Panama Pacific Line ocean liner *SS California* docked in New York
United States Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins was unable to keep her promises to Joseph Curran and the International Seamen’s Union (ISU) crew of the *SS California*
United States Secretary of Commerce Daniel Roper and the Panama Pacific Line declared Curran and the strikers to be mutineers
Federal Bureau of Investigation agents met the ship
they began an investigation into the charge of mutiny
Panama Pacific Line took out national advertising attacking Joe Curran for his actions
Curran and other strike leaders were fined two day’s pay, fired and blacklisted
Labor Secretary Frances Perkins was able to keep the strikers from being prosecuted for mutiny

⁹³ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 307

WILDCAT STRIKES TAKE PLACE ON THE EASTERN SEABOARD AND GULF COAST

International Seamen's Union (ISU) all along the East Coast struck

in protest of the treatment of union members aboard the *SS California* -- October

ISU officials called on the men to live up to their agreements and crew the ships with labor contracts

they also threatened to expel those who refused -- but these threats had little effect

Joseph Curran became a leader in the unauthorized ten-week strike

Curran was aggressive, articulate and ambitious -- and the times suited him well

he was willing to front for the strong cadre of left-wingers in the ISU

Many International Seamen's Union (ISU) men blamed their union officials

for not backing up the crew in this labor "beef" -- leadership of the ISU was further weakened

RADICAL POLITICAL AND LABOR LEADER ANNA LOUISE STRONG LEAVES THE USSR

Distressed with developments in the USSR, Dr. Strong returned to the United States -- 1936

she had grown disenchanted with the starvation conditions she encountered

which were imposed on the land owning peasant (kulaks) by Premier Joseph Stalin

she made several return trips to the United States but was unable to find solace

in either the Soviet Union or the United States

(Anna Louise Strong was arrested in Russia as a spy and banished from the country [1949])

she moved back to Seattle but was not greeted with acceptance

Dr. Strong moved to the Peoples Republic of China at age 72 [1958]

she was one of few Westerners to gain the admiration of Mao Zedong

she made several return trips to the United States

Dr. Anna Louise Strong remained in Peking (Beijing), China until her death [1970])

FACISM SPREADS IN EUROPE

World as it had been structured at the end of the Great War was at an end

Treaty of Versailles was a mistake

it had imposed geographic losses on the Austrian Empire and Germany

arms restrictions had also been forced on Germany

Adolph Hitler had reoccupied the Rhineland defying the English, French and his own generals

he sent troops, planes, and equipment to the aid of Spanish dictator General Francisco Franco

Hitler needed a like-minded European ally to offset the two-front threat to Nazi Germany

from the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland) and France

Italian dictator Benito Mussolini supported Hitler's expansionist plans for Eastern Europe

Hitler and Mussolini signed an "anti-Communist pact" -- October 23, 1936

aimed at preventing the spread of Communism from the USSR

this had the additional effect of bolstering anti-Communist efforts in the United States

(inadequacies and unreliability of Italy's military forces eventually all but negated

Benito Mussolini's value as Adolf Hitler's ally despite their shared Fascist ideologies)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS COMPLETELY INEFFECTIVE IN MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE

League of Nation along with individual democratic nations helplessly watched
as the Fascist army warred against the democratic republic of Spain
in an effort to place Spanish dictator General Francisco Franco into power

League on Nations was being undermined by its inability to exert pressure
democracies watched as fascist army warred against democratic republics
in Spain, Germany, and Italy

rise of Fascist dictators in Germany (Adolf Hitler) and Italy (Benito Mussolini)
defeated all efforts at meaningful diplomacy

Although the League of Nations ultimately failed, it did lay the groundwork for the United Nations
it helped make the idea of collective security a firm principle of mainstream liberal thinking

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) GOES ON STRIKE

Maritime Federation of the Pacific talks with Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast ended
all MFP unions simultaneously walked off the job -- midnight October 28, 1936

Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast Negotiating Committee
was designated the Coast Policy Committee

International Seamen's Union (ISU) member Joseph Curran (famous for the *SS California* beef)
called a second sit-down strike of east coast International Seamen's Union (ISU) members
against orders he received from union officials

this demonstration was, in part, to improve working conditions for ISU members

but Curran also wanted to embarrass the ISU for earlier abandoning him and his shipmates
(this four-month strike idled 50,000 seamen and 300 ships)

To keep the plight of sailors before the public Joe Curran formed the Seamen's Defense Committee

SAN FRANCISCO PREPARED FOR A CONVULSIVE STRIKE ON THE SCALE OF [1934]

Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association President Harry Bridges

led San Francisco Bay Area ILA Local 38-44 as they walked off the job

on strike in support of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) -- October 30, 1936

Bridges used the time off the job to expand recruiting efforts to unionize additional industries

San Francisco Local 38-44 rapidly expanded its membership by at least a thousand new members
as bargemen and workers in sugar refineries received aid from the longshoremen

PACIFIC COAST SHIPPING IS SHUT DOWN

Every facet of West Coast maritime transportation stopped -- November 1, 1936

unlike the great battle of [1934], this was a peaceful effort

with the exception of a few steam schooners working under separate contracts
hundreds of firemen, engineers, mates, cooks, stewards, sailors, longshoremen
and warehousemen stopped work up and down the Pacific coast
From the very first, union members were well aware that it could be a long strike
all of the maritime unions settled down for a war of attrition
paid union officials were immediately cut off the payroll
strike leaders ate at the soup kitchen like the other union members
requests for funds from the MFP treasury were closely scrutinized before being fulfilled
Along the waterfront the word was, "An injury to one is an injury to all"
and "Watch out for provocateurs"

MANAGING SUCH A LARGE STRIKE WAS DIFFICULT

Many obstacles had to be overcome -- in San Francisco for instance:

- feeding and housing thousands of sailors away from their homes was a major concern,
- discipline had to be maintained,
- health-and-welfare plans for strikers had to be organized,
- committees on nearly all facets of life were established as volunteers accepted responsibility:
 - a huge empty loft on the Embarcadero, was rented to provide living space,
 - members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union
took over the job of cooking thousands of meals for the strikers
(for three months, Progressive farmers and ranchers near San Francisco
donated a large part of the food needed to feed the strikers -- no strikers went hungry)

In other struck port cities:

committees dealing with housing contacted landlords to ask for their cooperation
in allowing the strikers to stay housed in their hotels and apartments
without the pressure of meeting rent deadlines

written guarantees were made stating that rents would be paid
when the men were again earning paychecks

this satisfied the landlords and hotel keepers and alleviated pressure on the men

doctors and nurses were asked to donate time to care for the men's medical needs

they responded with enthusiasm

strikers needing clothing were assisted by a committee which solicited donations

from many of the clothing shops near the waterfront that catered to seamen in good times
committee members responsible for security appeared in the ports

their job was to keep drunks off the waterfront and to maintain order and discipline

if someone became inebriated and showed signs of disorientation,

he was escorted back to his hotel by the union patrol

if he persisted in threatening the tranquility of the waterfront,

his fink book was taken from him
and he faced a disciplinary committee of his union peers
union men came down hard on the offender
two weeks of peeling potatoes or onions or washing pots and pans
encouraged most to stay sober and out of trouble

ILA PRESIDENT JOSEPH RYAN SUPPORTS ONLY A PORTION OF THE PACIFIC STRIKE

After the Pacific Coast tie-up began strikers learned
what International Longshoremen's Association President Joe Ryan meant by "support"
he recognized as unfair only those companies that had rejected ILA contract demands
he excluded from his support the twenty-six inter-coastal and foreign lines
that had signed agreements with the ILA just before the strike
Ryan also sided with International Seamen's Union (ISU) officials
as they attempted to break the East Coast seamen's Wildcat strikes in support of the SUP

NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS AGAIN FAVORED DEMOCRATS

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was reelected to a second term as president -- November 3, 1936
FDR defeated Republican Alfred M. "Alf" Landon in a presidential landslide victory
Franklin Roosevelt swept the electoral votes: 523-8
Roosevelt won every state but Maine and Vermont
popular vote margin favored Roosevelt by more than eleven million votes
Democrats also continued to control the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate

STATE ELECTION RESULTS ALSO SHOWED STRONG DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT

Democrat Clarence Martin was returned to a second term as Washington governor
although Radio Speaker John C. Stevenson and other leading WCF candidates
lost in their attempt to achieve office
WCF had become an influential player in Washington politics
it had established a reputation as a Progressive leader
with favorable appeal in future elections
it had made radical social and economic reform a legitimate topic of public politics

Three incumbent Congressmen were elected:

- Second District Congressman Monrad C. "Mon" Wallgren, Democrat
- Third District Congressman Martin F. Smith, Democrat
- Fourth District Congressman Knute Hill, Democrat

Three Congressional seats from Washington State changed:

- First Congressional District Congressman Warren G. Magnuson, Seattle Democrat
replaced U.S. Representative Marion A. Zioncheck

- Magnuson became one of the youngest members of Congress at age thirty-one
to be carried in by Roosevelt's popular coat tails
all of his life he considered himself a New Deal Democrat
(he will serve in U.S. House of Representatives until his resignation [1937-1944])
- Fifth District Congressman Charles H. Leavy, Spokane Democrat
filled the seat left vacant when Samuel B. Hill was appointed
United States District Court judge for Eastern Washington
(Charles Leavy served until his resignation from office [1937-1942] when he was appointed
United States district judge of the western district of Washington)
 - Sixth District Congressman John M. Coffee, Tacoma Democrat
replaced Democrat U.S. Representative Wesley Lloyd who died in office)
(he will serve five terms in office [1937-1947])

State Initiatives to the voters meet with mixed success:

- thirty counties had the proposal for Public Utility Districts (PUDs) on the ballot
by this time there was another reason to vote in favor of a public utility
as the federal government had started construction
on the Grand Coulee Dam in Eastern Washington
and Bonneville Dam east of Portland
as the laws were written, publicly owned utilities had preference
to the electricity generated by those two huge facilities
idea of getting some of that power was just too enticing
Snohomish County voters the Snohomish County Public Utility District Number One
by a vote of 13,850 in favor and 10,463 against -- November 3, 1936
fourteen other county-wide Public Utility Districts also were formed that year alone
- Initiative 119 to create a Socialist state
was supported by the Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) and liberal Democrats
this Initiative had asked for Washington to become a Socialist state by imposing
a "production for use" rather than "production for profit" economic system
Washington voters handed Washington Commonwealth Federation's Initiative 119
a resounding defeat 370,140 votes to 97,329 votes -- more than a three-to-one margin
production-for-use Initiative was the peak of the WCF's radicalism

Due in large part to the efforts of the Washington Commonwealth Federation Washington State
was considered to be a stronghold of unionism and radical politics in the 1930s (and [1940s])
on one occasion Democratic National Party Chairman James Farley allegedly quipped,
"There are forty-seven states in the Union and the Soviet of Washington."

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION (CIO) GROWS IN STRENGTH

Franklin D. Roosevelt won a smashing reelection victory

union membership exploded across the nation and labor militancy expanded in proportion
John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) represented a collection of unions
within the American Federation of Labor (AFL) that gathered to support industrial unionism
John L. Lewis continually denounced the AFL's policies as the CIO offered organizing support
to workers in the rubber industry who went on strike in defiance of the AFL's leadership
this opposition only increased the stature of the CIO and John L. Lewis
in the eyes of those industrial workers set on organizing
because they were disillusioned with the AFL's ineffective past performance
AFL leaders from the outset, however, treated the CIO as an enemy
they refused to deal with the new organization and demanded that it be dissolved
(CIO proved to be very successful as within a few years in addition to the rubber industry
big steel, automobile, and other major industries had been organized
this intensified the division within the AFL which refused to accept the new unions
because they saw both industrial workers and industrial unions as unskilled laborers)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) FACES INTERNAL STRIFE

East Coast-based International Longshoremen Association (ILA) President Joseph Ryan
was facing an internal civil war
AFL and John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organizations competed for members
both offered rival visions of labor union organization and what unions should accomplish
Under the leadership of John L. Lewis, Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)
stressed industrial unionism and the organization of unskilled and semiskilled workers
while the AFL had historically be organized by crafts
CIO tenaciously set out on its mission to organize the unorganized
unions were gathered up as fast as possible
CIO attempted to expand to include Longshoremen and Warehousemen, lumbermen,
fur workers, and members of American Newspaper Guild
CIO criticized the AFL for excluding nonwhite workers and frequently women
AFL's modest if not actually conservative goals were pointed out to groups being recruited
AFL claimed that CIO unions were dominated by Communists interested only in radical ideas
and that their rival labor organization weakened
what should have been a single united labor front
on the other hand, most of the CIO unions practiced "social movement unionism"
which advocated a variety of social justice programs including expanding economic rights
along with equal political and social rights for minorities
In truth, while the organizing principals were vastly different, the political differences were not
both AFL and CIO supported the Democratic Party and worked together on political campaigns
both pushed for reforms to strengthen the social safety net supporting those in need

neither was actually conservative nor Communist controlled
At the same time that unions were fighting over philosophy and membership
ALF and CIO was preparing to negotiate new contracts with a variety of maritime employers

MFP FACES INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONFLICT

It appeared the on-going West Coast strike was well on its way to being won by the labor unions
when political differences in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) came into the open
Leadership of the maritime movement split over a number of issues

first, Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association Harry Bridges declared
if the strike could not be settled without sailors accepting the "fink book,"
they should take the book

ship owners also played their role in fragmenting the MFP

having failed thus far to break the unions, ship owners tried a new tack

if they negotiated contracts with only one or two unions they could divide the workers

Harry Lundeberg was on the verge of taking the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

out of the strike because he had already reached a long-term agreement with ship owners

who no longer attacked him

since Harry Lundeberg of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) was anti-Bridges,

ship owners were inclined to favor him

Lundeberg lured John Ferguson of the Marine Firemen's Union (MFU) over to his camp

because Ferguson was drawn over to Lundeberg's position

ship owners were happy to play ball with him

Lundeberg decided not to abandon the strike as the longshoremen had done in [1934]

Harry Lundeberg of the SUP and John Ferguson of the Marine Firemen's Union (MFU)

were called to a conference with the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast

JOE CURRAN EXPANDS THE INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION (ISU) STRIKE

East coast International Seamen's Union (ISU) men used the sit-down technique

aboard the *SS American Trader* in New York

other ISU men in Boston struck in support of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific -- November

daily mimeographed strike bulletins were printed denouncing employers

and ISU officials who did not support the wildcat strikes

ISU rebel Joseph Curran negotiated contracts with two small companies: Prudential and Transoceanic

this was made possible by support from the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association,

the American Radio Telegraphers Association, and the Masters, Mates and Pilots

all of whom were striking these companies at the time

PACIFIC COAST STRIKE IS NOT ABLE TO EXPAND

International Seamen's Union (ISU) held authorized strikes, Wildcat strikes and sit-down strikes
all in support of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)
and most in opposition to the leadership of the ISU
However, attempts to widen the Pacific Coast maritime strike into a national action
by extending it to the East and Gulf Coasts, resulted only in violence on the Atlantic seaboard
ISU leaders refused to expand the strike effort

JOSEPH CURRAN RECRUITS FOR HIS OWN UNION

Curran believed it was time to abandon the conservative International Seamen's Union (ISU)
he began to sign up members for a new, rival union
organizing was so intense that hundreds of East coast ships delayed their sailing time
as seamen listened to organizers and signed union card

PACIFIC MARITIME ASSOCIATION REACHES SOME AGREEMENTS

Harry Lundeberg had a simple approach to bargaining: "Come across with a good contract for my
sailors or the Communists will take control of the union."
his method paid off when good contracts for the SUP and MFU were reached
working conditions were unequaled by any of the other seagoing unions
tiny cracks in union solidarity started to appear

SUP AND MFU MEMBERS REJECT THE AGREEMENT OFFER

Marine Firemen's Union (MFU) members held a special meeting to discuss the proposed agreement
John Ferguson made his report about the deal offered
while the terms were favorable to the union, the rank and file demanded they stick together
union members recognized this maneuvering for what it was,
a way of playing one union against another
MFU had pledged before the strike: "We all came out together; we'll all go back together."
Marine Firemen's Union members would not go back on their word
they would not return to work while the other unions lacked contracts
Rank and file members of the SUP, over Lundeberg's objection, took this same position
shipowners were rebuffed in their union-busting effort

SHIPOWNERS ALSO FEEL INTERIOR STRIFE

While things looked peaceful in the Pacific Maritime Association shipowners' ranks,
the opposite was actually true
since all the major policies were engineered and pushed through by the "Big Three"
Matson Line, Dollar Line, and American and Hawaiian Line
smaller operators who wanted to settle and get their ships to sea expressed their discontent

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER ACHIEVES A SETTLEMENT IN FAVOR OF THE UNION

After a strike lasting four months, an American Newspaper Guild Chapter was accepted by the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* over William Randolph Hearst's objection -- November 29, 1936
Success of the *Post-Intelligencer* Newspaper Guild strike caused every major newspaper in the San Francisco region to enter into agreements with their news writers even Los Angeles, stronghold of the open shop on the Pacific Coast, was invaded by unions with increasing success

PORT OF VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON BECOMES A MAJOR SHIPPING LINK

Port of Vancouver Terminal No. 2 was dedicated -- December 3, 1936
this was a huge port facility that offered an unobstructed path to the Pacific Ocean
good highway, railroad connections, and improved dock facilities made Vancouver, Washington a major port on the west coast

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCE LAUNCHES AN ATTACK ON DAVE BECK

P-I joined the *Seattle Times* in battle against Dave Beck and his AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters newspapers, and radio called Beck an outlaw
Dave Beck again sued for defamation of character and liable-- again the issue was settled out of court
William Randolph Hearst's editorial writers shifted the attack
they argued their freedom of the press was endangered by Beck's lawsuits
however, Hearst's unconcealed negative attitude toward organized labor advanced respect and affection for Dave Beck

CHANGES IN THE LOGGING INDUSTRY

Workers in the timber industry saw advances ranging from high-lead to truck-and-tractor logging
newer logging techniques relied far more heavily on truckers
unresolved was the question of who should represent these truckers
Squabbling between labor organizations
was based on the on-going issue of craft verses industrial unions: AFL versus CIO
timber workers preferred the industry-wide organization
of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)
many mill hands and loggers fell in with the more aggressive tactics and militant goals of the CIO

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS HOLDS THEIR CONVENTION

AFL's United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ) leadership had earned a reputation for doing nothing to protect Pacific Northwest timber workers

Even John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) had paid them little attention while the Communists within the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) organization solidly held the respect of their fellow workers with Harold Pritchett safely at the helm Lakeland, Florida was the location of the UBCJ Convention -- December 7-15, 1936 Sawmill and Timber Workers Union delegates from the Northwest who were still in the AFL traveled across the entire continent to attend the meeting they were designated as "non-beneficial" members by the UBCJ and were forced to observe the proceedings without a vote quickly the familiar cry of "No taxation without representation" resounded throughout the Northwest woods and sawmills Rift between the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and CIO was apparent (but the coming complete split was held at bay)

MARITIME UNION STRIKES CONTINUE TO TIE UP PACIFIC COAST SHIPPING TRAFFIC

In Pacific Coast ports 234 vessels lay strikebound -- December 1936

141 deep-water vessels, sixty-one steam schooners and thirty-two foreign ships of these, seventy-six lay idle at San Pedro, seventy-three in San Francisco Bay, twenty-four at Portland, forty-two at Seattle, seven at Vancouver, B.C. and twelve at other Pacific Coast and Hawaiian ports

Associated Press reports marveled that the strikers had **"been molded into a social and economic unit without parallel in the history of industrial labor."**

newspaper wire stories related:

"Forty thousand men on strike but none of them idle.

"Nearly 250 ships tied up...business losses estimated at \$7,000,000 a day---foreign trade badly affected...thousands of families tightening their belts as they await Christmas.

