



National Guardsmen escort strikers across Heron Street on July 8, 1935. (Jones Historical Collection)

Lonac, a retired Port of Grays Harbor employee, said in 1999.)

"The gas invaded nearby dwellings, bringing protests from the residents," the *World* reported. In one house was a sick boy, angry neighbors said, and the gas made him sicker.

"The gas barrage followed the discovery of two cupsfull of roofing nails and tacks spread on the road, sometime during the night," the paper reported. "Picket captains and strike leaders denied responsibility, and the pickets began gathering up the small nails. About 8 o'clock, more tacks were discovered and the barrage followed. Police claimed they did not act until someone in the crowd was seen to throw tacks on the road."

Approximately ten gas "bombs" were set off by the troopers. The strikers fled, rubbing their sore eyes, coughing and wheezing. Regrouping a few blocks away, they "became sullen ... and grim countenances replaced the smiles of the early-morning and yesterday."

Across the river, about 1,500 pickets were still holding the fort at Harbor Plywood. The strikers there were outraged by the tear gas attack on their "brothers and sisters," but there were no incidents. They did not touch the coffee that mill management had set out for them. ("Scab java!" said one

worker.) Picket captains noted that the mill owners had hired armed guards from Seattle.

The unions sent a delegation to meet with Governor Martin, emphasizing that the picketing had been peaceful and asking him to remove the state troopers.

Martin said he supported labor but felt strongly that if a man wanted to cross a picket line, that was his inalienable right. The governor said he had confidence in State Patrol Chief William Cole, "who paid Aberdeen a flying visit and expressed satisfaction with the handling of the Grays Harbor situation by his men."

On July 3, Hoquiam was preparing to host the major Fourth of July celebration on the Harbor, including a street parade, an air circus at the Port Dock landing strip, water sports and a public wedding at 9 p.m. at the 7th Street Theatre, followed by a dance at the Vasa Hall.

But the strikers were in no mood to celebrate. Aberdeen Plywood and the American Door Factory in Hoquiam, an affiliate of Harbor Plywood, announced they were set to resume operations on Friday under protection of the State Patrol.

On the morning of the 3rd, there were 400 pickets at the Bay City mill, spilling over onto West Boulevard. Troopers decreed that no more than three pickets could be posted at each of the three entrances and threatened to use more tear gas. There were still 1,500 pickets at Harbor Plywood, but the State Patrol moved quickly to disperse them.

Troopers also razed the nicest picket shack anyone could recall seeing. The men had jokingly called it "palatial," having fashioned it neatly from plywood. Inside they had installed a stove, benches and other amenities. The troopers and Aberdeen police also tore down a number of tents the strikers had been using.

On the 4th, both sides took a breather, the calm before the storm.

Grays Harbor Lumber Co. at Hoquiam and Schafer Bros. No. 4 mill in Aberdeen resumed operations on July 5, bringing to six the number of mills operating on the Harbor. The mill owners said they had 400 workers on the job. The unions said it was half that. "Numerous reports of beatings circulated."

Coincidentally, in the other Washington, President Roosevelt was signing the Wagner Labor Bill, guaranteeing workers the right to bargain collectively.

HOW MANY MARCHED?

Estimating the size of a crowd is never easy — especially when politics is involved.

Take the July 8, 1935, march from Aberdeen to Hoquiam in support of striking Northwest lumber workers.

"One business man counted 1,200 passing a downtown corner. Another, a block away, counted 9,000," the *Aberdeen Daily World* noted.

Some said the parade was thirteen blocks long; others said it was only seven. And some maintained that the line was six people wide; others said it was only four. Who was right?

The State Patrol said it was anyone's guess. The National Guard ventured that it was 1,700 — clearly a lowball figure.

Reporters staked out the middle ground. The Associated Press put it at 5,000, though a more generous Seattle newspaper argued it was 10,000.

"Any count was difficult because the line varied at different points," the *World* said. "It gained recruits as it went along. Some continued with it, others dropped out."

Hoping for an impartial methodology, reporters from the *World* did some arithmetic.