"But nobody killed...no disorder...no arrests for picketing...no extra police needed...union police who maintain perfect order."⁹⁴

But appearances could often be deceiving

PERISHABLE CARGO ISSUE SPLITS THE MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP)

One sharp difference of opinion between Harry Lundeberg and the rest of the maritime unions was related to the issue of releasing perishable cargo from struck ships Shipowners called perishable cargo still lying in the ships' holds cargo that was "vitally needed by the people"

it was a gimmick that owners felt would arouse anger against the unions in fact many members of the public, not realizing it was a ruse, did react favorably to the shipowners' propaganda

⁹⁴ Ottilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 311.

they urged the unions to reconsider their policy of leaving the cargo in the holds
actually, there was not that much perishable cargo remaining strike-bound
but public irritation against the strike was beginning to be felt
Issue of perishable cargo was presented to the MFP Coast Policy Committee
it was debated for several hours
representatives from the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP)
argued for Lundeberg's policy of not moving one ounce of the cargo
but others on the strike committee urged that the cargo be worked
so that one more argument of the shipowners could be deflated
majority of Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast Policy Committee
were in agreement with delivering perishable cargo

SUP UNION LEADERS FIND THEMSELVES BEING OPPOSED BY THEIR MEMBERS

Harry Lundeberg, Sailors Union of the Pacific, and John Ferguson, Marine Firemen's Union,
traveled to Washington, D.C. presumably to consult with some pro-labor congressmen
After a series of meetings, they wired back that several congressmen urged
that unless the strike were ended anti-labor legislation would be forthcoming from Congress
Lundeberg and Ferguson urged their rank and file to make immediate peace with the shipowners
when these telegrams were read, enraged Marine Firemen's Union (MFU) members
called for Ferguson's resignation -- Ferguson got the message and returned to San Francisco
his Washington, D.C. visit was never mentioned again
Lundeberg was not sure what position the Sailor's Union of the Pacific should take in the strike
however, he decided not to abandon the effort (as the longshoremen had done in [1934])

CIO UNITED AUTO WORKERS GO OUT ON STRIKE

Members of the United Auto Workers conducted a sit-down strike at General Motors
Fisher Body plant in Flint, Michigan was struck -- beginning December 30, 1936
idling 112,000 Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) workers
in a conventional strike the union takes its members outside the plant
and attempts to prevent the employer from operating
by discouraging other employees from entering the factory
in a sit-down strike, workers physically occupy the plant keeping management and others out

LAST OF THE INTERURBAN TRAINS CEASES OPERATION

Independent Seattle & Rainier Valley Railway (Renton interurban)
struggled to survive under incompetent management
Wearied of accidents and unsafe tracks, the City of Seattle revoked their company's franchise
and the line folded -- January 1, 1937

NEWLY-ELECTED CONGRESSMEN TAKE OFFICE

Because of the Twentieth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution [January 23, 1933]
members of Congress were for the first time sworn into office on January 3, 1937
Democratic U.S. Senators Homer T. Bone and Lewis B. Schwellenbach continued in office
Incumbent national representatives who were reelected were:
Second District Congressman Monrad C. ("Mon") Wallgren, Democrat
Third District Congressman Martin F. Smith, Democrat
Fourth District Congressman Knute Hill, Democrat
Newly elected national representatives from Washington were:
First Congressional District Congressman Warren G. Magnuson, Seattle Democrat
Fifth District Congressman Charles H. Leavy, Spokane Democrat
Sixth District Congressman John M. Coffee, Tacoma Democrat

HARRY BRIDGES' SAN FRANCISCO LONGSHOREMEN END THEIR STRIKE

After sixty-seven days on strike, Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association Local 38-44
settled their strike against the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast
Pacific Coast longshoremen returned to work with mixed results -- January 5, 1937
18,000 International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) members
gained union hiring preference and union hiring halls,
but wages and hours remained to be negotiated or arbitrated
Harry Bridges blamed the discouraging result
on International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) President Joseph Ryan
and his lack of support
Ryan responded by calling Bridges a puppet of the international Communist conspiracy

WAREHOUSEMEN MADE GREAT GAINS DURING THE STRIKE

Newly organized warehousemen returned to work with significant gains
Harry Bridges' American Federation of Labor (AFL) warehousemen
had obtained a closed-shop agreement, substantial wage increases and a forty hour work week
additionally, they had won union hiring halls, paid vacations and seniority rights
in place of the continuous turnover that previously resulted from former hiring practices
This victory in the San Francisco Bay Area inspired warehousemen up and down the coast
new AFL warehouse unions spread quickly and widely to nearly every port city
(and later in many key communities in the interior of the United States
and on the East and Gulf Coasts as well)

PEARL WANAMAKER BECOMES A STATE SENATOR⁹⁵

State Senator L.E. Tewksbury resigned his 38th District seat -- January 8, 1937

Island County Commissioners appointed Wanamaker to the state senate position

As a state senator, Pearl Wanamaker hit her stride as an innovative and skillful legislator

she developed her interest and knowledge of education policy and honed her political insight

she built a power base among her peers and developed a strong, statewide constituency

who became known (sometimes negatively) as the “school forces”

public school interests, Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA), higher education advocates,

teachers’ unions and other professional educators’ groups

she made enemies in the legislative and political arena

particularly with conservative Republicans

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) MEMBERS REMAINED ON STRIKE

In a demonstration of union solidarity, the San Francisco Bay Area warehousemen

contributed \$1,000 each week to the joint strike fund until the maritime strike ended

Harry Bridges, in an effort to solidify the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP),

made his first bid for West Coast union leadership

PACIFIC MARITIME ASSOCIATION IS FORMED BY SHIP OPERATORS

Following the lead of the Matson Navigation Company and American President Lines,

shipping operators formed a new confederation of employers: the Pacific Maritime Association

Pacific Maritime Association was a vehicle through which the Pacific Coast ship operators

dealt with sea and waterfront unions

In a complete reversal of previous employer policy, the new association

decided to pursue a conciliatory relationship with the International Longshoremen’s Association

and its Pacific Coast leader Harry Bridges

STATE LEGISLATURE GOES INTO REGULAR SESSION

Twenty-fifth session of the legislative was called to order in Olympia -- January 11, 1937

Democrats again controlled both houses of the legislature by large majorities

forty-one to five Republicans in the State Senate

ninety-three to six Republicans in the State House of Representatives

Governor Clarence Martin considered his reelection to be a mandate to move the state to the right

When the legislature met the governor recommended two proposals that antagonized Progressives

one was an increase in old age pensions which was smaller

than organizations representing the elderly wanted

this proposal passed the legislature with ease

⁹⁵ Michael Hood, HistoryLink.org, Essay 9171, September 26, 2009.

second was a bill that would severely restrict recently won rights of labor:

- limitations would be placed on picketing;
- compulsory arbitration would be required in labor disputes

this bill was too conservative for passage by legislators

legislators also had enough Progressive spirit to block efforts

to weaken labor's relationship with business

Progressives, in their bitter disappointment about Governor Martin's pension bill, determined to establish a lobbying organization of their own

Communist activist Howard Costigan formed the Washington Old Age Pension Union as an auxiliary to the Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF)

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT IS INAUGURATED FOR A SECOND TERM

Passage of the Twentieth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution [1933]

changed the inauguration date from [from March 4] to January 20

In his Inaugural Address President Roosevelt promised further reform to improve conditions for "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." -- January 20, 1937

SAUL HAAS' KIRO RADIO RECEIVES A NATIONAL AFFILIATION

Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) became affiliated KIRO radio-- 1937

known as "The Friendly Station," KIRO personalities broke from the formal announcing style that was commonplace during the early days of radio

Saul Haas' life style occasionally ruffled Seattle's leaders -- his Jewish heritage didn't help he was barred from establishment clubs in town,

he refreshed himself at the more hospitable Harbor Club in the Norton Building

NEWLY-ELECTED CONGRESSMAN WARREN MAGNUSON EFFECTIVELY USES RADIO

Like President Franklin Roosevelt, Representative Magnuson pioneered the successful use of radio his speeches were straight from the Populist agenda

he supported the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and higher wages for workers

"Business prosperity depends on wages.... Unemployment means no business, economic destruction. There is high pressure propaganda circulated by so-called civic organizations who use their puppets in public office to knock down wages. Public, beware! We're in a new era in our history. By 1930 we were near the destruction of the American system.... Business failed to revive the system.... Democrats saved the time with Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.... Future historians will point to the New Deal as being responsible for the greatest single advance in economic progress -- shorter work weeks, better working conditions, better hours and more leisure time and happiness for our people."⁹⁶

⁹⁶ *Magnuson Papers* University of Washington, 3181-1. 10/4.

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) CONTINUES BARGAINING TALKS

Because of the unity of the strikers, smaller the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) shippers began to exert pressure on the “Big Three” shipping companies,

Matson Line, Dollar Line, and American and Hawaiian Line, for an end to the strike still being carried on by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

Finally, the “Big Three” shipping companies relented

negotiations with the sailors began in earnest -- February 1, 1937

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) STRIKE ENDS

The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) quickly worked out agreements with all maritime unions after ninety days of being on strike, the solidarity of the MFP strikers still was not broken

Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) unions accepted an offer

from the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) -- February 4, 1937

concessions proposed to the maritime unions included a six hour work day

and union control of hiring halls, wage advances and overtime pay

licensed officers also won a wage increase

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT IS FRUSTRATED BY THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

During FDR’s first term, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down several New Deal measures that were intended to bolster economic recovery during the Great Depression

There were four justices leading the way toward declaring New Deal programs unconstitutional:

George Sutherland, Willis Van Devanter, Pierce Butler, and James Clark McReynolds they became known as the “Four Horsemen”

sometimes decisions declaring a New Deal program unconstitutional were five-to-four with a justice Owen Roberts joining the Four Horsemen

New Deal supporters charged that a narrow majority of the court was obstructionist and political they said the court was composed of nine men -- all over sixty and generally conservative

FDR felt they were “thwarting the will of the nation”

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT PROPOSES TO EXPAND THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

Since the U.S. Constitution does not limit the size of the Supreme Court,

Roosevelt sought to counter the entrenched opposition to his political agenda

by expanding the number of justices in order to create a pro-New Deal majority

Roosevelt proposed adding more justices to the Supreme Court

one new justice would be added for every justice who refused to retire after the age of seventy

FDR could then appoint as many as six friendly justices

enough justices to uphold his New Deal agenda

Roosevelt's sweeping victory in the previous election emboldened the president

he told his cabinet members at a special meeting -- February 5, 1937

that he would send Congress a message proposing to reorganize the federal judiciary system
Opponents viewed the legislation as an attempt to stack the court in favor of the administration
and labeled the idea the "Court-packing Plan"

MEMBERS OF THE MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC VOTE ON A NEW CONTRACT

Terms of the proposed contract between the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) shipowners
and the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

were put to a vote by the Pacific Coast sailors' unions -- February 7, 1937

Overall, union members viewed the results of their strike as positive

especially when it was remembered that ship owners initially had offered nothing

However, not all of the unions in the Pacific Maritime Association were pleased:

- 7,000 sailors had gained an eight-hour day, increased wages and overtime pay;
- 4,000 Cooks and Stewards settled for nine hour work days on passenger vessels;
- 3,000 Maritime Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers gained increased pay, control of hiring
and an eight-hour day -- but they did not like their new work rules;
- 3,000 Marine Engineers achieved union recognition, pay increases, and overtime pay;
- 3,000 Masters, Mates and Pilots also achieved union recognition, pay increases, and overtime pay
but they did not receive union preference in hiring;
- 2,000 Telegraphists acquired hiring control, eight-hour day, and an increase in pay

Even so, the strikers prepared to make the best of their bargains and returned to work

although the maritime unions had won little of significance regarding specific demands

the strike was successful in forcing employers to recognize that unions were there to stay

LAST GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY SILK TRAIN LEAVES SEATTLE

Great Northern Railway continued to compete with the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads
to be the leading rail line handling silk -- 1937

However due to an increasing number of factors shipping continued to decline for U.S. railroads:

- decreasing silk prices,
- lower freight rates on the all-water routes,
- competition from "artificial silk" (rayon and nylon),
- deteriorating political relations with Japan

Great Northern Railway ran its last Silk Train composed of four baggage cars and a coach
which left Seattle -- February 7, 1937

for three decades the famous Great Northern Railway silk trains

had captured the public's imagination and satisfied its yearning for romance

in their rush across the continent, these trains generated publicity, excitement, and revenue (Demise of the silk trains did not mean a decline in the demand for silk in the United States, however despite strained political relations and threatened boycotts against Japanese products, America imported fifty-four million pounds of silk [1938] more than ninety percent of it was used to produce the 564 million pairs of silk stockings that American women purchased that year) More than ninety percent of the silk transported passed through the Panama Canal almost all of it on new, fast Japanese ships

SEVERAL UNIONS ACROSS THE NATION GO OUT ON STRIKE

Striking United Auto Workers in Flint, Michigan elected their own “Mayor” and other civic officials United Auto Workers kept a regular supply of food coming to the strikers inside while sympathizers marched in support outside General Motors and the United Auto Workers settled the strike -- February 11, 1937 General Motors surrendered as a result of the Flint sit-down strike during which CIO leader John L. Lewis negotiated with company executives, Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan, and President Franklin Roosevelt U.S. Steel, facing a similar situation, conceded to the steelworkers without a strike John L. Lewis and Myron Taylor, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, secretly negotiated an agreement between the CIO Steelworkers Organizing Committee and the company

SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BEGIN TO OBJECT TO ROOSEVELT’S NEW DEAL

In addition to the conservative U.S. Supreme Court Roosevelt’s New Deal reform program was slowed by an increasingly obstinate Congress including some isolationist Democrats Washington Senator Homer T. Bone was among those he did not fully support FDR’s controversial effort to reorganize the Supreme Court

DETROIT IS HIT BY A WAVE OF SIT-DOWN STRIKES

Only days after the new contract was ratified by United Auto Worker members, Detroit was hit by a wave of strikes laundry workers, cleaning women, high school students working as delivery workers, and other sit-down strikes were held More than a hundred young women workers at one of the forty Woolworth stores in the city stopped work, ushered the customers out, shut the doors they called the manager to come to a conference with all of them -- February 27, 1937 they demanded raises, time and a half for working more than forty hours week, lunch allowances, breaks, company pay for uniforms and recognition of the Waiters and Waitresses Union

hiring would take place only through the union
Waiters and Waitresses Union had only one staff person there
none of the striking women had ever been in a union before
audacity of the strikers was apparent as they were up against the largest retailer in the era
Woolworth's had more than 2,000 stores in the U.S., Canada and Cuba
it had 737 stores in Great Britain and eighty-two in Germany
Woolworth's employed 65,000 workers -- almost all young women
it was viciously anti-union and had a racist, white-only hiring policy
United Auto Workers Union (UAW) head Homer Martin came to Woolworth's to pledge his support
head of the Detroit and Wayne County American Federation of Labor (AFL)
showed up at the strike the first day -- he provided union solidarity and donated money
Five hours after the strike began, Kresge, Woolworth's biggest competitor,
raised its workers' wages from \$14 a day to \$17 a day
all over downtown Detroit, bosses were giving their workers raises
in an attempt to stave off similar sit-downs

WOOLWORTH STRIKE SPREADS

Waiters and Waitresses Union shut down a second store with a sit-down strike
they threatened to spread the strike to all forty Woolworth stores in the Detroit area
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union was called in by the Woolworth strikers
during the strike the cook's union supplied meals
musician's union supplied entertainment
hotel workers from all around the city came to the strike location to picket and show solidarity
Sit-downs spread among thousands of local workers in Detroit itself
from waitresses to kitchen workers to cafeteria, hotel, and factory workers

STORE CLERKS NATIONWIDE ARE SUCCESSFUL IN THEIR ORGANIZING EFFORTS

News of the Woolworth strike broke in the national media during the next few days
support flowed in from around the country
Retail Clerks in New York started a solidarity campaign
As a result of the Woolworth strike, variety stores, grocery stores and department stores
were organized in St. Paul and Duluth, Minnesota; Superior, Wisconsin; and San Francisco
Tacoma and Centralia, Washington
In Seattle, three thousand clerks in twenty-three stores, including Sears, J.C. Penney,
Frederick & Nelson, the Bon Marche (Macys), and Lerner's won not only a forty-hour week
but a pay increase for employees totaled at least one half-million dollars

WOOLWORTH RETAIL CLERKS WIN A LABOR VICTORY

Woolworth, the biggest retail giant in the world at that time, caved in -- March 5, 1937
striking workers in Detroit won all of their demands including a union shop

Waiters and Waitresses Union imposed a uniform contract which covered 2,500 workers
in all forty stores in Detroit

Effects of the strike rippled for a year

(in Detroit alone, there were sit-downs at Lerner's, at Federated Department Stores,
and numerous other downtown stores)

LABOR-MANAGEMENT STRIFE IN TACOMA

All AFL craft unions in Tacoma were represented by Tacoma Central Labor Council

it was agreed by the Labor Council that no craft union would settle proposed contracts separately

Employers formed the Industrial Conference Board to stop union organization and advances

this Conference Board offered the services of bargaining experts and labor consultants
to Tacoma businesses

After long negotiations between the Industrial Conference Board and Peoples Store in Tacoma

Peoples Store employees in Tacoma went on strike -- 1937

nine other department and variety stores in Tacoma (700 employees) were locked out

Soon, direct negotiations with between labor and company management

without use of the Industrial Conference Board

resulted in a Blanket Agreement covering all stores affected by the strike and lock out

wages were increased and paid vacations were won by union members

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT ANNOUNCES HIS COURT REFORM TO THE PUBLIC

FDR unveiled his plan to add members to the U.S. Supreme Court in a Fireside Chat -- March 9, 1937

opponents, even some Congressional Democrats, were appalled by the proposal

But just as the opposition was gaining strength, an unexpected turn of events occurred

U.S. Supreme Court upheld as constitutional

both the [1935] Wagner Act and the [1935] Social Security Act

MT. OLYMPUS NATIONAL PARK IS EXPANDED

(President Grover Cleveland designated the area as the Olympic Forest Preserve [1897]

President Theodore Roosevelt created Mount Olympus National Monument [1909])

U.S. Forest Service announced plans to log off vast stands of hemlock in the Olympic National Forest

for pulp and paper use -- March 1935

Second Congressional District U.S. Representative Mon Wallgren of Everett responded

he introduced legislation to add 400,000 acres of National Forest

in a proposed 648,000 Mt. Olympus National Park

U.S. Forest Service was not satisfied with the plan to expand the protected area

neither was President Franklin Roosevelt who wanted even more acreage protected

U.S. SUPREME COURT AGAIN UPHOLDS A NEW DEAL LAW

In *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, the U.S. Supreme Court

upheld a Washington state minimum-wage law

conservative justice Owen Roberts, who previously sided with the court's anti-New Deal bloc,

voted with the majority creating a new pro-New Deal majority

this shift ensured that government intervention to improve the economy

would no longer be overturned as unconstitutional

DAVE BECK FORMS THE WESTERN CONFERENCE OF TEAMSTERS

Dave Beck rose to a leadership position in the Seattle Brotherhood of Teamsters

Beck's Teamster truck drivers used wrenches and jack handles to organize

as they brought into their Union milkmen, brewery workers, and department store clerks

Dave Beck's ability to organize was legendary having worked, and in some cases bullied,

his way through the Northwest labor scene one employee and one employer at a time

Beck used Teamsters Union success to create the Western Conference of Teamsters International

to counter Bridges' effort to expand his Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association

Beck's regional organization served him as a brilliant and powerful organizing device -- 1937

DAVE BECK ELECTED PRESIDENT OF AFL TEAMSTERS WESTERN CONFERENCE

Dave Beck was elected president of the Western Conference of the Teamsters International

which gave him more control over Teamster forces throughout the Western United States

he used his union members to engage in fierce organizing battles and membership raids

Dan Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters' President for thirty years,

began to feel Dave Beck was a potential rival for his position

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT IS DECLARED CONSTITUTIONAL

(Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act [NIRA, Wagner Act, or Wagner-Connery-Act]

had been found to be unconstitutional in a 5-4 U.S. Supreme Court ruling [May 27, 1935]

Congress responded by passing the National Labor Relations Act [NLRA] [July 5, 1935]

this act also was challenged in court)

U.S. Supreme Court in *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation*

ruled 5-4 the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA or Wagner Act) was constitutional -- April 12

Congress, indeed, had the power under the Commerce Clause to regulate labor relations

DAVE BECK EXPANDS THE REACH OF THE TEAMSTERS UNION

Once the Western Conference was established and Dave Beck was in place as its president

he worked his way south

he organized Teamsters Union locals in Oregon and then in northern California
in places like Stockton, Fresno, Oakland and San Francisco

Dave Beck next focused on Los Angeles

Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles had for twenty years
kept most unions out of the city

he strode into the L.A. office of the president of United Parcel Service (UPS)
and told the CEO that he would organize Los Angeles

UPS' CEO informed Beck that United Parcel had millions of dollars to use in a labor dispute
therefore, there was no way that Beck would get a foothold in L.A.

Dave Beck reminded the businessman that contracts were already in place all along the coast,
those contracts would be honored but, Beck said, but when those contracts ran out
not even a get well package would make its way out of Los Angeles Beck warned him
if UPS had millions to fight with in L.A., Beck noted, they better have more millions
to fight with in every other major city along the coast

Within a few days United Parcel Service signed a contract with the Teamsters in Los Angeles

Beck moved on using the same tactics successfully with other trucking firms throughout the city
however, the lesson was not yet learned by all businesses

DUST BOWL STATES CONTINUE TO SUFFER

Another year of unprecedented dirt storms hit the Midwest -- 1937

day after day, Dust Bowl farmers unwillingly traded fields as the land moved back and forth
between Texas and Kansas

and of course there were the usual floods in some areas -- which only added variety to the misery

TEAMSTERS STRIKE PACIFIC FREIGHT LINES OF LOS ANGELES

Dave Beck's Teamsters Union Joint Councils had expanded

from Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, Stockton and Fresno

to include Denver, Phoenix, Salt Lake City with inroads into Los Angeles

Beck began to direct the organizational effort in Los Angeles -- long an anti-union stronghold

his target was Pacific Freight Lines which dominated the motor freight business in California

When Pacific Freight Lines refused to accept Dave Beck's demands,

Beck's Teamsters struck the company -- May 1937

confrontations between thousands of Teamsters and hundreds of police officers took place
both sides used clubs, knives and guns in one of the bloodiest strikes in Teamster history

Teamster strike in Los Angeles was accompanied

by a boycott of Pacific Freight Lines' "hot cargo" in other cities along the Pacific Coast
diversions and tie-ups of Pacific Freight terminals in California, Oregon and Washington

stopped all shipping by the company
Dave Beck's Brotherhood of Teamsters were successful and Los Angeles was organized
Beck expanded his California effort
when he organized the Teamsters' Highway Drivers Council of California

DAVE BECK JOINS FORCES WITH ILA PRESIDENT JOE RYAN

Dave Beck and the AFL began to rapidly expand their membership
this resulted in a push to connect, through an alliance, Beck's west coast Teamsters
with Joe Ryan's East Coast AFL longshoremen
Joe Ryan gave Dave Beck's Pacific Coast Teamsters Union jurisdiction over uptown warehouses
whose workers were to be delivered to Beck's Teamsters Union -- May 1937
this alliance with Harry Bridges' rival was intended to force Bridges
out of power with the International Longshoremen's Association
thus allowing Ryan and Beck to take over representation of the longshoremen
on the West Coast as well as on the East Coast

Dave Beck leading his AFL Teamsters expanded his organizing effort
to include truck drivers on the waterfronts
in opposition to Harry Bridges and his International Longshoremen's Association members
Beck initiated fierce organizing battles utilizing club-swinging squads of hired thugs
to convince rival Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) to leave warehousemen alone
Beck also conducted membership raids on warehouses that had joined
Bridges' CIO International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CLASHES WITH HARRY BRIDGES

Dave Beck and the AFL escalated the violent conflict with Harry Bridges' longshoremen
Beck became an AFL point man in labor disputes involving Harry Bridges
Beck also led the AFL fight against CIO industrial unionism along the Pacific coast
In addition AFL leaders reaffirmed their conservative position on social programs
including opposition to federal unemployment insurance, old age pensions
and minimum wage laws
they imposed a dollar-a-member assessment on AFL locals to finance the fight against the CIO

HARRY BRIDGES BREAKS WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL)

Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) President Harry Bridges fought back
longshoremen recognized that the loss of the warehousemen
would not only weaken their waterfront unions
but would end effective union organization in the industry as well
Growing ideological hostility, coupled with opposing trade union philosophies,

prompted the Bridges-led Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) to break with ILA President Joseph Ryan

Bridges supported by Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) Communist labor leaders began to call for a vote to select who would bargain for longshoremen -- May 1937

Bridges' Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

or Dave Beck's AFL Pacific Coast International Brotherhood of Teamsters

DAVE BECK'S POWER SUFFERED A DIRECT ATTACK

Seattle Star newspaper served as an active voice for labor in the city

Seattle's American Newspaper Guild entered into negotiations with the *Star* and *Seattle Times* for recognition of the Guild as the sole collective bargaining agent for both newspapers

Dave Beck's support for management's position against the Newspaper Guild -- May 8, 1937

was not appreciated by American Federation of Labor (AFL) union members

including Seattle's International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

JOSEPH CURRAN AND HIS FOLLOWERS BREAK AWAY FROM THE ISU

International Sailors Union (ISU) labor activist Joseph Curran

changed the name of his Seaman's Defense Committee to the National Maritime Union (NMU)