"If the marchers were six abreast, on the average, with four feet of space between the ranks, the approximate number per block would be 500. This would yield a total of about 6,000 in a line twelve blocks long," they wrote.

Inside, Editor and Publisher Werner A. Rupp launched a pre-emptive strike against criticism, right and left.

"It would have been much more pleasant to have suspended publication during the strike and let all hands take a needed vacation," he lamented.

From "Billions and Billions"

banker, wheeler-dealer and cigar-chomping confidant of the Harbor's upper crust.

Patterson's uncle Jimmy had invited him to come down to the Harbor. Once here, he took a job in Aberdeen selling real estate and insurance, then signed on as a cashier for \$40 a month when a man named Harry Hayes arrived from Illinois to start a bank. While working for the bank (located where Jack in the Box is today), Billy received a telegram that his father had died in Quebec.

He returned home, and for a brief while he and a friend looked for work, exploring Winnipeg and Edmonton for greener pastures. But Patterson realized that the Harbor held the best prospects. He wrote Harry Hayes and got his old job back.

Over the next several years, Patterson became a manager for the newly formed American Mill Co. and partner in an insurance business, all while still on the bank's payroll. When Harry Hayes died unexpectedly, Patterson became cashier of the reorganized Hayes & Hayes Bank.

A few years later, he also became the second husband of the widow Hayes. The new Mrs. Patterson was as active as her husband. She became the bank's president and led the local suffragist movement in 1910 that aimed to get women the right to vote.

"In the years that followed," wrote historian Ed Van Syckle, "Grays Harbor and Hayes & Hayes flourished. Patterson seemed to have the magic touch; his banking judgments seemed without flaw. He became a social bigwig and a fabulous host, and as a throne for his activities he formed a company and created the Grays Harbor Country Club."

A common joke at the time was that on Grays Harbor at least, B.P.O.E. — the initials of the Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks — actually stood for "Billy Patterson Owns Everything."

It was not far from the truth. The Hayes & Hayes Bank, which came to be known as "Patterson's bank," backed sawmills, logging outfits and shipbuilders. Patterson personally approved the \$500 stake that made Edward Finch rich in California's oil fields and led to the construction of the Finch Building, the city's first "skyscraper," in 1910.

In his spare time, Patterson helped promote cigar maker Les Maley's famous five-cent "Think-of-Me" cigars, though naturally he smoked the ten-cent "White Squadron." Billy drove swell cars, wore dapper clothes and lived in a fabulous mansion where McDermoth School now stands.



Billy Patterson had backed the Finch Building, but he wouldn't back the Port's comprehensive plans. (Jones Historical Collection)

SPEAK LIKE A NATIVE

Like loggers and fishermen, longshore workers have a language all their own.

The terminology even varies from port to port. For example, longshore workers in Seattle and other major ports often refer to themselves as "stevedores." Here on the Harbor, it's always "longshoremen."

Here are a few key words:

casual: A person working as a longshoreman who is not a registered member of the International Longshore & Warehouse Union local. Many ILWU members get their start as "casuals," taking the jobs left over when the union members are all working.

gang: A group of longshoremen working together to unload a ship. In the old days, a "gang" was a set group of people who always worked together. Today, the union local will make up a new "gang" each time a ship comes in.

longshoreman: A dock worker who loads and unloads ships. A "stevedore" — from the Spanish "estibador," meaning "one who stows" — is the same thing, but that word is not used by longshoremen on the Harbor. Recognizing the growing role of women on the docks, the ILWU changed its name from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in 1997, dropping the "men."

sweetheart shift: The third shift of the day, between 3 and 8 a.m. "The name comes from the fact that you should be at home with your sweetheart during those hours," explains longtime longshoreman Max Vekich Jr. At other ports, the shift is called a "hoot owl" or "hoot," or less descriptively, as the "third shift."

warehouseman: A person who is working in a warehouse or the area around the dock, but not on a ship.

HOW THEY DID IT

When the Port of Grays Harbor shipped a billion board feet in a single year, at least one local paper resolved to describe how it was done.

The *Grays Harbor Washingtonian*, Hoquiam's morning daily, estimated that more than fifty large and small mills and "a score of logging companies" played a role.