Joe Curran began to sign former ISU members to his new, left-wing rival union -- May 1937

he proceeded to lead the progressive labor union out of the American Federation of Labor's ISU

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION (NMU) IS COURTED BY THE CIO

Joe Curran and other seamen's union leaders were invited by John L. Lewis

to come to Washington, D.C. to form a major organizing drive among ship and port workers

Lewis favored Harry Bridges

president of the Pacific Coast District of the International Longshoremen's Association

to lead the new maritime industrial union but Joe Curran and other NMU leaders balked

Joe Curran agreed to affiliate his National Maritime Union (NMU)

with John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

but Curran refused to let Harry Bridges or anyone else control his union

plans were made for a National Maritime Union (NMU) convention

to give members an opportunity to confirm their affiliation with the CIO

U.S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIS VAN DEVANTER RETIRES

After Congress voted full pay for justices over seventy who retired [March 1, 1837]

Willis Van Devanter retired as a Supreme Court Justice -- May 18, 1937

he acknowledged that he might have retired five years earlier due to illness

if he did not have so many concerns regarding New Deal legislation

in addition, was he dependent on his salary to maintain his life style
Roosevelt's opportunity to appoint a new Justice took the steam out of the court packing plan

BEMIS BAG COMPANY IS STRUCK IN THE AFL-CIO JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTE

Weigher's, Warehousemen and Cereal Workers Union (WW&CWU)

employed by the Seattle division of the nation-wide Bemis Bag Company

were members of the Seattle AFL International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

AFL leaders demanded the dollar-a-day assessment to resist the CIO be paid and further insisted that jurisdiction over the Seattle WW&CWU be given to the Brotherhood of Teamsters

WW&CWU leaders and members refused to comply

AFL President William Green demanded the WW&CWU tie to the Seattle Central Labor Council be severed

Teamsters Union members set up a picket line at the Seattle Bemis Bag plant -- May 22, 1937

in an to attempt to force the WW&CWU workers into the Teamsters Union

Teamster pickets remained in place until one hundred longshoremen arrived at the company and established a picket line of their own

Teamster pickets were driven off and the Bemis Bag Company opened for business

After the Teamster pickets were gone a sedan allegedly belonging to a well known Teamster official drove down the sidewalk at a high speed through the longshoremen's picket line

then turned around and once again drove along the sidewalk

many of the AFL pickets had to be hospitalized with one in serious condition

SEATTLE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION (ILA) DEFIES THE AFL

After the Bemis Bag Company incident Seattle International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

released a statement in support of the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)

they refused to pay the AFL dollar-a-member assessment to fight the CIO

U.S. SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS MORE NEW DEAL LAWS

Ruling were made on two significant pieces of reform legislation -- May 24, 1937

two separate U.S. Supreme Court cases validated unemployment compensation

Steward Machine Co v Davis by a five-to-four ruling

Carmichael v Southern Coal & Coke Co. and Gulf States Paper by six-to-three

old age benefits provisions (Social Security) was upheld

Helvering v Davis by seven-to-two

President Roosevelt's court packing plan was allowed to die in committee

COLUMBIA BASIN ANTI-SPECULATION ACT SLOWS MIGRATION TO THE AREA

Because Bonneville Dam was being constructed

federal government was worried about a flood of potential farmers
To prevent speculative windfalls
Congress adopted the *Columbia Basin Anti-Speculation Act* -- May 27, 1937
which limited the amount of land that any one person could own
qualifications were set so that only experienced farmers with sufficient capital
would be permitted to buy land served by the project

COMMUNISTS ATTEMPT TO LEAD SOME CIO UNIONS

Standing of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) remained only a distraction
for the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
until the Communist Party decided to capture the CIO movement -- end of May 1937
Suddenly lumber unions faced a bitter internal struggle over affiliation
Woodworkers Federation, an independent union with almost 100,000 members,
voted to affiliate with the CIO

PACIFIC FREIGHT LINES STRIKE ENDS IN LOS ANGELES

After an eight week strike, the company settled with the Brotherhood of Teamsters -- June 2, 1937
this effort led to the establishment of many new Teamster locals in the shipping industry
and the organization of tens of thousands of new members
for the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
Dave Beck and his Western Conference of Teamsters emerged significantly stronger from the battles

THIRD ANNUAL MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) CONVENTION IS HELD

Portland's Labor Temple hosted the Third annual MFP convention -- June 7-[July 9], 1937
representatives of the Pacific Coast maritime unions assembled
to deliberate and legislate the future of their Federation
this was a marathon affair which lasted five weeks

All of the same old insoluble problems confronted the delegates:

- they must balance power between the large and small unions;
- they must preserve the autonomy of each organization while maximizing Federation strength;
- they must develop a consistent and unified collective plan of action;
- they must present a solid front to their employers

whether the dispute was on a single vessel or dock, or the whole coast

But this year delegates faced a new challenge that overshadowed their perennial problems:
whether or not to affiliate their individual unions or even the Federation itself
with the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) President Joseph Ryan
offered a traditional form of unionism that West Coast longshoremen found repulsive

Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) under the leadership of John L. Lewis continually challenged the more conservative AFL and appealed to radical MFP members

During the MFP Convention there was continuous bickering between the Pacific Coast Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) and the supporters of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) many Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) union affiliates seemed more open to the idea of industrial unionism for other unions industrial unionism was an unknown and elusive issue still needing to be defined

Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) delegates to the 1937 Maritime Federation Convention listened with growing alarm as CIO representatives evaded their questions

Ten delegates presented credentials from a new coastwide union Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) members operated tugs, barges, passenger ferries and other vessels along the Pacific Coast they had formerly been part of the ILA's International Seamen's Union (ISU)

Communist-backed IBU delegates asked to be included in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE MFP CONVENTION

Communist Party members in the Maritime Federation were active in both AFL and CIO unions, Communist leaders supported the CIO industrial union program but advocated remaining with the AFL

from the outset of the Marine Federation of the Pacific (MFP) Convention members of the Communist bloc appeared were determined to control the convention

During the debate unions back home instructed their delegates on issues and candidates streams of wires and letters poured in from locals and ships' crews urging support for the Communist bloc positions

MARINE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) FACES A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER

MFP Convention delegates represented two lines of thought:

- American Federation of Labor (AFL) verses Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)
- Communist versus. Anti-Communist

No single faction had a majority of votes on the convention floor

forty of the 180 convention delegates seemed to be uncommitted

seventy-nine of the delegate votes were spread among the sailors' unions

two unions, Telegraphists and Inland Boatmen, voted solid Communist bloc

with some Communist support among the other sailors' union

AFL International Longshoremen's Association delegates held sixty-one votes

of those sixty-one votes, the Communist bloc controlled forty-seven

anti-Communists controlled fourteen ILA votes

At the same time, Washington's delegation was also of two minds:

Seattle split between Communist bloc and uncommitted delegates;

Tacoma, Grays Harbor, and Olympia voted strongly anti-Communist;

Everett, Bellingham and Raymond identified with the Communist bloc

FEUD CONTINUES IN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL)

Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) Convention overwhelmingly supported Harry Bridges in his stand to withdraw from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

and the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

all maritime unions were instructed to hold immediate referendums on the question of leaving the American Federation of Labor (AFL) for the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

HARRY LUNDEBERG STEERED HIS SUP INTO TURBELENT WATERS

International Seamen's Union (ISU) rapidly lost members

to Joe Curran's Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) National Maritime Union (NMU)

American Federation of Labor President William Green hoped to rebuild the ISU under AFL control

he assigned Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP),

to the task rebuilding AFL membership

Lundeberg attempted to keep his Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) on an independent course

that avoided both the American Federation of Labor and Committee for Industrial Organization and the conflicts both were encountering

he declared the SUP to be a "principled advocate" for industrial unionism

in contrast to what he now characterized as the "spurious pretenses" of the CIO

this, he believed, was the only honorable and intelligent course of action the SUP could take

Lundeberg also jealously guarded the jurisdictional claims of West Coast sailors

protecting his union against the East Coast and Gulf Coast sailors

especially the CIO's National Maritime Union (NMU)

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC CONVENTION VOTES ON AFL OR CIO AFFILIATION

Harry Lundeberg, President of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

discussed with CIO leader John L. Lewis the possibility of acquiring a CIO Charter

Lundeberg also held talks with International Seamen's Union (ISU) President Andrew Furuseth

based on these discussions Harry Lundeberg understood from Furuseth

that members of the SUP would retain their own constitution, treasury and property

with full autonomy to conduct their own affairs within the American Federation of Labor

Harry Lundeberg decided to send a referendum ballot out to all SUP members

on the question of affiliation with the AFL or CIO -- voting began June 9, 1937

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) SLOWLY REACTS TO THE CIO THREAT

Joe Ryan moved cautiously

leaders of the Pacific Coast District AFL International Longshoremen's Association were slow to react to organizing efforts of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) full discussions up and down the coast regarding membership status were insisted upon

AFL'S JOE RYAN RULES THAT WAREHOUSEMEN BELONG IN THE TEAMSTERS' UNION

Once the CIO threat to the AFL's International Longshoremen's Association was realized AFL leaders fought back as they began assigning the newly-organized CIO warehouse workers to Dave Beck's Teamsters in an effort to force Harry Bridges Pacific Coast District ILA to abandon the representation of warehousemen

Dave Beck had up to now ignored dockside warehousemen as had all other Teamster bosses Beck, leader of the West Coast Teamsters, was alarmed by Harry Bridges radical politics he was even more concerned that Bridges' International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) would encroach on newly-acquired uptown warehouses now under Teamster jurisdiction Beck declared he would enforce his AFL jurisdictional claims over workers recruited by Bridges foundation of Beck's argument relied on the fact that these workers were not in the shipping labor force

but rather transported the goods from the ships to be distributed on land thus these laborers should be classified as land-based and not marine or port work actually, organizing the warehousemen under *his* jurisdiction became absolutely necessary for the preservation of Dave Beck's bargaining power

All warehousemen now faced bitter union fighting to organize, to win members and to survive these battles occurred in every area where warehouse workers organized their unions

HARRY BRIDGES EXPANDS HIS "MARCH INLAND"

Harry Bridges defied Joe Ryan and the AFL's ruling awarding uptown warehousemen to Teamsters Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) "march inland" was expanded Bridges intensified his organizing drive among all warehousemen in Pacific coast cities to bring members into the American Federation of Labor's ILA

this recruiting drive included both marine and uptown warehouses Bridges also recruited farm laborers and other unorganized shore-side workers into his union as he frequently stated,

"scabs come from agriculture and colleges -- union men don't scab strikes"

American Federation of Labor (AFL) and Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) spent much of their energy fighting each other especially in meatpacking, textiles and electrical industries and in local Democratic politics

PACIFIC COAST ILA ATTEMPTS TO AVOID CRISIS WITH THE AFL

Harry Bridges' Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) tried to resolve their differences with the AFL without a formal split
Harry Bridges, believing strongly in labor democracy, called for a referendum on the question of membership affiliation -- June 17, 1937
but the international longshoremen's leadership refused to approve the ballot proposal

SPOKANE WORKING PEOPLE SUFFERED BADLY DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

many flocked to unions during the organizing surge
Fierce struggles erupted when laundry workers, mostly women, organized a union which represented eighty-five percent of Spokane's laundry workers: 400 members -- June 1937
Owners raised wages voluntarily, but that did not meet the worker's needs
laundry workers forced the Davenport Hotel to provide twenty more jobs
by reducing the workday from ten hours to the legal minimum for women of eight hours
laundry workers union also collected checks of from \$48.00 to \$65.00
for back pay for wages below the [1935] state legal minimum pay for workers

HISTORY OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN TURMOIL

Last of the ruling Chinese dynasties collapsed after a reign of almost 300 years [1911]
China, especially Northern China, fell under the control of several major and lesser War Lords
In an effort to defeat these warlords Sun Yat-sen, president of the Republic of China, sought the help of foreign powers -- Western democracies ignored the request
Sun Yat-sen turned to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
Communists provided assistance to China on two fronts [1921]:

- Sun Yat-sen received assistance in his effort to defeat China's War Lords;
- newly established Communist Party of China along with its army also received assistance

thus the struggle for power in China began
between the Nationalist Chinese government and the Chinese Communist Party
Republic of China President Sun Yat-sen died [March 12, 1925]
his office was taken over by one his lieutenants, Chiang Kai-shek
Republic of China President Chiang Kai-shek turned on the Chinese Communist Army under the command of Mao Zedong [April 12, 1927]
Chiang's Nationalist Chinese government was purged of Communists
arrests and executions of hundreds of Chinese Communists took place
Chinese Communist activists retreated to the countryside (literally) or underground (figuratively) where they fomented a military revolt
Mao Zedong launched an attack on the Nationalist government: Nanchang Uprising [August 1, 1927]

Mao had combined his forces with remnants of peasant rebels
and established control over several areas in southern China
Civil War had erupted in China

Infrequent battles for control of portions of China continued for several years

Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government made an all-out effort, the Central Plains War [1930]
Chiang's military plan was to root out remaining pockets of Communist activity
in a series of encirclement campaigns

Chiang launched his fifth encirclement campaign [1933]

Mao Zedong took advantage of gaps in the ring and his army escaped [October 1934]
Mao's Communist army was in full retreat toward Northern China [1934-1935]

along the way, they confiscated property and weapons from local landlords and warlords
all the while recruiting peasants and the poor, solidifying their appeal to the masses
of 90,000-100,000 people who began the "Long March" with Mao
only about 30,000 survived the 8,000-mile trek through mountainous terrain
but Mao Zedong had strengthened his control over the Communist army
and the Chinese Communist Party

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION (NMU) COMES INTO EXISTENCE

More than 35,000 seamen had switched their membership

from the AFL International Seamen's Union (ISU) to the CIO's National Maritime Union (NMU)

National Maritime Union (NMU) held its first convention in New York City -- July 6, 1937

Joe Curran ran the convention

delegates approved affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

Curran was elected president of the NMU by the delegates

Jamaican-born Negro Ferdinand Smith was elected as the union's secretary-treasurer
thus, from its inception NMU was racially integrated

Curran and his followers filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board to hold an election
to determine what union should be declared the bargaining agent with

more than seventy shipping lines operating out of the East Coast and the Gulf of Mexico

Organizing was so intense that hundreds of ships delayed their sailing times

as seamen listened to organizers and signed new union cards

(within a year, the NMU had more than 50,000 members

and most American shippers were under contract)

(within six years, nearly all racial discrimination was eliminated

in maritime hiring, wages, living accommodations and work assignments)

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF IMPERIAL JAPAN

Japan consists of several thousands of islands, however the vast majority of the population

occupies the four largest: Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku
Sea of Japan separates Japan's closest neighbors from Japan
Korea, USSR and China are all on the Asian continent
Japan needed to import raw materials such as iron, rubber and oil
to maintain its economic growth [1920s] and [1930s]
most of these resources came from the United States through the silk trade
Japanese leaders felt the grip of world-wide economic depression
however, lack of natural resources stymied any potential growth
Japan looked toward East Asia, specifically Manchuria with its many resources,
as the solution to their dilemma
With little resistance, Japan invaded and conquered Manchuria [1931]
Japan claimed that this invasion liberated the Manchurian people from the Chinese government
although the majority of Manchuria's population were Han Chinese
Japan then established the puppet regime of Manchukuo
and installed the former Emperor of China as the official head of state

JAPAN BECOMES INVOLVED IN WAR WITH CHINA

Chinese and Japanese soldiers fought in a minor skirmish in Peiping (Beijing), China -- July 7, 1937
this fight quickly escalated as the Second Sino-Japanese War erupted in China
(this war lasted until [September 9, 1945])
Unprepared for a sustained conflict, the Chinese army could do little to stop the Japanese advance
initially, Japan's objective was the overthrow of the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek,
(in less than a year, Japanese invaders destroyed China's best fighting units
and controlled northern China, the industrial heart of the nation
but its advance stalled as China's resistance stiffened)
Japanese shipping companies relied on their close association with American silk-trading firms
Japanese shippers continued their domination in the Japan-New York silk trade
decline in the price of silk had facilitated the shift to the cheaper all-water route
Japan needed silk sales to the United States to finance purchases vital to its war with China
China was aided by economic assistance from the Soviet Union and the United States

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) CONVENTION COMES TO AN END

Thirty-three day long MFP Convention had opened [June 7] and concluded -- July 9, 1937
Maritime Federation of the Pacific had survived another acrimonious convention
an attempted invasion by the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)
had polarized Federation members but conservatives and militants had declared a truce
long enough to prevent the Communists from capturing the organization
Breakup of the MFP spawned an extremely bitter rivalry

between Harry Lundeberg's Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) and ILWU's Harry Bridges who supported Joe Curran's CIO National Maritime Union (NMU)
(this personal animosity did not decrease in intensity until Lundeberg's death [1957])

ANTI-COMMUNIST ELEMENTS IN THE PACIFIC COAST MFP CLOSE RANKS

Following adjournment of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) convention and faced with the prospect of new and unpredictable alignments

Anti-Communists in the seafaring unions drew together

Delegates from the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, Maritime Firemen, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Masters, Mates and Pilots and Marine Engineers met in Portland -- July 10, 1937
they agreed to ban together to resist CIO efforts to take over the Federation

SEATTLE STAR NEWSPAPER GUILD MEMBERS WALK OUT ON STRIKE

American Newspaper Guild expanded its membership to include non-editorial departments
the Guild left the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
for the Committee of Industrial Organization (CIO)

Seattle Star newspaper laid off nineteen American Newspaper Guild members
in the labor-supporting newspaper's circulation department

Guild members went on strike supported by the CIO -- July 10, 1937

Seattle Mayor John F. Dore used police officers to break up the AFL strike claiming it was illegal

PACIFIC COAST LONGSHORE LEADER HARRY BRIDGES JOINS THE CIO

When it became obvious that the executive council of the AFL had no interest in unity

Bridges made a deal with Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) leader John L. Lewis
in return for bringing Pacific Coast longshoremen and warehousemen into the CIO

Lewis appointed Harry Bridges his West Coast CIO Director -- July 12, 1937

(he remained the leader of the West Coast CIO for thirty-nine years -- 1937 to [1976]
this had an immense repercussion on Pacific Coast labor)

Harry Bridges took over leadership of the progressives who advocated

that the longshoremen and maritime unions join the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)

HARRY BRIDGES CALLS FOR A REPRESENTATION ELECTION

Bridges and his Pacific Coast District ILA leaders addressed the issue of affiliation head-on
they began distributing ballots that addressed whether longshoremen and warehousemen
would be represented by the AFL or the CIO

Bridges contended that only by exercising their political power could workers
preserve the economic gains won in strikes or negotiations and coerce favorable legislation
only by developing an ever-expanding the base of the labor movement

could solidarity, already partially achieved, be fully attained
Harry Bridges Pacific Coast District CIO organizing successes
thrust the coastal leadership into a decisive role in the campaign for industrial unionism

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA (IWA) IS FORMED

Communist leaders in the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) Federation of Woodworkers under British Columbia Communist union leader Harold Pritchett exploited grievances AFL's Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) members had against their old labor union the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
Communists demanded a thirty-six hour work week, minimum wage of seventy cents an hour and paid vacations
Sawmill and Timber Workers (STW) Union members left the American Federation of Labor (AFL) they adopted a new name: International Woodworkers of America (IWA) -- July 15, 1937 and affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)
International Woodworkers of America (IWA) was an industry-wide union composed of lumbermen, sawmill workers, timber transportation workers and others
Harold Pritchett was elected president of the CIO's International Woodworkers of America (IWA) (he held this position until [1940] when he resigned as a result of being denied an entry visa into the United States because of his Communist affiliation)

LONGSHOREMEN (ILA) VOTE COASTWIDE ON UNION AFFILIATION

Results of the Pacific Coast longshoremen's balloting conducted by Harry Bridges was announced -- July 16, 1937
(this announcement had been postponed for two weeks because the Grays Harbor longshoremen's union refused at first to vote)
Seattle 850 CIO to 235 AFL; Portland 734 CIO to 169 AFL; San Pedro 1,500 CIO to 444 AFL
San Francisco longshoremen 2,220 CIO to 703 AFL;
San Francisco warehousemen 2,334 CIO to 411 AFL;
late returns brought the totals to join the CIO 12,079 to 3,479
Pacific coast longshoremen and warehousemen had voted overwhelmingly to disaffiliate from the Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and join Harry Bridges' Pacific Coast District Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) but the vote for disaffiliation was not unanimous
Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association Union (ILA) supporters fought against the CIO blitz carried out by Bridges and Communist labor leaders
ILA union activist T.A. "Tiny" Thronson of the Tacoma ILA noted:
"Twenty-eight locals voted not to go. Tacoma was one."⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Ronald Magden and A.D. Martinson. *The Working Waterfront*. P. 124.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) TAKES OVER THE ISU

Devastating raids on the AFL's International Seamen's Union (ISU)

by Joe Curran's National Maritime Union (NMU) led to the end of the ISU

AFL President William Green took over the ISU with the goal of rebuilding it

with Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) President Harry Lundeberg leading the reorganization

Washington and Oregon American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions

denounced the threatened raid by the CIO

in a joint statement the Tacoma Central Labor Council and Building Trades Council vowed

to **“rigorously oppose all forms of dual unionism (AFL and CIO)”** and to **“do**

everything in our power to eradicate all organizations that would destroy our movement.”⁹⁸

INTERNATIONAL SAILORS' UNION (ISU) HAS A CONTRACT WITH SHEPARD LINE

ISU's labor agreement with Shepard Line beginning in [1935] maintained a closed shop for the union

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) signed an agreement with Shepard Line [April 28, 1937]

(without notice of termination the agreement would extend to [September 30, 1938])

Joe Curran's CIO National Maritime Union (NMU) challenged the validity of the agreement

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) conducted a representation election

on all East Coast shipping routes

Joe Curran's National Maritime Union (NMU) routed the ISU in the Shepard Line vote

NLRB ruled the East Coast labor agreement belonged to the MNU

AFL's Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) felt they held all contracts for the West Coast

and the NLRB ruling was in error -- SUP had not even appeared on the ballot

Shepard Line began hiring MNU sailors for its ships

SUP declared the cargo aboard Shepard Line ships to be “hot”

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) ATTEMPTS TO KEEP THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

With unprecedented vigor AFL's United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (UBCJ),

set up the Oregon and Washington Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers

in a effort to absorb the CIO's International Woodworkers of America (IWA)

back into the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

Only a small minority of the old Sawmill and Timber Workers Union (STW) membership

remained loyal to the American Federation of Labor (AFL) leadership

of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

this minority formed the Federation of Woodworkers (AFL)

to replace what little remained of the old AFL Sawmill and Timber Workers union

⁹⁸ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 335.

DAVE BECK EXPANDS HIS INFLUENCE IN THE TEAMSTERS UNION

Death of San Francisco's Teamster International Vice-President Mike Casey -- July 1937

caused Dave Beck to move from a statewide power to hold a much larger role on the West Coast
Dave Beck took over the West Coast's American Federation of Labor (AFL) leadership position

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION HELPS THE RURAL POOR

National government stepped in to help migrant agricultural workers

Congress created the *Farm Security Administration* -- July 22, 1937

workers contributed two hours of labor per week on camp projects in place of rent

they also had a self-governing camp council, subject to the veto of the camp manager,

which levied a twenty-five cent weekly contribution on each family for camp projects

migrants who found no government camps were forced into the shelters provided by growers

which were usually filthy camps without running water

among other improvements this agency created

sanitary mobile and permanent camps for migrant workers were provided

federal government provided nurseries and kindergartens for preschool children

Migrants regardless of their economic condition were almost all united in one respect

they were the first group of white American citizens not welcomed to the Pacific Northwest

old residents were afraid that they would steal their jobs

they would require higher taxes to pay for relief measures to assist them

and that, at worst, they would become riotous or radical

given these fears it is not surprising older residents denied migrants work relief,

old age assistance and medical services on the grounds that they were nonresidents

SUP MEMBERS' REFERENDUM BALLOTS WERE RETURNED TO THE UNION

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) President Harry Lundeberg

had sent ballots to SUP members on the question of affiliation with the AFL or CIO

these ballots were returned to the union headquarters for tabulation

By this time the debate in the SUP had shifted from the merits of industrial unionism

to the desirability of joining a Communist-dominated national maritime organization

SUP officials including Lundeberg knew the referendum count would probably overwhelmingly favor

Joseph Curran's CIO National Maritime Union (NMU) for affiliation

this was counter Lundeberg's goals for the SUP as it appeared likely

the East Coast's and Gulf States' NMU majority would dominate the union

SUP President Harry Lundeberg stifled union democracy within the SUP

to a degree never imagined by a democratic leader like Communist-backed Harry Bridges

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) ballots were never counted

because an overwhelming majority of those in attendance

at headquarters and branch SUP meetings voted to burn the ballots -- August 2, 1937
Maritime Firemen's Union also voted to destroy their members' ballots
CIO supporters denounced the destruction of the ballots as arbitrary and dictatorial

SPOKANE BUSINESSMEN ATTEMPT TO STOP UNION ORGANIZING THERE

Open-shop Citizens' Protective Association led by Spokane business owners
was opposed to unions organizing in the city
they began an active campaign to stop the union drive
Citizens' Protective Association threatened to boycott employers who signed union agreements
Spokane laundry workers' unions in retaliation
considered a boycott of all Citizen's Protective Association members' businesses
Spokane's Central Labor Council urged its 6,000 union members to wear union buttons
in an effort to make labor visible in the community -- early August

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION IS CHARTERED

It was apparent the AFL's Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
was shattered because of the efforts of Harry Bridges and Communist labor leaders
Several members of the ILA Pacific Coast District Executive Board including Harry Bridges
met in a "rump session" -- August 3, 1937

these leaders realized that longshoremen and warehousemen
had to remain in a single organization for their mutual benefit and protection
Without holding an election, adopting a constitution or electing officers
these executive board leaders decided to drop their affiliation
with the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
and to form the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
they simply declared themselves the ILWU
Harry Bridges had engineered the longshoremen's departure from the American Federation of Labor

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION (ILWU) BEGINS

Committee of Industrial Organization (CIO) chartered the ILWU -- August 11, 1937
CIO's program of industrial unionism, opposition to discrimination,
and genuine nonpartisan political action on behalf of working people
more exactly matched the ideals of Pacific Coast longshoremen and warehousemen
Harry Bridges was elected president of the CIO's ILWU
separation from the AFL Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association was finalized
In addition to fighting the American Federation of Labor (AFL),
Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) affiliation was also necessary
for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)

because the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) was disintegrating

SOME ILA LONGSHORE UNIONS FIGHT THE ILWU

Harry Bridges was not popular in Tacoma as Tacoma's longshoremen remained with the rival AFL (in Tacoma, for example, longshoremen did not vote to become ILWU Local 23 until [1958] when shrinking work opportunities motivated them to affiliate so they could travel to nearby ILWU ports for additional work) last Pacific Coast outpost of the ILA, Grainliners' Local 1892 near Longview, Washington did not vote to join ILWU's Local 21 until [1981] To protect their treasuries AFL International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) locals that were destined to become ILWU locals divided their funds among members who then deposited them in benevolent associations

HARRY BRIDGES EXPANDS HIS ILWU ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Although Bridges' decision to organize the ILWU increased his position of power on the West Coast it also became the spark in the controversy between Bridges' affiliation representing the CIO and the Seattle Teamsters with Dave Beck representing the AFL Five days after receiving the Committee of Industrial Organization (CIO) charter West Coast CIO Director Harry Bridges declared war on the Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) -- August 16, 1937 fifty ILWU organizers were distributed to recruit former AFL longshoremen and warehousemen Harry Bridges' aggressive recruiting campaign to bring warehousemen, farm workers and other unorganized shore-side laborers into his ILWU resulted in membership leaping from 1,800 to 9,000 this was a great victory for Harry Bridges and the CIO San Francisco ILWU Local 6 became the largest local in the CIO's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Association CIO's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union represented almost all Pacific Coast port dock workers Harry Bridges expanded the political influence of his ILWU he was often at polar extremes from the policies of the United States government he advocated a one-day shutdown of the port of San Francisco to protest America's policy of non-support for the elected government of Spain International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was a prototype of racial integration members also earned prime wages and enjoyed excellent working conditions

BONNEVILLE DAM BEGINS TO GENERATE ELECTRICITY

Bonneville Dam's initial phase of construction was completed -- 1937

both the Cascades (rapids) and the old lock were submerged
by the reservoir that formed behind the dam
this reservoir, known as Bonneville Reservoir or Lake Bonneville,
extends for forty-eight miles up the Columbia River
(a second Bonneville Lock was constructed [1987 to 1993] at a cost of \$341 million;
85 feet wide and 676 feet long, this lock replaced the earlier smaller lock [built in 1938])
Bonneville Dam construction provided jobs and other economic benefits to the Pacific Northwest
through the production of inexpensive hydroelectricity
production of hydroelectricity was begun -- 1937
even before the infrastructure to deliver electricity was not in place

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION (BPA) IS CREATED BY CONGRESS

Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana contain 40% of the nation's water power resources
generating electricity was a sensitive issue when Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams
were being built with federal dollars

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration wanted the electricity
to be a public source of power and to prevent energy monopolies
advocates for private sale of the electricity were opposed to this plan
as they did not want the government to interfere in their profitable business

Bonneville Power Act was signed into law by FDR -- August 20, 1937

it was patterned, in part, after the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) legislation
this law resolved the feud between Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation
regarding who had ultimate jurisdiction over the construction project

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION (BPA) IS ALSO ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS

Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) was established under the Bonneville Power Act

to deal with generation, transmission and marketing of hydroelectric power

for all federal projects within and outside the Columbia Basin -- 1937

most of the responsibility for development of these vast resources fell on the federal government

while responsibility for marketing and distributing the energy on the retail level

fell to the publicly and privately owned light and power utility companies

BPA distributed hydroelectric power wholesale in large amounts to buyers patched into the grid
municipally owned utilities resold electricity to customers:

- state-controlled Private Utilities Districts (PUDs) distributed electricity to customers;
- cooperatives, usually rural in nature and widely scattered, also sold BPA power;
- private manufacturing companies purchased electric power

such as Hanford and ALCOA (Aluminum Company of America)

(Bonneville Power provided the power for the manufacture of aluminum -- a new industry)

(Commercial electricity began its transfer from the dam over BPA power lines [1938])

NEW PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICTS ARE FORMED IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Creation of Bonneville Power Administration made Public Utility Districts even more important
(in all, out of thirty-nine counties in Washington, thirty-two PUDs were eventually formed
twenty-nine were county-wide

seventeen operated electric systems and twelve distributed Columbia River power)

Public Utility Districts operated electric systems that changed the lives of residents:

- progressive rate reductions were implemented;
- nearly a million dollars in local taxes were paid by PUDs;
- thousands of farm families received electric service for the first time
distribution of low cost hydroelectric power revolutionized farm life

milking machines, refrigeration units, water pumps for home, cream separators,
irrigation system pumps for the land, incubators and brooders, fodder choppers,
dairy ventilating fans, bottle washers, and other devices were all made possible
for housewives electric lights and electric appliances were a great boon

as electric revenue bonds were steadily retired,

people earned an equity in their public electric system

people acquired millions of dollars' worth of debt-free PUD property in Washington

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SIGNS THE JUDICIAL PROCEDURES REFORM ACT

Judicial Procedures Reform Act was compromise legislation passed by Congress
as a replacement for Roosevelt's "**court packing**" scheme of adding justices
to the U.S. Supreme Court

Judicial Procedures Reform Act instead incorporated some of FDR's recommendations
but left the number of federal justices unchanged

President Roosevelt signed the Bill into law -- August 26, 1937

(Over the next four years a combination of deaths and retirements
enabled Roosevelt to make seven appointments to the Supreme Court)

SPOKANE LAUNDRY WORKERS GO ON STRIKE

Spokane's business-backed Citizen's Protective Association continued to ignore the laundry union
500 laundry workers struck demanding union recognition and wage increases

striking Spokane laundry workers requested Spokane's Central Labor Council
organize a General Strike in their support

Spokane's Central Labor Council of 300 delegates from fifty-three unions
rejected the request by laundry workers for a General Strike

Labor World headlined -- August 27, 1937

“UNION DELEGATES VOTE TO DELAY GENERAL STRIKE”

instead of a General Strike to support laundry workers

male union members were asked for \$2.00 a month; female members \$1.00

first week of the strike, six unions contributed \$2,700

CONGRESS CREATED A PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY

Following a financial collapse, a number of utility companies were threatened with bankruptcy

Roosevelt compared the problem to a “96-inch dog being wagged by a 4-inch tail”

companies with a small amount of capital that held controlling amounts of utility stock

were now to be regulated -- August 28, 1937

electric and gas holding companies were restricted to a single and concentrated system

in a single location

CONFRONTATIONS TAKE PLACE ALONG PACIFIC COAST DOCKS

In addition to drivers, uptown warehousemen were under the control of the AFL Teamsters

Beck’s Brotherhood of Teamsters Union set out to acquire the dock warehousemen

over the objections of Harry Bridges and his CIO-supported

Pacific Coast International Longshoremen’s Association

As a way to combat Teamster expansion efforts Harry Bridges conducted membership raids

on the Teamster uptown warehousemen

one immediate result was that International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU)

membership among warehouse workers increased more than eight-fold

this raid on Teamster warehousemen became the spark

that ignited the fight between Harry Bridges and Dave Beck

question of who would represent the warehousemen became a top priority for the AFL and CIO

with Bridges and Beck battling for control of warehouses

CONGRESS CREATED THE U.S. HOUSING AUTHORITY

National Housing Act was passed by Congress -- September 1, 1937

U.S. Housing Authority was created to administer low-interest sixty-year loans

to small communities for slum clearance and construction projects

and to grant subsidies for setting rents geared to low-income levels

where local agencies were able to provide twenty-five percent of the federal grant

TEAMSTERS MOVE ON THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

Dave Beck’s AFL Teamsters had jurisdiction over uptown warehouses

but Harry Bridges’ CIO International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU)

continued to maintain their organization of dock warehousemen

Dave Beck moved to San Francisco where his goal was to secure the union membership of warehousemen in the city

Beck's Teamsters Union attempted to force longshoremen and warehousemen back into the American Federation of Labor (AFL)

Beck's plan snowballed into a labor battle that threatened Harry Bridges' hold on San Francisco and ultimately the whole Pacific Coast

Battles for new members between rival unions led by Harry Bridges and Dave Beck took place in the form of raids, picketing and fights

between the AFL Pacific Coast International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)

ILWU MAKES GAINS FOR ITS MEMBERS

Communist-bloc organizational strength supported the longshoremen and warehousemen led by militant, pro-Communist union organizer Harry Bridges

Bridges' CIO Warehouse workers continued their struggles in the months following CIO affiliation they fought time and time again to preserve their unions

against raids by the Teamsters and other AFL unions

and to maintain their close relationship with the CIO longshoremen

ILWU conducted work slow-downs to stop employer's "shape-up" practices

Bridges also led disputes over handling "hot" (non-union) cargo -- September 20, 1937

PACIFIC COAST INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION LOCAL 38 IS FORMED

In some ports, the CIO blitz by ILWU recruiters was resisted by AFL longshoremen

An emergency convention of dissident AFL-International Longshoremen's Association members was held in San Francisco to oppose the CIO's creation

of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union -- September 20, 1937

dissidents from the ILA ports of Portland, Astoria, San Francisco, and San Pedro

joined delegates from Tacoma and Olympia

This convention reconstituted itself as AFL Pacific Coast District ILA Local 38

William "Bill" Lewis was elected president

ILA Local 38-97 was composed of Tacoma longshoremen and several small Washington locals

Harry Bridges was not popular in Tacoma in the 1930s

(Tacoma Longshoremen remained with the rival AFL until [1958])

in addition to a handful of dissidents in a few CIO ports

became known as the "dirty dozen" and the "lost battalion" by the CIO majority

This desperate effort to form a rival union was probably a large tactical mistake

not only did it fail to split the CIO ports as hoped but as was pointed out

by longshore dissident T.A. "Tiny" Thronson not only did it fail to split the CIO ports,

but ILA members were removed from longshore CIO locals
thus isolated, the articulate and effective opponents of the communist-bloc
were silenced in the major ports

TEAMSTERS MOVE ON THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

Dave Beck moved to San Francisco where he announced
that Teamsters would remove the goods stored in ILWU warehouses
Harry Bridges retorted this would be theft
Dave Beck threatened to blockade the whole San Francisco Bay
in order to stop the movement of all freight, except those freights that carried perishable foods,
to force the CIO longshoremen to give up their warehouse members
Beck's original goal to secure the union membership of warehousemen
snowballed into a labor battle that threatened Harry Bridges' hold on San Francisco
and ultimately the whole Pacific Coast
Beck, as quoted in *Time Magazine*, left nothing to the imagination or to be misunderstood
he announced:

“We'll close every port on the Pacific Coast where warehousemen are not teamsters.”

Bridges replied in a statement to *Time magazine*:

“These gentlemen not only want a labor war but demand it.”

DAVE BECK BLOCKADES SAN FRANCISCO BAY

Teamster leader Dave Beck joined forces with ship owners to establish a “blockade” -- Fall 1937
four thousand Teamsters lined up along the San Francisco waterfront to disrupt the ILWU
longshoremen and other maritime union members 2000 strong marched along the waterfront
hundreds of ILWU members stood up to assaults and threats by Teamster-led goon squads
individual ILWU gangs moved through the Teamster pickets in flying wedges
miraculously no violence occurred

To rally support against the ILWU, Dave Beck and his Teamsters initiated a “Red baiting”
against the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) union and its leader, Harry Bridges

DAVE BECK SUFFERS A SETBACK

Dave Beck ordered his Teamsters to blockade the San Francisco waterfront
until the warehousemen were handed over by the ILWU
Hundreds of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union members
conducted daily mobilizations to stand up to the threats
made by International Brotherhood of Teamster “goon squads”
First sign of a breach in Dave Beck's organization came -- September 1937
when his Teamsters' union demanded a showdown in San Francisco

Beck's boycott fizzled when the ILWU longshoremen fraternized with the Teamster pickets and used loud-speakers to explain to them the silliness and futility of the whole situation Teamster rank and file members then refused to follow Dave Beck's orders and the blockade ceased to function this was a serious breach of Dave Beck's power

NATIONAL LABOR LEADERS ATTEMPT A RESOLUTION

AFL and CIO leaders began to conduct talks aimed at bringing the two organizations into a friendly agreement ending the war between the CIO and AFL Employers were not interested in assisting labor to reach a resolution they believed that if the two competing union leaders could tear each other down, there would be less pressure on the employers to make concessions during negotiations Attempts at peace between the CIO and AFL left the question of the warehousemen unresolved with Bridges and Beck still battling for members

WILLIAM ORVILLE DOUGLAS BEGINS HIS PRODUCTIVE LIFE IN POLITICS

His itinerant Scottish Presbyterian minister father from Pictou County, Nova Scotia served several churches in Klickitat County in the small farming communities of Cleveland, Bickleton, and Dot Douglas, the second of three children, was known throughout his childhood as Orville he nearly died from a high fever shortly before his second birthday he remained seriously ill for weeks his mother, Julia, was advised by a doctor to massage his arms and legs with salt water every two hours throughout the illness to prevent atrophy of his limbs When Orville as he was six years old Rev. William Douglas died in Portland, Oregon following stomach surgery for ulcers leaving his mother to raise her children in severe poverty and with strict discipline she moved her children ages seven, six and one, from town to town finally settling in Yakima Young Orville was teased because of his small size and skinny legs he compensated by competing in neighborhood sports he began hiking to strengthen his legs -- repeatedly walking several miles from his home to climb a 500-foot hill near Selah Gap where he hiked, climbed, fished, hunted and camped alone for days in the coulees, hills and mountains He spent much of his youth in sight of the mountains Orville and his high school friends often traveled to the Cascade Mountains west of Yakima to hike the forests and meadows and to fish in the mountain lakes and streams Orville and his younger brother Art spent weeks on long treks over the rugged trails where the peace and beauty of the mountains provided an escape from problems of daily life

and inspired a permanent love of wilderness in general and especially the South Cascades wilderness hiking became and remained a central part of his life

Orville grew to become a rugged six footer -- he played center on his high school basketball team but a college education appeared to be unaffordable

as a youth, William like the rest of his family worked at odd jobs around Yakima picking cherries, Douglas later said, inspired him to a legal career

he wrote: **“I worked among the very, very poor, the migrant laborers, the Chicanos, and the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) who I saw being shot at by the police. I saw cruelty and hardness, and my impulse was to be a force in other developments in the law.”**⁹⁹

Douglas did well enough academically in high school to earn a scholarship to Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington where his older sister, Martha, attended classes

their mother insisted that he had not only support himself but also send money home in addition to his studies Douglas worked as a janitor in the morning,

at Falkenberg’s Jewelers in the afternoon,

and waiting tables at a boarding house for lunch and dinner

yet he found time to join a fraternity, participate on the debate team and other activities

at the outbreak of the Great War he joined the Students’ Army Training Corps

William O. Douglas graduated from Whitman College [1920]

he returned to Yakima and took a job teaching high school English and coaching the debate team

not happy he also took a part-time job as a reporter and copyeditor for the local newspaper

he occupied himself by writing cowboy stories and novels under a pen name

while teaching he dated Mildred Riddle who taught Latin at Yakima High School

whom he had been dating since [1921] and they married [1923]

Not happy with teaching, Douglas decided to pursue a career in law

he rode the rails to New York City and entered Columbia University School of Law [1922]

he married Mildred [1923] who continued to teach in Yakima until [1924]

sending money to help her husband through law school

Douglas graduated from law school [1925] and took a job with a Wall Street law firm

he quit after four months and returned to Yakima to attempt to open a law office there

when this failed he took a job as a law professor at Columbia Law School

there he established a name for himself in the fields of corporate and bankruptcy law

William Douglas, his wife Millie and their two children frequently returned to the Northwest

to hike and ride horses in the Cascades and in the Wallowa Mountains of northeast Oregon,

With the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt [1933],

Douglas, like many other politically ambitious lawyers and professors,

looked to join Roosevelt’s New Deal administration

⁹⁹ Whitman, Alden. (1980). *Vigorous Defender of Rights*. *The New York Times*, Sunday, January 20, 1980, p. 28.

Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) chose Professor Douglas to lead a committee to investigate investor protection during corporate bankruptcies and receiverships
Douglas gained publicity at hearings where he grilled corporate lawyers and trustees, including one of his old bosses from the Wall Street law firm
William O. Douglas was appointed a SEC commissioner [1936]
he was named SEC chairman -- September 21, 1937
this was just the beginning of his long, significant and controversial political career

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT VISITS BONNEVILLE DAM IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Bonneville Dam is located forty-two miles up the Columbia River from Portland, Oregon almost halfway between Portland and The Dalles
Concrete dam is 1,090 feet long and rises 170 feet above bedrock
reservoir behind the dam has a depth to seventy-two feet above where the water spills out
powerhouse, located near Bradford Island, contain ten huge generators
Another important feature of the Bonneville dam project is the ship lock
seventy-six feet wide and 500 feet long
its vertical lift of fifty-nine feet is the greatest lock lift in the world
using the locks, ocean-going ships can reach The Dalles
Bonneville Dam, lock and fish ladders were dedicated by FDR -- September 28, 1937

“Some of my friends who talk glibly of the right of any individual to do anything he wants with any of his property take the point of view that it is not the concern of federal or state or local government to interfere with what they miscall ‘the liberty of the individual.’ With them I do not agree and never have agreed, because, unlike them, I am thinking of the future of the United States. My conception of liberty does not permit an individual citizen or group of citizens to commit acts of depredation against nature in such a way as to harm their neighbors....”¹⁰⁰

“Most people realize the exact opposite is the truth.... The responsibility of the federal government for the welfare of its citizens will not come from the top in the form of unplanned, hit-or-miss appropriations of money, but will progress to the national capital from the ground up -- from the communities and counties and states which lie within each of the logical geographical areas....

“The Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River...with Oregon on the south side of the river and Washington on the north, is one of the major power and navigation projects undertaken since 1933. It is 170 feet high and 1,250 feet long. It has been built by the Corps of Engineers of the War Department, and when fully completed, with part of its power installations, will cost fifty-one million dollars.

“Truly, in the construction of this dam we have had our eyes on the future of the nation. Its cost will be returned to the people of the United States many times over in the improvement of

¹⁰⁰ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 456.

navigation and transportation, the cheapening of electric power, and the distribution of the power to hundreds of small communities within a great radius.

“As I look upon Bonneville Dam today, I cannot help the thought that instead of spending, as some nations do, half their national income in piling up armaments and more armaments for purposes of war, we in America are wiser in using our wealth on projects like this which will give us more wealth, better living and greater happiness for our children.”¹⁰¹

BONNEVILLE DAM PROJECT CONTINUES TO EXPAND

Electrical power generated at Bonneville is distributed by the Bonneville Power Administration
(Over the years Bonneville hydroelectric project expanded in size and purpose

a second Powerhouse was constructed [1974-1982]

using a 985-foot long dam raising the river seventy-seven feet
eight generators generate 558,200 Kilowatts of power)

Two types of fish ladders have been installed to cope with fish migration problems
one is a fish pool ladder while the other is a fish lock which works like a ship lock
both provide fish access to the river and tributaries above the dam

these have been only partially successful

Bonneville Dam blocked the migration of white sturgeon to their upstream spawning areas
sturgeon still spawn in the area below the dam where the lower Columbia River

which supports a healthy sturgeon population while very depressed populations

of white sturgeon persist in various reservoirs upstream

native salmon and steelhead on their journey upstream to spawn

get around the Bonneville Dam

during spawning season large concentrations of fish swimming upstream

are a tourist attraction

TEAMSTER BLOCKADE OF SAN FRANCISCO IS UNSUCCESSFUL

Harry Bridges smashed the Teamster effort

when he exposed the collusion between Beck and the bosses

Teamster members refused to follow their leaders into a senseless and suicidal struggle

Teamsters announced they were terminating the blockade -- September 29, 1937 the

at the request of the Associated Farmers of California in order to save the crops

In fact, their assault on the longshoremen had failed

as the ILWU remained firmly in control of the inland warehousemen

TWO GREAT WEST COAST LABOR LEADERS STRUGGLE TO EXPAND THEIR MEMBERSHIP

Harry Bridges was an alleged pro-Communist decidedly politically radical organizer

¹⁰¹ W. Storrs Lee. *Washington State*. P. 458.

Bridges stood frankly for industrial unionism and the socialization of businesses
he insisted workers had nothing in common with the employers
Bridges led International Longshoremen Association (ILA) Local 38-44 in San Francisco
its members earned prime wages and enjoyed excellent working conditions
and this union was the prototype of racial integration within a labor movement
Dave Beck was the conservative leader of the Seattle Brotherhood of Teamsters Union
he was easily the Teamsters' most powerful regional organizer
and a dominant personality in Pacific coast labor
he was flexible in his leadership style -- he had no time for labor radicals
he had no larger concern than wages, hours and working conditions
political issues were irrelevant to him
he defended capitalism because he believed good wages and good working conditions
guaranteed a stable, reliable work force -- and benefited his union members
For Harry Bridges the road to union organization differed from Dave Beck's route
Bridges' combined multiple unions to form new, larger more powerful unions
Beck expanded the Teamsters' Union by engulfing other unions into the Teamsters
Harry Bridges and Dave Beck waged a long and violent battle to control the Pacific coast

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT CONTINUES HIS TRIP THROUGH THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

FDR returned to Grand Coulee -- October 2, 1937

by this time, the dam was being described as "the Eighth Wonder of the World"

it was a structure forty-six-stories tall -- just five feet less than the Washington Monument

it was destined to contain more than twelve million cubic yards of concrete

Roosevelt marveled at the progress that had been made

in the three years since his [August 1934] visit

"The easiest way to describe those figures is to say that this is the largest structure, so far as anybody knows, that has ever been undertaken by man in one place," he said. "Superlatives do not count for anything because it is so much bigger than anything ever tried before."¹⁰²

DAVE BECK CONDUCTS AGGRESSIVE TEAMSTER MEMBERSHIP DRIVES

Seattle and Portland Teamsters began aggressively organizing drives among warehousemen

Dave Beck refused to haul cargo for companies that recognized

the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) as the bargaining agent for longshoremen
although the ILWU managed to retain a few small employers, through NLRB victories,

Teamsters' tactics proved much more effective than they had in San Francisco

¹⁰² Toni Rae Linenberger and William Joe Simonds, "Columbia Basin Project," Bureau of Reclamation History Program, Denver, Colorado, 1998, P. 395.

Beck tried to annex brewery truck drivers into the Brotherhood of Teamsters
these drivers had traditionally belonged to the craft industry organized AFL brewery workers
Beck's Seattle-based Teamsters Union refused to haul beer made in California or on the East coast
where the brewery workers refused to bow to Dave Beck's rule
his boycott gave local brewers a monopoly in the Northwest market
but did not bring the Brewery workers into the Teamsters Union

DAVE BECK AND HARRY BRIDGES JOIN IN BATTLE IN SEATTLE

Pacific Coast International Brotherhood of Teamsters President Dave Beck understood the desire of businessmen to accumulate money,
whereas Harry Bridges never seemed to care about a dollar
Dave Beck's Teamsters had unionized much of Seattle's work force
as he told a reporter, **"We recognize that labor cannot receive a fair wage unless business receives a just profit on its investment."**¹⁰³

Seattle Mayor Dore wanted the two unions to compromise and work together for the good of Seattle
however, if he was forced to choose between the two

Dore made it clear he would stay with the Teamsters due to his earlier loyalty to Dave Beck
Dore knew the battle over the warehousemen was rooted in the battle between the CIO and AFL
since he did not have to choose a side, he tried to remain neutral to insure his political future
Seattle AFL Central Labor Council instructed warehouse workers employed inland
not to recognize the ILSU, but rather to recognize only the Brotherhood of Teamsters
this was a striking blow to Harry Bridges' effort to represent Seattle warehousemen
Harry Bridges defied the Seattle ruling -- September

UNION COMPETITION FOR SEATTLE MEMBERSHIP ESCALATES

Washington and Oregon AFL unions denounced CIO longshoremen raids on Seattle warehousemen
it was charged that Harry Bridges
dominated the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
"...by shouting rank-and-file while following the pattern of dictators which have arisen in other countries."¹⁰⁴

Although the Seattle Central Labor Council attempted to keep the Teamsters in control
conflicts escalated into raids, picketing, and fights between AFL Teamsters and the CIO ILWU
longshore picket lines moved uptown

¹⁰³ Ross Reider, *Dave Beck (1894-1993)*: Essay 2972, HistoryLink.org, February 2, 2001.

¹⁰⁴ Ottilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*. P. 335.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ENDS HIS TOUR OF THE NORTHWEST

Time Magazine wrote of the president's travels -- October 11, 1937

“The President spent a week roving through the vast forests and high mountains of the most heroic terrain in the U.S. as though he had on [Paul] Bunyan's boots. Bonneville Dam, 170 ft. high, 1,250 ft. long is being built by War Department engineers complete with staircases as well as electric elevators for traveling salmon.”¹⁰⁵

DOCK WARS ESCALATE ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST

ILWU members, Teamsters, and warehousemen all waged a long, spectacular, violent and often bloody battle to control the Seattle and northern California waterfronts

As the all-out organizing battle rose in intensity, AFL Teamster leader Dave Beck and International Longshoremen ILWU leader Harry Bridges

both resorted to squads of “organizers” -- referred to as “goon squads”

Situation quickly escalated after Harry Bridges attacked Seattle employers and the class system in a speech addressing a Luncheon Club at the University of Washington Bridges stated: **“We take the stand that we as workers have nothing in common with the employers. We are in a class struggle, and we subscribe to the belief that if the employer is not in business his products will still be necessary and we still will be providing them when there is no employing class. We frankly believe that day is coming.”**¹⁰⁶

Dave Beck countered by once again referring to Harry Bridges as a Communist

before adding that the economic or social life of the country has no need for Communism

This exchange of attacks intensified the war between the two men

conflict between AFL Teamster leader Beck and CIO longshoremen's leader Harry Bridges escalated into a direct confrontation over warehousemen in Seattle

Beck attempted to unionize “everything on wheels”

Bridges, continuing his “inland march,” moved on the uptown warehousemen

PORT OF TACOMA IS UNAFFECTED BY THE AFL DOCK WAR

Major exception to the Dave Beck-Harry Bridges battle was at the Port of Tacoma

Teamsters and longshoremen working there continued to observe their long-standing agreement which provided for Teamster control uptown and longshoremen dominance on the waterfront

SPOKANE LAUNDRY UNION CONTINUES THEIR STRIKE EFFORT

Striking workers began their own laundry operated by the union

but the struck laundries reopened using scabs -- late October 1937

(Laundry Workers Union strike was eventually lost)

¹⁰⁵ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington*. P. 102.

¹⁰⁶ Ross Reider, *Dave Beck (1894-1993)*: Essay 2972, HistoryLink.org, February 2, 2001.

INTERNATIONAL PACIFIC SALMON FISHERIES COMMISSION IS ESTABLISHED

(Great salmon runs of British Columbia's Fraser River were almost destroyed [1913]

rock slides, dam constructions, overfishing and poor environmental management practices

all contributed to such rapidly reduced numbers that both Canada and the United States

voiced alarm regarding the future of the fisheries

struggle to restore and preserve the salmon was long and difficult)

When American and Canadian fishermen saw the phenomenal restoration of halibut banks

and the positive impact of fishing restrictions in Alaska

U.S. and Canadian governments agreed to a belated treaty to improve salmon fishing

after forty-five years of negotiations both governments ratified a Convention

for protection, preservation and extension of the sockeye salmon of the Fraser River

International Pacific Salmon fisheries Commission was established -- 1937

PROGRESS IN PROTECTING SALMON SPECIES IS SLOW

Two full sockeye cycles (eight years) were studied

by the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission

before the first regulations were proposed

during this time fishery experts learned that sockeyes were subdivided somewhat like halibut

there was almost no interbreeding between the various stock

this meant that once a race of fish had been exterminated it could not be replenished

by voluntary migrants from other streams

it was also discovered that different salmon races migrate at different times

determined by the need to reach their spawning grounds

when water temperatures are at a chilly optimum -- between 45° and 55° Fahrenheit

if this migration is interrupted by natural or man-made catastrophes, mortality soars

DEMOCRATS CONTINUE TO DOMINATE NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS

State Senate Democratic seats climbed from thirty-seven to forty-one -- November 2, 1937

while Republican seats fell from eight to five

State House of Representatives Democrats rose in number from ninety-one to ninety-three

while Republican House Seats rose from five to six

TEAMSTERS CONTROL ALL TRUCKING IN CALIFORNIA

American Federation of Labor President William Green had handed Dave Beck paper jurisdiction

over all the uptown warehousemen organized by the CIO longshoremen (ILWU)

Teamsters Union won a master contract agreement in California

which brought all truck drivers in California into the Teamsters at once -- November 2, 1937

Workers won shorter hours, a wage increase, and improvements in working conditions

PRESSURE IS PUT ON GOVERNOR MARTIN TO CALL A SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Some political leaders wanted Governor Martin to call a Special Session of the Legislature to fund state relief for cities in financial straits -- December 1937

Governor Martin thought it was unfair for people across the state to pay to relieve any city besides, he noted, the state treasury could not afford the drain

Governor Martin refused to call for a legislative special session

JAPANESE INVASION OF NANKING, CHINA TAKES PLACE

Chinese Nationalist government's capital of Nanking surrendered to Japanese troops in the event known as the "Nanking Massacre" -- December 13, 1937

Japanese troops killed up to as many as 300,000 people

including civilians who had attempted to defend their city

Nationalist China President Chiang Kai-shek and Communist Chairman Mao Tse-tung interrupted their differences to unite against the Japanese invaders

Mao remained in the rural Northern provinces of China

there he conducted guerrilla warfare against the Japanese

his army prospered as he stockpiled weapons and arms supplied by the Soviets and their allies

he also solidified his reputation among the peasants

Chiang meanwhile faced larger Japanese forces in the urban areas of the south

on-going battles weakened Chiang's army as Mao's forces grew in strength and determination

Japan's invasion of China created what was essentially a three-way war

among Japan, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists and Mao Tse-tung's Communists

FOUNDATION OF GRAND COULEE DAM IS COMPLETE

After three years of construction effort [began January 1, 1935]

MWAK completed the foundation of the dam across the Columbia River

construction was begun on the high dam -- early 1938

Before any construction had begun on the Columbia River Dam

an estimated fifty percent of the salmon run had been lost to overfishing

now the run was decimated leaving five hundred miles of the Columbia River above the dam

and thousands of miles of tributaries without migrating fish as passage ended at the dam

EVER EXPANDING RECESSION HAMPERS THE STATE

Following a number of years of successful growth by the United States economy

recession once again gripped the nation which caused unemployment to rise back to 19% -- 1938

Business groups in Washington State pushed an initiative measure

that would have limited labors' right to strike
this proposal was opposed by all progressive groups and was defeated --1938
Washington Governor Clarence Martin eliminated all state contributions for work relief
this withdrawal of state funds made counties alone responsible for necessary payments
an impossible burden for local government to carry
Labor unions organized the Old Age Pension Union to deal with the financial crisis
it was composed of thousands of citizens, union members and non-union members alike,
who pushed for a special session of the state legislature
to have the state resume its commitment to fund pensions for seniors
Governor Martin refused to call the legislature into special session

AMERICA CONTINUES TO CONSUME SILK

Despite the relative expense, the United States consumed
more than seventy-five percent of the worlds raw silk between the world wars
Silk became more affordable
low wages in Japan kept import costs down
increased purchasing power in the United States increased the market for silk
improvement allowed silk to be hand washed
better manufacturing techniques made silk more affordable than it ever had been
Silk appeared in men's suits, shirts, socks, and ties
American Women abandoned corsets and petticoats
in favor of clinging silk dresses, sports clothes, lingerie, and hosiery
women willingly denied themselves other things to have silk stockings
snubbing hosiery made from rayon, nylon, and cotton thread
Strong, richly dyed fabric found its way into ribbons, lampshades, brocades, and bedclothes

PORT OF SEATTLE REMAINED EMBROILED IN LABOR DISPUTES

Fight with Harry Bridges' CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
and Dave Beck's AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters frustrated all efforts to settle the labor dispute
about who would represent warehousemen at the Port of Seattle -- January 8, 1938
Amid strikes, sitdowns and the shut down of four plants, citizen's arbitration committee members
conducted hearings to resolve the issue

TENSIONS BETWEEN THE AFL AND CIO ESCALATE IN THE MARITIME INDUSTRY

American Federation of Labor Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)
voted in Seattle, AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP -- January 10, 1938
to Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) National Maritime Union (NMU)

men off **“All ships where Sailors’ Union of the Pacific men have been discriminated against by NMU crews.”**¹⁰⁷

it was anticipated a Shepard Line vessel would arrive in Seattle that night **“with a clear-cut case of discrimination against SUP members”**¹⁰⁸

HARRY LUNDEBERG ATTEMPTS TO AVOID AFFILIATION CONFLICT FOR THE SUP

Relations between Harry Lundeborg’s AFL Sailors’ Union of the Pacific (SUP) and Joe Curran’s CIO National Maritime Union (NMU) deteriorated as hostilities progressively escalated

Harry Lundeborg and the officials of the SUP made a strong effort to maintain their independence from both the AFL and the CIO

Lundeborg believed that was the only intelligent and principled course for them to take
Lundeborg’s recommendation to the SUP membership was to **“chart a course which will keep us as far away as possible”**¹⁰⁹ from the jurisdictional warfare between the rival federations
But as other maritime unions aligned themselves with one side or the other,
Lundeborg discovered that the results of independence were isolation and weakness

BONNVILLE LOCKS BEGINS OPERATION ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

First vessel to pass through the locks of the Bonneville Dam project on the Columbia River was the sternwheeler *The Dalles* -- January 14, 1938
world’s largest single lift lock at that time measured seventy-six feet wide by 500 feet long,
it took twenty to twenty-five minutes to fill and fifteen to twenty minutes to empty
this made The Dalles, Oregon a seaport

STRIKE AT THE PORT OF SEATTLE IS BROKEN

International Longshoremen and Warehousemen (ILWU) sitdown strike at the Port of Seattle ended
ILWU union members returned to work following the Port’s acceptance -- January 15, 1938
of ILWU demands to represent Seattle warehousemen
and to arbitrate disputed points of the 1937 waterfront agreement
Citizen’s arbitration committee members offered a compromise to resolve the issue
compromise that was accepted allowed the warehousemen to vote on representation
ultimately this seemed to be the only diplomatic, somewhat non-violent method
to end the conflict between Dave Beck’s AFL Teamsters and Harry Bridges CIO-ILWU
over which union would represent the warehousemen
however, a Pacific Coast District International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA) business agent

¹⁰⁷ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 362.

¹⁰⁸ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 362.

¹⁰⁹ SUP, “To the Membership of the Sailors’ Union of the Pacific: Steady as She Goes,” in Scharrenberg papers, carton 1.

denounced the agreement as being “**more concerned with supporting Dave Beck than in reaching a permanent solution to this controversy.**”¹¹⁰

SEATTLE NEWSPAPER GUILD ENDS ITS STRIKE

Eight months after the CIO Seattle American Newspaper Guild walked off the job at the labor-supporting *Seattle Star* paper

National Labor Relations Board issued an arbitration ruling positive to the Seattle Newspaper Guild during that time Teamsters had not joined the strike effort although the newspaper was boycotted by a majority of rank-and-file Seattle labor members Guild members voted to settle their strike on terms favorable to the union -- February 12, 1938

CIO Seattle American Newspaper Guild members were awarded:

- over \$29,000 in full back wages to the strikers;
- imposition of preferential hiring through the Guild;
- there could be no “economy firings” for at least six months;
- five-day forty-hour week was required;
- severance pay up to fifteen weeks, wages, and other concessions were to be provided

Because of his position in support of the management of the *Seattle Star*, Dave Beck had lost face

PHASE THREE OF THE FDR’S NEW DEAL BEGINS

Federal relief roles declined from 3,184,000 to 2,122,960 by 1938

Revenue Bill extended tax cuts to corporations because of the lingering recession

Second Agricultural Adjustment Act was signed into law -- February 16, 1938

after the original Act was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court

a second statute of the same name was enacted by Congress -- February 16, 1938

which replaced FDR’s farm subsidy policies

and reestablished the “parity payment” principle to raise crop prices

it also established the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (FCIC)

within the Department of Agriculture

to insure only wheat crops (beginning [1939])

financing would be provided by the Federal Government

this law provided even more benefits to farmers than the original law

CONSERVATIVE POLITICIANS OPPOSE PROGRESSIVE REFORMS

It had long been a practice of some conservative politicians to refer to liberal reforms

such as child labor laws and women’s suffrage as “Communist” or “Red plots”

these attacks increased in reaction to the New Deal policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt

¹¹⁰ *The Seattle Times*, November 14, 1937.

Many conservatives equated FDR's New Deal with socialism or Communism
they saw efforts at reform as evidence the government was being heavily influenced
by Communist policy makers in the administration who were directed from the USSR
to anti-Communist politicians, their vaguely defined danger of "Communist influence"
was an even greater threat to the nation than espionage or any other specific activity
Congress formed the House Committee on Un-American Activities -- 1938
this was the most prominent and active government committee
involved in anti-Communist investigations at the time
it became known as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)
Texas Congressman Martin Dies chaired the HUAC [until 1944]
HUAC investigated a variety of "activities"
(including those of German-American Nazis during World War II)
but Committee members soon focused on Communism beginning with an investigation
into Communists in the Federal Theatre Project -- 1938

SEATTLE WAREHOUSEMEN VOTE TO SELECT THEIR UNION

Due to the membership battles between Dave Beck and Harry Bridges
answering the question of who would represent the warehousemen became a top priority
a vote of the warehousemen seemed to be the only diplomatic, somewhat non-violent method
to end the conflict between Beck's AFL Teamsters
and Bridges' Longshoremen and Warehousemen
Warehousemen's representation election was held -- February 17, 1938
votes were cast by, and only by, warehouse company employees
CIO received the support of fifty-one warehouse companies
whereas the AFL received the support of 248 warehouse companies
this election outcome was clearly a victory for the AFL and a huge blow to the CIO
Neither the CIO nor the AFL were happy with the outcome
AFL was unsatisfied because it wanted all of the warehouses to be represented by the AFL
whereas there were a few warehouse companies that voted for the CIO
which meant that other companies could later leave the AFL
and return to the CIO via a new vote
CIO had hoped to claim all of its original warehouses
but it actually received the votes of only the two smallest warehouse companies
CIO refused to accept the vote because of the belief
that employees were coerced by Seattle Mayor John F. Dore causing the results to be skewed

SEATTLE MAYOR JOHN F. DORE CAMPAIGNS FOR REELECTION

Seattle Democrat Mayor John F. Dore enjoyed the solid, continued support

of Dave Beck and his Brotherhood of Teamsters
his Primary Election opponent was Democratic Lieutenant-Governor "Vic" Meyers
Firefighters and several other conservative unions
deserted the Teamsters to support liberal Lieutenant Governor "Vic" Meyers
and the politically radical Washington Commonwealth Federation slate
As Primary Election Day approached, Seattle Mayor John F. Dore's supporters
used the "Red scare" tactic

Harry H. Lewis, former American Legion commander and strike-breaker
charged that "Vic" Meyers was receiving the support of
"Communists scheming to seize control of the city government"
Lewis continued: **"It is difficult for Seattle citizens, good Americans, to believe, but it
is true that these Communist termites already have bored into some labor unions, into your schools,
your churches, and even your homes. Their policy is the sitdown strike, the picketing of hospitals
and cemeteries. Do you want to turn the city government over to their ghoulishness, or retain a
loyal American, Mayor Dore?"**¹¹¹

Mayor John F. Dore received enough primary votes to qualify as the Democratic candidate
in the General Election

PEOPLE OF PIERCE COUNTY FINANCE A SECOND MILITARY INSTALLATION

Pierce County voters passed a bond measure to establish an airfield just north of Camp Lewis [1927]
Tacoma Field officially opened [March 14, 1930]
It was renamed McChord Field to honor Colonel William Caldwell McChord [December 17, 1937]
who Chief of the Training and Operations Division in HQ Army Air Corps
when he was killed in a flying accident
McChord Field was officially transferred to the United States Government -- February 28, 1938

SEATTLE ELECTION FOR MAYOR

Election Day in Seattle saw discouraged middle-class voters go the polls -- March 8, 1938
Teamster leader Dave Beck and other AFL labor leaders were labeled "racketeers"
progressive union forces were designated "Communists"
Dore's "Red scare" had been so overworked that it did the mayor little good
public, knowing his record, could not take him seriously as a crusader for Americanism
chief effect of this propaganda was to disgust the average voter with both sides
Middle-of-the-roaders bolted into the camp of conservative city councilman Arthur Langlie
who promised Seattle a clean, economical city government
Langlie although backed by the conservative Order of Cincinnatus and the Chamber of Commerce
had at least promised to uphold the Wagner Act and to be impartial in labor disputes

¹¹¹ Sheldon C. Menefee, *The Nation Magazine*, March 26, 1938. Vol. 146, No. 13, p. 354-355.

Dave Beck's candidate, Seattle Mayor John F. Dore, was ingloriously defeated in his reelection bid even though Dore had carried on a vicious red-baiting campaign and a force of 2,000 Teamsters checked the voting books and dragged American Federation of Labor (AFL) voters to the polls
Republican Arthur Langlie was elected mayor of Seattle as were a number of other conservatives and reactionaries in Seattle these results were hailed by the press of the nation as a swing toward conservatism
In a city heretofore dominated by labor, Dave Beck, and the New Deal this represented a distinct gain in Seattle for the CIO compared with the methods of the Beck-Dore administration
This was only the latest in a series of blows suffered by West Coast Teamster leader Dave Beck had received in recent months and indicated a great decline in his political power
Some labor leaders hoped a few more such defeats might completely wreck Beck's hold on the local AFL machine then labor might once more be united

CONSTRUCTION ON THE GRAND COULEE DAM HIGH DAM BEGINS

MWAK, the major construction company composed of the Mason, Walsh, Atkinson Kier companies completed its work on the low Grand Coulee Dam project -- March 1938
Consolidated Builders, Inc. headed by Henry J. Kaiser took over the next phase of dam construction
Consolidated Builders Inc. (CBI) consisted of MWAK; Construction Company of Seattle; Morrison-Knudsen Company of Boise; Utah Construction Company of Ogden, Utah; J. F. Shea Company, Inc. of San Francisco; Pacific Bridge Company of San Francisco; McDonald and Kahn Company of San Francisco and Seattle's General Construction Company
Consolidated Builders, Inc. constructed a new concrete mixing plant and a new railroad bridge
Bethlehem Steel built a high trestle that allowed access by cranes to all parts of the structure below
Western Pipe and Steel Co. of San Francisco built the penstocks and inlet pipes

CONTRACTOR HENRY J. KAISER ACHIEVES GREAT SUCCESS

Spokane's Henry J. Kaiser was a successful international contractor now based in Oakland, California (he served as the head of Six Companies, Incorporated [1930-1939]
his Boulder Canyon project on the Colorado River made him internationally famous
this was the first multipurpose dam project in the world
core of the project was the immense Boulder [Hoover] Dam [1929-1937])
Kaiser's success on this effort earned him an even larger job
construction of the Grand Coulee project [July 16, 1933-June 1, 1942]
for years this was the largest dam in the world
Success bred success

Kaiser became the primary contractor on the second New Deal multipurpose project in the Northwest: Bonneville Dam [June 1934-1938]
(in all, he constructed more than seventy large-scale projects including: Boulder (Hoover) Dam, piers for the San Francisco-Oakland Bridge, Bonneville Dam and Grand Coulee Dam)

ADOLF HITLER ANNEXES AUSTRIA INTO NAZI GERMANY

Austria was overwhelmingly inhabited by ethnic Germans separated from their homeland by the Treaty of Versailles that ended the Great War [signed June 28, 1919]
Austrian Nazis conspired to seize the Austrian government by force and unite their nation with Nazi Germany -- early 1938
Learning of the conspiracy, Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, met with Adolf Hitler in the hope of reasserting his country's independence
instead the chancellor was bullied into naming several top Austrian Nazis to his cabinet
Chancellor von Schuschnigg called for a national vote to resolve the question of *Anschluss*, (annexation) once and for all
but before the election could be held Schuschnigg gave in to pressure from Hitler and resigned
in his resignation speech, under coercion from the Nazis, he pleaded with Austrian forces not to resist a German advance into the country -- March 11, 1938

EDWARD R. MURROW REPORTS ON THE INVASION OF AUSTRIA

Ed Murrow gained his first glimpse of fame during the March 1938 Anschluss while he was in Poland arranging a broadcast of children's choruses,
he received word from journalist William L. Shirer of the annexation
Shirer noted he could not get the story out through Austrian state radio facilities
Murrow immediately sent Shirer to London, where he delivered an uncensored, eyewitness account of the events of the Austrian Anschluss
Murrow then chartered a plane to fly from Warsaw to Vienna so he could take over for Shirer
Ed Murrow himself reported live from Vienna, in his first on-the-scene news report: **"This is Edward Murrow speaking from Vienna... It's now nearly 2:30 in the morning, and Herr Hitler has not yet arrived."**¹¹² -- March 13, 1938
this was the first big story for Edward R. Murrow and CBS
CBS in New York requested Murrow and Shirer put together a "European News Roundup" which brought correspondents from various European cities
to report on reactions to the Anschluss
this program hosted by Bob Trout in New York was broadcast

¹¹² Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States 1933-1953*. P. 77.

broadcast was revolutionary at the time

live reports from various locations without the reporters being able to hear each other
came off almost flawlessly

YOUNG EGBERT R. MURROW GROWS UP IN WASHINGTON STATE

Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow to Quaker parents in North Carolina [April 25, 1908]

he was the youngest of three brothers

when Egbert was six years old the Murrow family

moved to Blanchard, Washington (Skagit County) where they homesteaded

Egbert, now nicknamed "Ed", attended high school in nearby Edison, Washington

he became president of the student body in his senior year and excelled on the debate team

he was on the Skagit County championship basketball team

After graduation from Edison High School [1926] he entered Washington State College at Pullman

while there he changed his name from "Egbert" to "Edward"

eventually majoring in speech, Ed graduated with a Phi Beta Kappa Key [1930]

Edward R. Murrow joined the staff of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)

as the "director of talks and education" [1935]

he remained with the CBS his whole broadcasting career

CBS did not have a news staff when Murrow arrived

announcer Bob Trout lined up newsmakers on the network to discuss the day's issues

Trout gave Murrow tips on how to communicate effectively on the radio

Ed Murrow went to London [1937] to serve as the director of CBS' European operations

Murrow's job was persuading European figures to broadcast over the CBS network

Murrow recruited journalist William L. Shirer to take a similar position in Europe

these two men would become the forefathers of broadcast journalism

ADOLF HITLER COMPLETES THE TAKE OVER OF AUSTRIA

Hitler accompanied his Nazi troops as they entered Austria where enthusiastic crowds met them

Hitler appointed a new Nazi government and the annexation was complete -- March 13

In annexing Austria, Hitler declared that he was simply gathering the German people into one nation

DROUGHT CONTINUES IN THE MIDWEST

Continuing drought conditions in the North Eastern US caused massive crop failures and hardships

this was the year of the "snuster" -- a mixture of dirt and snow reaching blizzard proportions

these storms caused a tremendous amount of damage and suffering -- 1938

There were, of course, the usual floods at locations prone to these disasters

TACOMA LOCAL 38-97 REMAINS WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Local 38-97 debated for a month over whether to affiliate with

CIO's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
or stay with the AFL's International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

Paddy Morris emerged from his work in a ship's hold to lead the discussion

majority of the Tacoma men favored staying with the AFL-ILA because of the long tradition
of working with other AFL unions in the Tacoma Central Labor Council
to affiliate with the ILWU would mean Local 38-97

would lose its seat on the Tacoma labor council

and must break with the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP), Teamsters, and other AFL unions

Local 38-97 members had strong reservations about John L. Lewis

and the motives of the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)

they considered Lewis to be autocratic

they viewed the CIO as a member raiding, Communist-haven, menace

In effect Tacoma longshoremen would have been isolated

from the heart of the Tacoma labor community where they had played a leading role
for almost fifty years

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION CONVENTION

CIO's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)

held its first convention in Aberdeen -- April 4-[17], 1938

in attendance were all Pacific Coast ILWU unions except Tacoma, Anacortes, and Port Angeles

CIO's ILWU went unchallenged as the official representative of its union members

SEATTLE GETS A NEW MAYOR

Seattle Mayor John F. Dore became gravely ill and was relieved of office -- April 13, 1938
although his term in office had not yet expired

Mayor Dore passed away five days later [April 18]

(Mayor-elect Arthur B. Langlie was appointed to take office early [April 27, 1938])

RACE TO CONTROL THE STATE GOVERNMENT

Democratic Governor Clarence Martin was in Washington, D.C.

to obtain financing for relief work in the state -- April 14, 1938

Democratic Lieutenant Governor Victor Meyers had gone to California on a fishing trip

Secretary of State Democrat Belle S. Reeves filled in as acting-governor

As soon as Governor Martin was safely out of the way in Washington, D.C.,

political leaders who had argued for a legislative special session to improve state pensions

got in touch with Meyers urging him to return and call a special session of the legislature

While efforts were being made to search for the lieutenant governor somewhere on his boat

Governor Martin's supporters informed him of what was happening
and urged him to return to the state

Governor promptly decided to return to the state

but since no commercial airline would get him to Olympia in time
he chartered an airplane at his own expense

Lieutenant-Governor Vic Meyers, once in Olympia, attempted to call a legislative special session
but the office of the Secretary of State was closed for the day

On the following morning, Meyers went to his office to file the call for a special session

but by then, Governor Martin's special plane had crossed the Idaho border

and touched down near Spokane -- the governor was in the state removing Meyers' authority
Governor Martin issued a proclamation forbidding the legislators to convene in special session

SHEPARD LINE BEEF INCREASES TENSION BETWEEN THE SUP AND NMU

Shepard Line's *Harpoon* arrived in San Francisco from the East Coast -- April 15, 1938

several National Maritime Union (NMU) crewmen aboard complained of poor working conditions

they had been working under CIO NMU's contract agreement

rather than contract covering Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

which provided better working conditions and overtime pay

leaflets signed by these crew members appeared on the San Francisco waterfront

challenging Joe Curran's credentials as a democratically elected official of NMU

further, these leaflets urged East Coast sailors to join the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

WILDCAT STRIKE TAKES PLACE AT THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

Crews of the *Harpoon* and *West Wind*, also a Shepard Line vessel, struck -- April 17, 1938

demanding the AFL West Coast Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) agreement be enforced

Striking sailors urged Eastern sailors repudiate **"any political group that may be dominating
you"**¹¹³

and merge with West Coast union

they demanded that all American sailors be united in

"one union, one agreement, one constitution, one book"¹¹⁴

With two of his ships tied up, T.H. Shepard flew out to San Francisco

San Francisco CIO longshoremen and warehousemen refused to support the striking crewmen

SUP president Harry Lundeberg said Harry Bridges threatened the owner with trouble

if the shipowner signed an agreement with the SUP

Harry Bridges, acting on authority from NMU President Joe Curran, advised NMU sailors to sit-down

to force the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) sailors off the ships

¹¹³ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 360.

¹¹⁴ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 360.

In turn, Harry Lundeberg told his SUP members to stay put
Lundeberg and other SUP leaders believed that Communist Party members
were deliberately placed West Coast ships to cause trouble

PICKET LINES ARE ESTABLISHED IN SAN FRANCISCO

Shepard Line's *Sea Thrush* arrived in San Francisco with a mixed crew of union members -- April 18
several hundred SUP pickets gathered at San Francisco's Pier 41 -- April 18, 1938
to protest the Shepard Line's ignoring the agreement it had made with the SUP
Some distance away hundreds of CIO longshoremen surrounded a car
which was equipped with a loud speaker used by an ILWU leader to urge SUP pickets to disperse
Rioting broke out
after several hours police permitted the Sailors' Union of the Pacific to restore their picket line
Sea Thrush continued on to San Pedro where she arrived -- April 23, 1938
there she was met by a picket line of 500 Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) members
SUP men showed their support by striking nine other ships unloading in San Pedro harbor

SHEPARD LINE'S *TIMBER RUSH* ARRIVES AT TACOMA

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) member picketed the arrival of the Shepard Line vessel
Tacoma's longshoremen refused to cross the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) picket line
thus the *Timber Rush* remained tied up at Tacoma -- April 18, 1938
SUP removed twenty-one NMU crew members from the vessel and put them up in a Seattle hotel
National Maritime Union (NMU) officers charged the SUP shanghaied the crew
SUP members established a picket line on the dock

TACOMA FACES A LABOR BEEF OVER A SHEPARD LINE VESSEL

Tacoma AFL longshoremen contended that the picket line constituted an unsafe condition
and thus was not subject to arbitration under their labor agreement
Tacoma *Times* commented that employers favored the CIO: **"Although they have not said so bluntly, they were elated when CIO men refused to honor the sailor pickets and chagrined when AFL men in Tacoma took the opposite stand."**¹¹⁵ -- April 19, 1938

ARBITRATION IS DEMANDED TO RESOLVE THE LABOR DISPUTE IN TACOMA

At the request of Waterfront Employers, U.S. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins
appointed Rev. M.E. Bollen of Seattle to arbitrate the Tacoma dispute
Tacoma AFL longshoremen denied **"the right of either party to request an arbitration"**
and the **"authority of the Secretary of Labor in this instance to appoint the arbitrator"**¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 372.

¹¹⁶ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 372.

Tacoma's longshoremen refused to participate in the proceedings
Timber Rush had been tied up for a week when the arbitrator heard the case -- April 25, 1938
twice a day Tacoma International Longshoremen's Associations work gangs
were dispatched to work the ship before they returned to the hall when faced by SUP pickets

RULING IS DELIVERED ON THE TACOMA BEEF

Arbitrator Rev. M.E. Bollen of Seattle ruled -- April 26, 1938
that a disagreement existed between the Tacoma International Longshoremen's Association
and the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers
further, longshoremen had failed to prove the picket line constituted an unsafe working condition
they were in violation their agreement by refusing to attend the hearing
Tacoma's AFL Longshoremen ignored the decision
they continued to honor the SUP picket line at the Shepard Line's *Timber Rush*
Crew members of the *Timber Rush* returned from Seattle in small groups with a police escort

SEATTLE MAYOR JOHN F. DORE BECOMES GRAVELY ILL

Due to his illness, Democrat Seattle Mayor Dore was removed from office [April 13, 1938]
after losing the Mayoral election to Republican Arthur B. Langlie, Dore was a "lame duck"
Mayor Dore died [April 18]
Mayor-elect Arthur B. Langlie was appointed to the office early -- April 27, 1938

PORT OF TACOMA IS THREATENED WITH CLOSURE

With the concurrence of the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers,
Seattle CIO longshoremen threatened to close all of the port of Tacoma
Every available Tacoma longshoreman worked as shippers rushed to clear vessels
before the closure deadline which had been set for [Saturday morning April 30])
Four Tacoma AFL longshore gangs dispatched to the *Timber Rush* -- morning April 29, 1938
found themselves outnumbered three to one by SUP pickets -- the Tacoma longshoremen left
More than a dozen ships cleared the port the last day -- some leaving cargo behind on the docks

PORT OF TACOMA IS CLOSED

Longshoremen again refused to cross the Sailors' Union of the Pacific picket line -- April 30, 1938
Employers declared the Port of Tacoma closed -- 8:00 a.m. Saturday April 30, 1938
longshoremen were "locked-out" of the port
only the *Timber Rush* remained in the harbor

TACOMA CITIZENS OBJECT TO THE CLOSURE OF THEIR PORT

Representatives of the locked-out longshoremen and waterfront employers

reiterated their position in a Tacoma city council meeting -- May 2, 1938
Mayor George Smitley wired the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers
and U.S. Labor Secretary Perkins to end the port closure immediately
Tacoma Times in a front page editorial demanded: **“Let Madam Perkins, the NLRB, and...the waterfront employers’ association settle this thing at San Francisco or Boston -- not at Tacoma, at Tacoma’s costly expense”**¹¹⁷

Sailors’ Union of the Pacific (SUP) donated \$1,000 to the locked-out longshoremen

COOPERATION IS INCONSISTANT IN THE TACOMA BEEF

Tacoma’ AFL International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA)
declared all cargo diverted from Tacoma or destined for that port to be “hot”
Seattle Sailors’ Union of the Pacific sailors and marine firemen honored the ban on Tacoma cargo
five vessels with hot cargo were tied up in Seattle
Tacoma ILA sent a delegation to appeal for support to Seattle’s CIO ILWU -- without success

AFL EXPELLS MORE CIO AFFILIATES FROM THE INTERNATIONAL UNION

Split over the industrial unionism issue resulted in seven more unions with almost a million members
being expelled from the American Federation of Labor (AFL) -- May 1938
leaders of all of the disenfranchised unions decided to meet to deal with the crisis
Seeing no future for the industrial union movement within the AF
John L. Lewis withdrew his Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)
which no longer existed in the American Federation of Labor

HARRY BRIDGES’ ILWU “MARCH INLAND” SPREADS ACROSS THE NATION

Organizing warehousemen into the ILWU went far beyond the docks
uptown warehouses and distribution centers far from the port cities of the West Coast
were raided and coerced into Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO) membership
CIO’s International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU)
started organizing warehouse workers in the Midwest and Southeast
Inland organizing drives achieved recognition of the elected ILWU stewards’ authority
acceptance of the steward in the workplace was key to the administration of labor contracts
and played an important part in the fight for union control over working conditions
However, raids by unions or by employers hampered progress
and were difficult to combat far from the ILWU’s West Coast base
Pacific Coast longshore leverage could not be brought to bear on the distant struggles
ILWU faced frequent attempted raids on their membership by other unions
employer attacked workers’ rights for years

¹¹⁷ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 372.

ever-present threats of plant closure or relocation to a nonunion setting
were a constant concern

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC (SUP) DEMANDS THE PORT OF TACOMA BE OPENED
SUP delivered an ultimatum to the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers -- Wednesday May 11, 1938
unless the employers opened the port of Tacoma by 5:00 P.M. the next day, **"We call all our
union members out of all vessels trading in and out of Seattle and in the meantime our members
are not permitted to leave any vessel."**¹¹⁸

This threat worked

Otis Shepard and the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers agreed to open the port of Tacoma

AGREEMENT IS RATIFIED IN TACOMA

Eight hundred members of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP), Marine Firemen,
and the Tacoma International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)
accepted the terms offered by Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers
at a special meeting in Seattle -- 1:00 A.M. Friday morning May 13, 1938

Shepard Line's *Timber Rush* steamed out of Tacoma headed for Seattle's Lake Union
against the combined pressure of the Shepard Line, waterfront employers, federal government,
Tacoma AFL longshoremen and Seattle AFL Sailors' Union of the Pacific
compelled Shepard Line to recognize their agreement

Shepard Line Beef had driven the Sailors' Union of the Pacific into the American Federation of Labor
Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) was accused of a **"boss-collaboration, labor
smashing crusade' in the maritime industry...as evidenced by their approval of government hiring
halls, their violent picket line smashing tactics, and the attempts to establish the NMU on the West
Coast."**¹¹⁹

INTERNAL STRUGGLES CONTINUE FOR THE MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC

Efforts to draw in new members conducted by the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
drove a wedge into the solidarity of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) agreed to vote by referendum
to accept a national charter from the AFL -- May 16, 1938

Marine Firemen remained independent

with Communist members raising strong objection to the AFL efforts

Marine Cooks and Stewards, firmly dominated by the Communists, remained with the CIO
AFL and CIO longshoremen contested for possession of their bargaining agreements
with the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers

¹¹⁸ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 374.

¹¹⁹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 376.

MARINE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) HOLDS ITS FOURTH CONVENTION

As international organizational struggles of the MFP reached a fever pitch

MFP delegates gathered in San Francisco -- June 6, 1938

Issue of AFL or CIO affiliation split the convention as discussions came to a head

over the of seating Tacoma's AFL International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) delegates

credential committee members voted seven to five not to seat the Tacoma delegation

because the AFL longshoremen no longer had a coastwide organization

Communist CIO Marine Firemen delegate Walter Stack warned: **"If you recognize Tacoma as a coastwise organization it means you recognize (ILA President Joseph) Ryan, (Paddy) Morris and his strike-breakers outright...you will recognize such as the 'Dirty Dozen' and the 'Lost Battalion.' Joseph P. Ryan and that gang are out publicly on record to break the Marine Federation because eighty per cent of the Marine Federation is CIO."**¹²⁰

Minority members of the Credential Committee recommended seating the Tacoma ILA delegation:

"Can we as workers penalize and censure a group of workers who have been under union conditions 20 years, who are a vital link in our Federation as workers in a solid and United Front against the employer because they have failed to go CIO?"

"...for no reason other than their choice of affiliation, a loyal member local -- one whom we fought shoulder to shoulder with in the 1934 Marine strike--the 1935 Timber Workers strike--the strike in 1936 and 1937, a group of workers who have respected every picket line established by a member of the Marine Federation of the Pacific, willing at all time to strike in support of a distressed member local as was shown in the Seattle lockout this year is to be unseated because of their affiliation and not their principles."¹²¹

Harry Bridges made a long speech accusing the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP)

and Tacoma's longshoremen of betraying the rest of the coast

END OF THE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP)

Rejecting the possibility of compromise, convention delegates formalized their united stand

they would remain with the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

MFP Constitution was amended to read **"...even to the extent of empowering the Executive Board to expel any organization which takes action which will injure the unions affiliated and eventually destroy them and the Federation"**¹²²

Delegates from the Sailors' Union (SUP) , Masters, Mates, and Pilots, and Marine Firemen

walked out of the convention with the Tacoma longshore delegation -- 3:10 P.M. June 9, 1938

With the opposition driven out, the convention elected all officers by acclamation

¹²⁰ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 379.

¹²¹ Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 379.

¹²² Otilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 381.

EFFORTS ARE MADE TO REUNITE THE FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP)

Convention leaders sent delegates to meetings of the AFL unions that had walked out to try to persuade them to return to the MFP

Delegates who walked out of the convention issued a statement declaring that **“it was with amazement that we witnessed this deliberate attempt on the part of CIO adherents to...use the Marine Federation of the Pacific to club unions into the CIO.”**¹²³

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC (MFP) IS DOOMED

Sailors’ great organizational movement yielded to the destructive effect of political polarization that divided the unionists between a “left wing” faction, controlled by the Communists and independent groups that came together sharing nothing more than anti-Communism

In an atmosphere of war fears and unease over European Fascism,

Communist critics could easily be thrown into the “reactionary” camp at least in the mind of the public

Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) in an attempt to protect its workers’ interests, found itself at violent odds with the Communists

Although the Federation of the Pacific (MFP) perished, the individual organizations remained strong members held fast to their unions and hiring halls

PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL IGNITES SEATTLE SPORTS FANS¹²⁴

(After the loss of Dugdale Park in a [July 4, 1932] arson fire, baseball languished in Seattle until the arrival of beer brewer Emil Sick the president of Associated Brewers of Canada with the repeal of prohibition, he merged his operation with Seattle’s Rainier Brewery)

Emil Sick acquired a great deal of money even in the depth of the Great Depression his wealth brought him in contact with many prominent local citizens

one was labor leader Dave Beck who was a baseball fanatic

he convinced Sick to purchase the Seattle Indians baseball franchise and build a new stadium where Dugdale Park had once stood

Emil Sick hired major league pennant winning Jack Lelivelt to manage his team

he also signed well-known ballplayers Edo Vanni and Mike Budnick

but the brightest star on the team was Fred Hutchinson

an eighteen-year-old pitcher from nearby Franklin High School

Sick’s Stadium was built of concrete and steel at a cost of \$350,000

it featured choice seating and a major league quality playing field

twelve thousand fans showed up for the inaugural game -- June 15, 1938

¹²³ Ottilie Markholt, *Maritime Solidarity*, P. 382.

¹²⁴ Alan J. Stein, HistoryLink.org, Essay 1501, July 15, 1999.

some watched the game for free on the grassy knoll just over the left-field fence
which became known as “Tightwad Hill”

Adding to this festive atmosphere of each game was announcer Leo Lassen
who duplicated the sound of a “hit” by striking his microphone with a pencil
he known as “Mr. Baseball” and “The Great Gabbo” for his ability to turn a phrase such as:
“Mount Rainier is a big ice-cream cone over Franklin High tonight, folks”
“Hang onto those rocking chairs”
he was also managed to work commercials into his play-by-play descriptions
“He’s as safe as a Silvertown Tire.”

PHASE THREE OF FDR’S NEW DEAL GOES INTO EFFECT

FDR signed the *Emergency Relief Appropriations Act* -- June 16, 1938

this was an extension of his previous efforts to deal with the continuing depression
by providing relief to those in need

Congress passed the *Rivers and Harbors Act* -- June 20, 1938

this brought about construction of interlocking dams and power projects
known as the Columbia Basin Project

principal purpose of the project was land reclamation,

but power generation, flood control, and improved navigation were also important aspects

Congress passed two amendments to the [1898] Federal Bankruptcy Law -- June 22, 1938

Chandler Act included substantial provisions for the reorganization of businesses

Congress also enacted *Section 60e of the Bankruptcy Act*

to create a single and separate fund concept

which was intended to minimize losses to customers

by giving them priority over the claims of general creditors

Congress enacted the *Fair Labor Standards (Wages and Hours) Act* -- June 25, 1938

businesses engaged in interstate commerce (with some exceptions)

were required to pay a minimum wage of forty cents per hour (up from twenty-five cents)

work week was limited to forty-four hours per week without overtime beginning -- 1938

children under the age of sixteen were not allowed to work where hazardous conditions existed

OLYMPIC NATIONAL PARK IS CREATED BY CONGRESS

Washington Congressman Monrad C. “Mon” Wallgren’s Bill created a 648,000 acre park
and was signed by President Franklin Roosevelt -- June 29, 1938

Olympic National Park absorbed Mount Olympus National Monument

(which had been created by President Theodore Roosevelt [1909])

President Franklin Roosevelt authorized to increase park’s size to 898,292 [January, 1940]

coastal area of the park was added [1953])

(Today, Olympic National Park can be divided into three basic regions
Pacific coastline, the Olympic Mountains and the temperate rainforest)

BONNEVILLE DAM GOES INTO SERVICE

Bonneville Dam project was completed at a cost of about \$83 million
to furnish hydroelectric power and tamed the Cascade Rapids
as navigation limits were extended up the Columbia River
first power generated at the Bonneville Powerhouse was produced [March 1938]
Bonneville Dam, Bonneville, Oregon and North Bonneville, Washington
are all named in honor of Captain (later Brigadier-General) Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville
a West Point graduate and early fur trapper who explored the west (from [1832] to [1835])
in doing so, he visited many parts of Oregon
U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes attended the formal opening of the dam -- July 9, 1938
he tripped a switch and sent electricity to the City of Cascade Locks
First two dams on the Columbia River, Rock Island [completed 1933] and Bonneville -- 1938
were relatively low projects and could be circumvented by fishways
three ladders, or sequences of artificial cascades connecting steplike pools
were constructed at each dam -- they did not work perfectly
occasionally the salmon were badly bruised as they hurled themselves at the ladders
in their blind compulsion to reach their natives ground to create new life and then to die
on the way downstream fingerlings suffered in riding over the spillways or through the turbines
even more insidious was the delay occasioned as the fish searched for the ladders
each dam, studies indicated, held back the run for two or three days
when ready to spawn, and these slowdowns increased fish mortality

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE POWER CONTROVERSY CONTINUES ON

Private power companies had served customers and resisted public utility companies with equal vigor
there were three types of public power agencies:
•municipal electric systems,
•power districts,
•electric cooperatives
all three grew rapidly and flourished when Columbia River power first became available
Congress specifically gave preference and priority in the sale of power to non-profit agencies
people demanded that power generated at cost by the federal government
should be distributed at cost to local public agencies
Public-private power fight crystallized -- 1938
public power had no better advocate
than Tacoma lawyer turned legislator then U.S. Senator Homer T. Bone

(as a state senator, Homer T. Bone pushed the “Bone Bill” through the state legislature which gave municipal utilities power of eminent domain to acquire power systems owned by private power companies and gave municipal electrical utilities such as Seattle’s and Tacoma’s opportunity to sell their service beyond their city limits [1933]) he called private utilities “big-dough boys” private power interests attempted a referendum to the voters to restrict expansion of city-owned utilities into areas served by private power Homer T. Bone helped defeat the referendum

SEATTLE RAINIERS AND FRED HUTCHINSON KNOW HOW TO WIN

“Hutch” had an amazing season winning twenty-five games (.781% of the games he appeared in) and held a 2.48 earned run average more than 16,000 fans showed up on his 19th birthday to cheer him on -- August 12, 1938 as he won his 19th game Hutch’s success and that of the team drew fans in numbers that shattered previous attendance records Seattle Rainiers finished in second place in the Pacific Coast League in its first year (Hutch went on to the majors when Emil Sick sold him to the Detroit Tigers for the astounding sum of \$50,000 and four players (two years earlier Joe DiMaggio got only \$25,000 from the Yankee) (Hutch spent ten years in the big leagues, with a 95-71 winning record and a 3.73 ERA) (After the Seattle Rainier’s three-year pennant streak, World War II intervened many of the players were called off to fight however, Seattle’s attendance was number one in the nation for Minor League teams [1938-1952] many fans drank Rainier Beer at the games and at home team owner and brewer Emil Sick was a very happy man)

PHYSICIST DR. LEO SZILARD IMMIGRATES TO THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Leo Szilard was an intense, eccentric Hungarian who had studied physics with Dr. Albert Einstein [in the 1920s] Leo Szilard was born to an affluent Jewish family in Budapest, Hungary [February 11, 1898] he showed an early interest in physics and a proficiency in mathematics He enrolled as an engineering student at Budapest Technical University [1916] in the Great War he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Army as an officer-candidate before his regiment could be sent to the front lines, Szilard fell ill with Spanish flu he was returned home for hospitalization he later was informed that his regiment had been nearly annihilated in battle so the sickness probably saved his life

he was discharged honorably at the end of the war
Because of the chaotic political situation and rising anti-Semitism, Szilard decided to leave Hungary
he was awarded a doctorate in physics from Humboldt University of Berlin [1923]
Deciding to leave Berlin, Dr. Leo Szilard accepted an offer to conduct research
at Columbia University New York City --1938

PHYSICIST DR. ENRICO FERMI IMMIGRATES TO THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Enrico Fermi was an Italian physicist who became known for contributions to the development
of quantum theory, nuclear and particle physics, statistical mechanics
and the development of the first nuclear reactor: Chicago Pile-1 [1942]

Enrico Fermi was born in Rome, Italy [September 29, 1901]

to Ida (de Gattis) Fermi an elementary school teacher

and Alberto Fermi, a Chief Inspector of the Ministry of Communications

when Enrico was fourteen his older brother passed away and the loss devastated him

looking for an escape from reality, Fermi happened upon two physics books [from 1840]

on subjects like mathematics, classical mechanics, astronomy, optics, and acoustics

he read them from cover to cover correcting some of the mathematical errors as he read

notes found in the books indicated that Fermi studied both books intensely

By the time Enrico was seventeen Fermi's scientific ideas and concepts were so advanced

he was able to directly enter graduate school

after four years studying at the University of Pisa, he graduated magna cum laude

with a doctorate in physics [1922]

While writing the appendix for the Italian edition of the book *The Mathematical Theory of Relativity*
written by A. Kopff, Enrico Fermi pointed out, for the first time [1923]

that hidden inside Einstein's famous equation ($E = mc^2$)

there was an enormous amount of potential nuclear energy to be exploited

an academic career for Enrico Fermi followed in Rome

he became a professor of physics, then atomic physics

focusing on the creation of artificial isotopes through neutron bombardment

At the age of thirty-seven Dr. Enrico Fermi received the Nobel Prize in Physics --1938

after Fermi accepted the Nobel Prize in Stockholm, he, his wife Laura, and their children

emigrated to New York mainly because Italian dictator Benito Mussolini instituted new laws

which threatened his wife Laura and their two children who were Jewish

these new laws also put most of Fermi's research assistants out of work

soon after arriving in New York, Dr. Fermi began working at Columbia University

where he took a position as a physics instructor working with Dr. Leo Szilard

COMMUNIST PARTY MAINTAINS ITS UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT

If unity was imperative in domestic politics for the Communist Party
it seemed even more necessary in foreign policy

This was a period of exhilarating Fascist aggression around the world:

Japanese armies invaded Manchuria,

Japanese troops again overran China;

Hitler denounced the Versailles Treaty and rearmed at breakneck speed

German soldiers seized Austria and mounted an assault against Czechoslovakia;

Mussolini defied the League of Nations and crushed Ethiopia

Italian and German Fascists rushed to the aid of Francisco Franco's rebellion
against the democratically elected government in Spain

During this time it was noted: **“Maxim Litvinov as the spokesman of Soviet foreign policy denounced the policy of appeasement and insisted...that only a united force could halt the Fascists.”**¹²⁵

HITLER MAKES DEMANDS ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Chancellor Adolf Hitler of Germany began openly to support demands for improved status
being delivered by Germans living in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia

Hitler made demands for self-determination for the Sudetenland -- September 1938
disorders broke out in Czechoslovakia and martial law was proclaimed

Germans living in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia had long demanded improved status

German Chancellor Adolf Hitler began openly to support these demands

Hitler insisted on self-determination for the Sudetenland -- September 1938
disorder and clashes broke out in Czechoslovakia

martial law was proclaimed by the Czech government

GERMAN CHANCELLOR AND BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MEET

German Chancellor Adolf Hitler met

with the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain -- September 15, 1938

Hitler demanded that Czechoslovakia return the Sudetenland,
a region of Czechoslovakia with a large German population, to Nazi Germany
these talks failed to achieve a satisfactory agreement

CBS RADIO PROVIDES COVERAGE OF EVENTS IN EUROPE

Edward R. Murrow and William L. Shirer were regular participants

in CBS's coverage of the crisis over the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia

their clear and insightful reports heightened America's appetite for radio news

listeners regularly waited for Murrow's shortwave broadcasts

¹²⁵ Melvin Rader, *False Witness*. P. 29.

introduced by analyst H.V. Kaltenborn in New York saying:

“Calling Ed Murrow...come in Ed Murrow.”¹²⁶

MUNICH PACT IS SIGNED IN MUNICH, GERMANY

After appeals by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Italy's Prime Minister Benito Mussolini, a conference was held at Munich, Germany -- September 29, 1938

Nazi Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy were in attendance
neither Czechoslovakia nor the Soviet Union, which had offered aid to the threatened nation,
was invited to the meeting

During the Munich Conference, England and France quickly capitulated to Hitler's demands

Munich Pact was signed September 30 [but dated September 29]

this permitted immediate occupation of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland by Germany
when Chamberlain arrived in London, he announced that he had secured “peace in our time”

Abandoned by its allies, Czechoslovakia gave in to the terms provided by Germany

Munich Pact became a symbol of appeasement and shook the confidence of Eastern Europeans
in the good faith of the Western democracies

Threat of totalitarian enslavement and war loomed more and more ominously

appeasement provided by the Munich Pact did not stop Nazi aggression

rather it encouraged new waves of blackmail, treaty-breaking, and aggression

OLYMPIC NATIONAL PARK

President Franklin D. Roosevelt visited the Olympic Peninsula -- September 30 to October 1, 1938

FDR expressed horror at **“criminal devastation by lumber interests”**¹²⁷

Former Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes wrote of need to protect the park: **“The tree-butchers, axes on shoulders, are again on the march against some of the few remaining stands of America's glorious virgin timber.... The gluttons will pass their plates again and again for generous helpings until the despoilers will have sated their greedy appetites on what has, so far, been miraculously saved.”**¹²⁸

HITLER INVADES THE SUDENTENLAND OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Adolf Hitler's army marched into the former German territory -- October 1, 1938

without the support of their alleged allies France and Britain

Czechoslovakia was powerless against the Nazi army

¹²⁶ Ann M. Sperber, *Murrow, His Life and Times*, P. 126.

¹²⁷ Robert E. Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington*, P. 221.

¹²⁸ Carsten Lien, *Olympic Battleground: Creating and Defending Olympic National Park*.

MARITIME JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES HAVE DEEP ROOTS

Sailors had long faced the dilemma of having two separate unions deal with their industry

West Coast sailors were members of the American Federation of Labor

Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) led by Harry Lundeberg

East Coast and Gulf Coast sailors were affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organizations

National Maritime Union (NMU) led by Joseph Curran

(NMU signed agreements with two shipping companies: Shepard Line and Union Sulfur [1935])

NMU agreed to run their ships along the Atlantic Coast [1936]

this situation was allowed to continue even during the [1936] strike

when the strike was settled NMU sailors manned these ships)

It was clear to SUP President Harry Lundeberg that he represented only a minority position

in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP)

Lundeberg pulled the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) out of the MFP

and sealed the federation's doom

SEAFARER'S INTERNATIONAL UNION (SIU) IS CHARTERED BY THE AFL

AFL President William Green wanted a new international maritime union

to replace the defunct International Seamen's Union (ISU) when successful membership raids

by Joe Curran's CIO National Maritime Union (NMU) had devastated the ISU

Green had selected Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) President Harry Lundeberg to lead the task

(SUP had originally been chartered by the ISU but remained intact in spite of NMU raids)

American Federation of Labor conducted a maritime membership drive

on the Eastern Seaboard and Gulf of Mexico Coast to unite these men into one large union

about 7,000 members were organized on the East Coast and the Gulf of Mexico

Once the new union was stabilized and in firm hands,

members of the AFL executive council issued a charter to the Seafarers International Union (SIU)

this was done at the at the American Federation of Labor (AFL) convention in Houston, Texas

President William Green handed Harry Lundeberg the SIU charter -- October 15, 1938

(Green predicted there would soon be 30,000 members on all coasts)

Harry Lundeberg served as president of SIU from 1938

(until his death from a heart attack in a San Francisco hospital [January 28, 1957])

International Seamen's Union (ISU) had been split

into the National Maritime Union (NMU) and the Seafarer's International Union (SIU)

Seafarers International Union (SIU) was an attempt by the American Federation of Labor

to stop the loss of job to the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)

and its Communist faction

ORSON WELLS BROADCASTS FEAR ON THE RADIO ACROSS AMERICA

Before television people sat in front of their radios and listened to music, news reports, plays, sports and various other programs for entertainment

most popular of all radio programs was the *Chase and Sanborn Hour*

which aired on Sunday evenings at 8 p.m.

star of the show was ventriloquist Edgar Bergen and his dummy Charlie McCarthy unfortunately for the Mercury group headed by dramatist Orson Welles

their show, *Mercury Theatre on the Air*, aired on another station at the very same time

Welles, of course, tried to think of ways to increase his audience,

hoping to take away listeners from the *Chase and Sanborn Hour*

Mercury Theatre on the Air broadcast began -- 8 p.m. Sunday, October 30, 1938

when an announcer came on the air and said, **“The Columbia Broadcasting System and its affiliated stations present Orson Welles and the Mercury Theatre on the Air in *The War of the Worlds* by H. G. Wells.”**

millions of radio listeners were shocked when radio news alerts announced the arrival of Martians although the program had begun with the announcement that it was a story based on a novel

and there were several announcements during the program reiterating that this was just a story, many listeners did not tune in long enough to hear them

Listeners panicked as they learned of the Martians’ ferocious and clearly unstoppable attack on Earth as fake news bulletins reported the unfolding events

Nationwide thousands of people called radio stations, police and newspapers

many in the New England area ran out of their homes screaming

while others loaded up their cars and fled

many people were hysterical in other parts of the country as well as they thought the end was near

people went to churches to pray and some improvised gas masks

miscarriages and early births were reported

deaths, too, were reported but never confirmed

Hours after the program had ended and listeners had realized that the Martian invasion was not real, people were outraged that Orson Welles had tried to fool them

many people sued and others wondered if Welles had caused the panic on purpose

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION (WCF) IS WEAKENED

Washington Commonwealth Federation was composed of radical left-wing Democrats

WCF began losing some liberal supporters because of its close ties to the Communist Party

U.S. SENATOR HOMER T. BONE MAINTAINS HIS LIBERAL POLITICAL LEANINGS

Although physically small, 5 foot 6 inches and 135 pounds, Senator Homer T. Bone

had established himself as a U.S. Senate liberal political leader

at one time or another he campaigned for the Socialist, Farmer-Labor, and Republican parties

but he remained loyal to the Democrats once he was elected under their label
Senator Bone was said to have described the Grand Old Party (G.O.P.)
as the party of "Grand Old Promises"

he was also reported to have said: "God couldn't be everywhere and He made up the Republican Party to be where He didn't want to be."

HENRY M. JACKSON IS ELECTED SHO HOMISH COUNTY PROSECUTOR

Henry Jackson had lived at home before he entered the political scene
he waited tables to finish his education at the University of Washington law school [1935]
he opened a successful law practice in his home town of Everett
Jackson's first political campaign effort was seeking the position of Snohomish County prosecutor
three years after passing the bar exam he was elected at age twenty-six -- November 8, 1938

NIGHT OF TERROR FOR GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN JEWS

On a cold, rainy night Nazi-led mobs burnt to the ground or destroyed
more than 7,000 Jewish businesses and 1,350 Jewish synagogues throughout Germany
more than 30,000 were arrested and were thrown into concentration camps
more than ninety-one Jews were killed
thousands of Jewish homes were ransacked
This became known as *Kristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass) -- night of November 9-10, 1938
adding insult to injury, Jews were charged 1 billion Deutsch Marks to pay for the damages
from this time [until May 8, 1945] Jews had no rights in Germany's Third Reich
those who did not escape became victims of the Nazi Holocaust

FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO)

John L. Lewis' industry-wide unions of the old Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)
formed a new rival to the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
they named themselves the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
No longer just a committee within the AFL, the Congress for Industrial Organizations (CIO)
met in convention in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania -- November 14-18, 1938
Representatives of thirty-four international unions, eight organizing committees,
twenty-three state labor councils, 116, city and county labor councils,
and 137 local industrial unions gathered
they claimed a total membership of more than three million -- roughly the same size as the AFL
Delegates elected fiery orator John L. Lewis of the United Mineworkers Union as president
Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was voted Vice President
James Carey of the newly-formed United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America
became was elected Secretary-Treasurer

Radical labor leaders believe John L. Lewis will not represent their interests
some CIO activists believed they should help form an independent Labor Party
Lewis, the former leader of the Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO),
had been a life-long Republican
but the CIO under Lewis supported President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal
largely because of the administration's pro-labor politics and positive social legislation
CIO's alliance with the social-liberalism of the Democrats became foundation of U.S. politics
(for many years to come CIO had a profound impact on the country's economic and political life
for many it represented not simply a way to improve wages,
but an inspiring cause dedicated to creating a better world)

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) CHARTERS ITS FIRST UNION

First major industrial union to be chartered by the Congress of Industrial Organizations
was the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America
also called the UE -- November 16, 1938

For the first time America witnessed two major labor federations
both with millions of members competing with each other
for control of the skilled and unskilled members in every section of the nation

Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was an independent rival
to the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
(the two labor federations would not untie until [1955])

All members affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
benefited from the CIO's constitutional prohibition against discrimination
on the basis of race, creed, or color
including black members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association

GROWTH OF THE CIO IS PHENOMENAL

Steel, rubber, meat, auto, glass and electrical equipment industries
all became the source of new Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) members
Rivalry between the Congress of Industrial Organizations and American Federation of Labor (AFL)
was especially bitter in the Pacific Northwest, where the aggressive CIO displayed
the fiery militancy of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
and the idealism of the Knights of Labor

Two Pacific Northwest timber unions vied to sign up timber workers:

- International Woodworkers of America (IWA) presented a proposal to join the CIO
and demanded union recognition from their employers
IWA battled the Congress for Industrial Organizations (CIO) in Northwest woods and mills
- Federation of Woodworkers American Federation of Labor (AFL)

fell under the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
competition between unions was hard for employees and employers alike
only time healed some jurisdictional disputes
CIO's strength in the Northwest lay in the timber and mining industries, in the fish canneries
and on the waterfront
Membership of the conservative, craft-oriented AFL was less concentrated
but under the leadership of fast-rising star in the Teamsters Union Dave Beck
AFL unions vigorously opposed the CIO and labor radicalism

HARRY BRIDGES' "MARCH INLAND" EXPANDED TO INCLUDE SAILORS

CIO's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
turned to Harry Lundeberg's International Seafarers' International Union (SIU) for new members
smaller unions attempted to remain independent until they were swallowed up
SIU waged bitter battles to represent the smaller maritime unions on the West Coast
Lundeberg cleverly manipulated anti-Communist hysteria
to maneuver the smaller unions into his SIU and away from Bridges ILWU
his Red Baiting was often successful because Bridges had a radical background
and had at times cooperated with Communist labor leaders
although he had never been a Party member
To neutralize Bridges and the ILWU, employers and Lundeberg promoted a relentless effort
to have the Australian Harry Bridges deported from the United States
first on the grounds of improper naturalization
later on charges of having falsely denied his alleged Communist membership
(Bridges' case lasted from [1934] to [1955] and finally ended in Bridges' total vindication
although at the cost of considerable damage to the ILWU)

DAVE BECK CONTROLS LABOR IN SEATTLE

Eventually Teamsters added the Warehousemen's Union to their own organization
Dave Beck had unionized all of Seattle's working force -- 1938
with the exception of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
But the public had become disillusioned with union violence
they began to oppose the union movement
citizens wrote initiatives to limit the power of unions
AFL and CIO cooperated to defeat the initiatives
Dave Beck's leadership of the Pacific Coast Brotherhood of Teamsters was remarkable
his genius in organizing workers came from skillful negotiations with business
he dropped his strong-arm and goon-squad tactics
respectable negotiations better emphasized labor's common interests with management

Beck positioned himself to gain good contracts with Seattle business

Seattle became a conservative labor town with Beck as its most potent leader
in the minds of the Northwest business community

Beck was the lesser of two evils when compared to Harry Bridges

(Beck later rose in international leadership of the Teamsters and became International President)

ROOSEVELT'S STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH FOCUSES ON EUROPE

In his annual State of the Union address to Congress, President Franklin Roosevelt
shifted his emphasis from domestic issues to the tense international scene -- January 4, 1939
about one-sixth of his \$9 billion budget request will go to defense

HITLER DEMANDS POLAND RETURN ITS PORT CITY TO GERMANY

Adolf Hitler pressured Poland to return its principal port of Gdansk (called Danzig in German)
this was a free state run by the Nazis under the auspices of the League of Nations
Hitler insisted that the city will "sooner or later return to Germany" -- January 5, 1939

WASHINGTON STATE LEGISLATURE GOES INTO SESSION

Twenty-sixth legislature convened -- January 9, 1939

Democrats held forty Senate seats and seventy-three House seats

Republicans held six Senate seats and twenty-six House seats

Democratic Governor Clarence Martin awaited them with a plan
for a reduced budget for Social Security -- he did not get it

Progressives made it possible to fund Social Security at existing levels
by agreeing to a sales tax on food

Conservatives and Progressives in Olympia remained at each other's throats
as the decade faded away

DR. SZILARD AND DR. FERMI CONDUCT EXPERIMENTS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

After learning about a successful nuclear fission experiment conducted in Germany -- 1939

it occurred to Dr. Szilard while he was standing on a street corner

that more energy could be released than the neutron itself supplied: **"As the light changed to green and I crossed the street,"** he recalled, **"it ...suddenly occurred to me that if we could find an element which is split by neutrons and which would emit *two* neutrons when it absorbs *one* neutron, such an element, if assembled in sufficiently large mass, could sustain a nuclear chain reaction...If the [mass] is larger than the critical value,"** he concluded, **"I can produce an explosion."**¹²⁹

It was clear to a number of scientists at Columbia University that they should try

to detect the energy released in the nuclear fission of uranium from neutron bombardment

¹²⁹ David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*. P. 657.

PHYSICIST LEO SZILARD AND ENRICO FERMI DEVELOP A NUCLEAR CHAIN REACTION

Nuclear fission was being investigated in physics laboratories in several countries

Dr. Szilard and Dr. Fermi concluded that uranium would be capable of sustaining a chain reaction they conducted the first nuclear fission experiment in the United States -- January 25, 1939 where they discovered significant neutron multiplication was possible in uranium proving it was possible to build nuclear weapons

Their research demonstrated energy could be released from the relatively rare isotope U-235 which occurs naturally in uranium U-238 in a ratio of one part in 140

But isolating enough U-235 or fabricating enough material to make a weapon struck many scientists as next to impossible

With America's involvement in war on the horizon, all results in nuclear physics research that might have military value were withheld from publication by American physicists

Physicists tried to interest the U.S. government in nuclear research as early as [March 1939] first they appealed to the Navy but received only casual, passive interest

BOEING DEVELOPS THE B-17 "FLYING FORTRESS" OR "TANK OF THE SKY"

Boeing delivered the B-17 to the United States Army Air Corps -- January 31, 1939 it was known as the "Flying Fortress" or "Tank of the Sky"

B-27 was the only four-engine plane in production at that time

later to become main Allied weapon against Germany was the most celebrated aircraft operated by during the war one of the great weapons in history

B-17 was described: **"This four-engine giant weighs 47,500 pounds, has a top speed of 300 m.p.h., and a range of 3,500 miles. It carries a bomb load of 10,000 pounds which is double that of most German, Italian, and British bombers. Power-driven gun turrets are located in the nose, tail, and midship. Quarter-inch armor plate protects all crew positions except that of the tail gunner. Self-sealing bulletproof gasoline tanks are installed."**¹³⁰

BOEING BECOMES A MAJOR AIRPLANE MANUFACTURER

Anticipating evens in Europe Boeing built the only four-engine plane in production at that time

B-17, also known as the "Flying Fortress" and the "Tank of the Sky"

B-17 was a huge airplane that weighed 47,000 pounds:

- it was sixty-seven feet ten inches long;
- it had a wingspan of one hundred-three feet nine inches;
- nine crewmen were on board:
pilot, co-pilot, bombardier, navigator, radio operator, four gunners;

¹³⁰ James A. Crutchfield, *It Happened in Washington: Remarkable Events that Shaped History*. P. 100.

- bullet-proof Plexiglas gun turrets in the nose, two midship, and tail were power-driven;
- it carried a bomb load of 10,000 pounds -- double that of any other bomber in the air;
- quarter-inch armor plate protected plane and crew with the exception of the tail gunner;
- fuel tank were self-sealing and bulletproof

“Tank of the sky” lived up to its nickname

“Designed to be self-defending, it was heavily armed and armored. The models being produced by the time the United States entered the war bristled with thirteen machine guns. They were intended to be flown in tight formations of a hundred aircraft and more, whose combined firepower could spew out up to thirty tons of .50-caliber machine gun slugs per minute. That deadly curtain of fire was thought sufficient to ward off fighter attacks, while heavy steel plating and bulletproof Plexiglas windows would supposedly protect against antiaircraft fire from the ground.”¹³¹

(later the B-17 was to become the main Allied weapon against Germany
 one of the great weapons in history,
 it was the most celebrated aircraft operated by during the war
 between 1937 [and 1968]12,731 B-17s were built)

SOIL CONSERVATION ACT PASSED BY THE STATE LEGISLATURE

(U.S. Government had authorized payments for the construction of flood control dams, terraces, re-vegetation projects and diversion ditches to local Soil Conservation Districts established by local farmers [1935])

Soil Conservation Districts also provided instruction in farming techniques designed to prevent the loss of irreplaceable topsoil due to erosion

Washington State legislators approved the establishment of Soil Conservation Districts -- 1939 when a majority vote of the landowners in any given area provided the authorization local unemployed people did most of the work

LAST OF THE INTERURBAN LINES COMES TO AN END

Interurban cars had sped commuters and shaped communities along Puget Sound since [1910] Everett’s privately owned trolley service

ran from Colby to 41st Street down Broadway and back on Hewitt Avenue

it also went out of town southbound, (along what is now the paved interurban trail near I-5) once it reached north Seattle it headed through the Phinney and Greenwood neighborhoods, along Fremont Avenue to Westlake Avenue where it ended at Westlake Center

Completion of Highway 99 ended the service

automobiles and a fleet of buses with more flexible timetables carried people to Seattle

Everett’s newspaper recounted the final run from Everett to Seattle -- February 20, 1939

¹³¹ Kennedy, David M. *Freedom From Fear*. P. 604

last car to operate was sent off by a fifty-piece Veterans of Foreign Wars band
not long afterward the line was dismantled

CORNISH SCHOOL SETS AN EDUCATIONAL TREND IN SEATTLE

Cornish School was founded [1914] by pianist and voice teacher Nellie Cornish
music was the heart of the curriculum, but where she saw talent she recruited aggressively
soon the school offered classes as diverse as choreography, French language, painting,
theater, folk dancing and ballet
within three years Cornish had enrolled over 600 students,
and was the country's largest music school west of Chicago
Cornish School was offering classes and lessons from early childhood
to the undergraduate level [by 1919]
opera and modern dance were added to the curriculum
Financial difficulties inevitably grew during the Great Depression
convinced that finances would not allow the school to do more than "tread water"
Nellie Cornish resigned her position as head of the school -- 1939
however, the school continued her tradition of serious educational work
(Today Cornish School of the Arts is nationally recognized as a premier college
for the visual and performing arts
it is one of only three fully accredited private colleges in the entire nation
dedicated to educating both performing and visual artists)

BOEING DEVELOPS ITS MOST ELEGANT AIRPLANE TO DATE

During the 1930s, transoceanic travel was beyond the capability of all but a few aircraft
giant dirigibles such as the *Graf Zeppelin* and *Hindenburg* provided service
as did ever larger "flying boats" -- multi-engine airplanes with boat-like hulls
most elegant and successful of these was Boeing's Model 314
Boeing's Model 314 was nicknamed the *Boeing Clipper* after the great oceangoing ships
it was, in fact, a flying boat -- a fixed-winged seaplane with triple vertical tails
unlike float planes, flying boats had a floating fuselage that provided buoyancy
that allowed the airplane to land on water
flying boats were stabilized by under-wing floats or by wing-like sponsons
projecting from the fuselage
Boeing Clipper first took flight in [1938] and continued in service through [World War II]
Boeing Clippers conjure up thoughts of adventure and the elegance of a bygone era
Pan American Airways flew the first trans-Pacific flight
when a Boeing Clipper left San Francisco and flew to Hong Kong -- March 29, 1939
it carried seventy-four people up to 5,200 miles at 184 mph

this airplane filled a void left by the tragic end of the pioneer Zeppelin airship service which began in [1928], and was stopped in [1937] by the loss of the *Hindenburg*

Flying boats were some of the largest aircraft in the first half of the 20th Century their advantage lay in using water instead of expensive land-based runways, making them the basis for international airlines

they were also commonly used for maritime patrol and air-sea rescue

Boeing Clipper was the first to cross the Atlantic Ocean with scheduled airline service (scheduled passenger service from New York City to Europe began [June 28, 1939]) (Last of the dozen China Clippers which were built was destroyed in [1951])

WORK CONTINUES ON THE GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT

Consolidated Builders, Inc. (CBI) headed by Henry J. Kaiser employed 5,500 construction workers -- April 1939 (CBI poured a record 20,684.5 cubic yards of concrete in twenty-four hours [May 25, 1939])

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS IS APPOINTED TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

When Justice Louis Brandeis retired early [1939] Western U.S. Senators made it clear they wanted President Roosevelt to appoint a replacement from their region which was then unrepresented on the U.S. Supreme Court

leading contender was Washington U.S. Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach

Douglas's allies took advantage of Schwellenbach's feud with fellow Washington Senator Homer T. Bone and the fact that U.S. Attorney General Frank Murphy disliked him

President Roosevelt announced Douglas's nomination [March 20, 1939]

U.S. Senate confirmed the appointment less than three weeks later

William O. Douglas was sworn onto the U.S. Supreme Court at the age of forty -- April 17, 1939 (he served on the court longer than anyone else -- he retired [November 12, 1975])

Douglas saw himself as a champion of the underdog against the rich and powerful he defended as fiercely as anyone who has ever sat on the U.S. Supreme Court the rights of the individual against government and corporate power

he protected the concept that constitutional rights to privacy must be reflected in the law of the land

One of the most liberal justices to preside, he advocated civil rights and individual rights:

- he was a protector of the Bill of Rights -- unpopular views also need a hearing
- he believed the privacy of individual must be protected;
- he branded the War in Vietnam as unconstitutional;
- he championed the rights of school boys to wear long hair

When Justice William O. Douglas joined the Court, neither he nor anyone else

expected that he would remain there the rest of his working life
relatively young, very ambitious, and frequently feeling confined in the role of judge,
Douglas envisioned rising higher -- even to the presidency
he was a favorite of the liberal wing of the Democratic party
he was pushed as a potential successor to Franklin Roosevelt [in 1940]
until the president decided to seek an unprecedented third term
he was considered briefly as a vice presidential prospect that year
Douglas nearly realized his White House dreams four years later,
when an ailing President Roosevelt made it known privately
that Douglas was his first choice for the vice presidency
however, Democratic Party bosses led by Party Chairman Robert Hannegan
preferred Harry Truman for the position who was selected
by the [1944] Democratic Convention
Douglas was offered a vice presidential nomination by President Harry Truman [1948]
who wanted to bolster his declining standing with liberal Democrats
but Douglas chose not to give up the security of the U.S. Supreme Court
to run on a ticket that at the time appeared doomed

DIESEL TRUCKING ENHANCES LOGGING IN THE STATE

It was not profitable to bring logging railroad tracks, trains and giant steam donkeys
into small cutting areas
Articulated tractor-trailer trucks emerged [in the 1920s],
but it was not until the late 1930s that semi-trucks
specifically designed to haul logs over long distances on paved roads were perfected
Logging roads and trucks dominated the industry as forest areas diminished
first gasoline trucks and then diesel trucks were used

PETERBILT TRUCKS ARE BUILT IN TACOMA

T.A. Peterman was a logging tycoon who founded Peterbilt in Tacoma, Washington
he purchased the Fageol truck company, the Waukesha Motor Company and surplus army trucks
using this equipment and parts, he developed custom chain-driven logging trucks -- 1939
that remain the standard in logging trucking today
While Henry Ford was cranking out hundreds of trucks a day,
Peterman set his sights on building 100 trucks a year -- he concentrated on quality, not quantity
Factory records state that fourteen trucks were shipped -- 1939
(production increased to eighty-two units [1940])
Speed at which Peterbilt truck gained acceptance in the trucking industry
was a tribute to product quality

one major reason for this was that Peterman sent engineers out into the field
to find out firsthand what truckers needed and wanted
(Shortly after the outbreak of World War II,
Peterbilt began producing heavy-duty trucks to fulfill government contracts
engineering and production expertise gained from the design and production of these trucks
enabled Peterbilt to return to the commercial marketplace after the war
with the best trucks in the industry)

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) CHANGES ITS NAME

FDR implemented a reorganization plan for public works projects -- July 1, 1939
Public Works Administration (PWA) was transferred from the Treasury Department
it was renamed the Works Projects Administration (WPA)
and moved to the newly created Federal Works Agency
Works Projects Administration (WPA) will continue to function through [June 1943]

WORK ON THE STATE CAPITAL CAMPUS CONTINUES

Capitol Conservatory was built by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) -- 1939
state's greenhouse contained more than 500 varieties of tropical and desert flora
it also produced bedding plants for the Capitol Campus
and holiday floral crops were raised for the Governor's Mansion and conservatory displays
(It was permanently closed for financial reasons [September 5, 2008])

SELLING ATOMIC THEORY TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

Dr. Leo Szilard was perhaps the first scientist to conceive how an atomic bomb might work
American physicists appealed directly to the president in a letter -- August 2, 1939
Dr. Einstein signed a letter written to the President primarily by physicist Dr. Leo Szilard
regarding developing an Atomic Bomb using uranium as a fuel source
Dr. Einstein signed the letter because of his prestige in America's scientific circles
(later conversations between the president and Dr. Einstein
led to the creation of America's own Atomic program)
Dr. Szilard explained the possibility of nuclear weapons
he warned President Franklin Roosevelt of Nazi work on such weapons
and encouraged the development of a program which could result in their advance
Szilard described the creation of a nuclear chain reaction in his letter to President Roosevelt: **"We turned the switch and saw the flashes. We watched them for a little while and then we switched everything off and went home. That night, there was very little doubt in my mind that the world was headed for grief."**¹³²

¹³² Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, P. 26.

Dr. Szilard understood the implications and consequences of this discovery
(Dr. Szilard took great interest in public policy and possessed a strong social conscience
he started the movement for civilian control of atomic energy [1945]
eventually he became Soviet Premier Khrushchev's personal link to prevent nuclear war
between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
President Roosevelt asked Lyman James Briggs, director of the National Bureau of Standards,
to secretly organize the Briggs Advisory Committee on Uranium)

WAR ENGULFS THE WORLD ON TWO FRONTS

Second Sino-Japanese War continued in China -- September 1, 1939

Republic of China and the Empire of Japan were in the third year of armed conflict
(this conflict would eventually be swept up into World War II

when Japan joined the German-Italian Axis powers and China joined the Allies)

Invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany begins -- 4:45 a.m. September 1, 1939

German Air Force (Luftwaffe) attacked several targets in Poland

Krakow, Lodz, and Warsaw were each bombed

Nazi troops, still without a formal declaration of war, launched an attack

near the Polish town of Mokra -- 8:00 a.m.

In response to the Nazi invasion, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, and Switzerland
each declared their neutrality

British government declared a general mobilization of British Armed Forces
evacuation plans were begun in anticipation of German air attacks

EUROPE RESPONDS TO THE NAZI INVASION

Germany annexed the Free City of Danzig, Poland -- September 2, 1939

United Kingdom and France issued a joint ultimatum

which required German troops to evacuate Polish territory

Italian dictator Benito Mussolini declared his nation to be neutral

UNITED KINGDOM DECLARES WAR ON NAZI GERMANY

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain announced

on British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Radio --11:15 a.m. September 3, 1939

that the deadline of the final British ultimatum for the withdrawal of German troops
from Poland expired at 11:00 a.m.

and that "consequently this nation is at war with Germany"

United Kingdom of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales

joined with British Dominion: Canada India, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa
to form a united front against Nazi and Axis aggression

French Government delivered a similar final ultimatum at 12:30 p.m.

In his fourteenth Fireside Chat -- September 3, 1939

President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced

that in an effort to protect our friendly relationship with all of the combatants
and to protect the many Americans living in those places

United States would remain neutral in the war with Germany

declared by the United Kingdom, its Dominion, and France

Soviet Union became, briefly, a comrade in arms to the United States

UNITED KINGDOM LAUNCHES AN OFFENSIVE

In the first British offensive action of the war effort, the Royal Air Force launched a raid
on the German navy fleet in the Heligoland Bight -- September 4, 1939

one of the busiest shipping lanes in the world located on the North Sea
at the mouth of the German Elbe River

CBS RADIO CONTINUES HIS BROADCASTS FROM EUROPE

Previously, war coverage had mostly been provided by newspaper reports,
along with newsreels seen in movie theatres

radio news programs simply featured an announcer in a studio reading wire service reports

When the war broke out Edward R. Murrow stayed in London,

(he later provided live radio broadcasts during the height of the bombing of London (Blitz)
his broadcasts electrified radio audiences as news programming never had before

William Shirer's reporting from Berlin brought him national acclaim

and a commentator's position with CBS News

after he returned to the United States [December 1940]

(Shirer would describe his Berlin experiences in his best-selling book,

Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent 1934-1941[1955])

U.S. PREPARATIONS ARE MADE TO DEFEND ALASKA FROM JAPANESE ATTACK

(An investigation evaluating America's naval defenses [1938] resulted in a report

that called for enlarging the naval bases at Sitka and Dutch Harbor, Alaska

and building a new naval air station and military base at Kodiak)

Before construction of the naval and military bases began -- September 1939

the town of Kodiak had a population of about 400 which was served

by no telephones or electric lights, no public sewer or water systems, no bank and no hospital

the only vehicle in town was an oil truck

(2,500 workers were competing for housing with military families by [1941])

POLAND IS DEFEATED BY NAZI GERMANY

Poland was occupied by German and Soviet forces -- October 6, 1939
after the defeat Poland established a government in exile in England
where they continued to fight against Germany

HUGE NUMBERS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE ASSIGNED TO WASHINGTON STATE

Servicemen, some with their families, brought a rush of business to cities near Army and Navy bases
especially in Tacoma, Olympia, Bremerton, Seattle and smaller, nearby towns -- 1939
Fort Lewis hosted the nation's largest military exercise to date
which involved 7,500 soldiers and officers of the U.S. Third Division
Several of the officers later made headlines, among them General George C. Marshall,
Major Mark Clark, and Major Dwight D. Eisenhower
Number of men at Fort Lewis and McChord Air Base rapidly increased
from 7,000 to more than 26,000 00 1939
(after Pearl Harbor more than 50,000 soldiers at a time trained at Fort Lewis)

BUSINESS PICKS UP FOR AMERICANS

Seattle-Tacoma shipyards were awarded contracts for five vessels
job-seekers flooded Puget Sound union halls
Unions organized and bargained for thousands of workers
who signed no-strike pledges and accepted wage and price controls
imposed by the federal government
(But not until rearming the nation began in earnest did the United States
escape the grip of the Great Depression)

BRIGGS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON URANIUM HOLDS ITS FIRST MEETING

Director of the National Bureau of Standards Lyman James Briggs
conducted a very secret meeting in Washington, D.C -- October 21, 1939
it was decided to provide \$6,000 to physicists Dr. Enrico Fermi and Dr. Leo Szilard at Columbia
to advance their experiments in Atomic research

BRIGGS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON URANIUM GIVES ITS REPORT

Lyman J. Briggs' Advisory Committee on Uranium gave its report -- November 1, 1939
it specifically recommended procurement of four tons of graphite
and fifty tons of uranium oxide for measurements of the absorption of carbon
other recommendations either were of a general nature or were never carried out
U.S. Army and Navy transferred \$6,000 to the committee
for the purchase of materials for nuclear research

Government program began -- America organized science, industry, and technology to produce an atomic bomb as quickly and secretly as possible

PUGET SOUND EXPERIENCES AN EARTHQUAKE

Damage from the Olympia earthquake -- November 12, 1939

was most severe in Centralia, Elma, and Olympia

where chimneys were broken, plaster cracked, and various objects overturned
swaying power lines caused short circuits that produced power failures in Olympia and Centralia.
in Tacoma, a 200-pound terra cotta cornice that was attached to two buildings fell
after being loosened by the differential movement between the buildings

CONSTRUCTION PROGRESSES ON GRAND COULEE DAM

West powerhouse was ready -- December 1939

Westinghouse supplied three 108,000 kilowatt generators for the powerhouse
purchased from Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. in Virginia
and two smaller 12,500 kilowatt generators to operate dam equipment

Sight of Grand Coulee Dam in the desert was almost beyond imagination

rushing water 850 feet wide foamed over the spillway

water was backing up toward the Canadian border to form a lake 151 miles long

publicists strained to invent comparisons which would show how big this thing was:

- four United States Capitol buildings could be placed inside the dam;
- four largest ocean liners in the world could be lined up on its top with room to spare;
- each of its generator rooms is more than twice the size of Yankee Stadium;
- with the possible exception of the Great Wall of China

Grand Coulee Dam was the largest single thing every constructed
comparisons also stretched the imagination

Grand Coulee Dam was, indeed, a gigantic monolith in the middle of the desert

critics surmised it was as useless as the pyramids of Egypt

who would ever buy all of the hydroelectric power?

LABOR WARS ADD TO UNION TROUBLES

By the end of the decade Congress for Industrial Organizations (CIO) was growing in numbers
smelter workers and city Newspaper Guilds followed their Internationals

into the Congress of Industrial Organizations

timber industry was organized, but by two rival unions:

- Federation of Woodworkers (AFL)
- stronger organization being the International Woodworkers of America (IWA-CIO)

warehousemen also maintained two rival unions:

- International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)

- AFL's International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)

composed of those warehousemen who left the CIO or refused to join

Brotherhood of Teamsters added these members to their own AFL organization

Dave Beck had unionized all of Seattle's working force -- 1939

with the exception of waterfront laborers who remained under the CIO's

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and Harry Bridges

However, the public was becoming disillusioned with union violence

some began to oppose the union movement

citizens wrote initiatives to limit the power of unions

but in these instances the AFL and CIO cooperated to defeat the initiatives