They also made up a list of names of the larger mills, which today is a snapshot of the timber industry in 1924.

In Aberdeen, Cosmopolis and Junction City, there were twelve sawmills: Anderson & Middleton, Aberdeen Lumber & Shingle, American Mill, Bay City Lumber Company, Bishop Mill, Donovan Mill Nos. 1 and 2, Grays Harbor Commercial Company, Grays Harbor Shingle Company, Hulbert Mill, A.J. West Mill and the Wilson Brothers mill.

There were five sawmills in Hoquiam: Grays Harbor Lumber Company, Hoquiam Lumber & Shingle Company, Eureka Cedar Lumber & Shingle Company, North Western Lumber Company and E.K. Wood Lumber Company.

The paper also noted that the National Lumber & Manufacturing Company in Hoquiam had burned down in August.

Like many bankers, he was also a die-hard conservative. When the capitalist-hating Industrial Workers of the World — the "Wobblies" — came to town for a free speech fight in 1911, Patterson played a starring role in the citizens' militia that aimed to oust the "anarchist radicals." Armed with an ax handle, he and Ed Benn, son of the city's founder, made one of the first arrests of a Wobbly soap-boxer and escorted him to jail.

And when Frank Lamb began talking about starting up a port on Grays Harbor, Billy's ears pricked up. Under the Port District Act of 1911, there were two sources of funding for ports: Issuing bonds linked to the assessed value of the district and levying property taxes of up to two mills on each dollar.

As bank manager, Patterson personally knew the mill operators and timber owners who had large tracts of land on Grays Harbor. They already had their own private docks for shipping, and they didn't want to see public ones paid for with property taxes coming out of their pockets. With few exceptions, big business on the Harbor opposed the creation of the new Port.

Because of his social position, though, Patterson couldn't come right out and oppose it. Instead, he slyly signed himself up to be a candidate for one of its three commissioner posts and was quietly elected without opposition. Once in office, Patterson set about making himself Lamb's nemesis.

Under the Port District Act, the newly formed Port of Grays Harbor could not spend any money for docks or other improvements until it came up with a "comprehensive plan."

The new commissioners hired Virgil Bogue, that early proponent of public ports, to come up with one for \$5,000. Four months later, his plan was in, and it was comprehensive if nothing else. Miles of docks were proposed for the Harbor's mudflats. Lamb later said that Bogue's plan was ambitious enough to serve the Port of New York.

Nonetheless, voters approved it 1,017 to 325 in an election on December 6, 1913. That same year, the state of Washington had given the new Port a sixty-eight-acre tract of land that straddled Myrtle Street, the dividing line between Aberdeen and Hoquiam. Because of the long-standing rivalry between the two cities, the land was seen as the perfect compromise to the problem of favoritism.

The Port now had ample property for a dock and terminals, the ability to levy about \$75,000 in tax-

es each year and resources to issue \$1.25 million in bonds. Everything seemed to be falling into place for Frank Lamb's industrial-strength dream, and just two people stood in the way.

Billy Patterson knew how to win friends and influence people, and his plan for his fellow commissioner McNeill was simple. In exchange for approval of several stream control projects worth about \$5,000 total on the Chehalis River near Montesano, McNeill would side with Patterson in turning down any plans to spend money building the proposed docks and terminal.

Patterson's plan worked beautifully. For nearly a decade starting in 1910, Frank Lamb was unable to get anything past his two fellow commissioners.

Using the same ingenuity and persistence that he had shown when he developed new logging methods and equipment years before, the Stanford-educated botanist and forester decided to "smoke them out."

First, Lamb came up with his own plan for the Port's terminals. Instead of the sixty-eight acres on Myrtle Street, Lamb's proposal was for a smaller dock at the end of 8th Street in Hoquiam. He prepared the drawings for the smaller terminal himself and presented them before the fall election in 1919.

"The scheme worked exactly as I planned," Lamb wrote later. "At a well attended and acrimonious meeting at Aberdeen City Hall, Patterson and McNeill voted it down. The people of Hoquiam were incensed and started an alliance with Elma and other East County interests to replace McNeill with a commissioner who would work with me."

Aberdeen voters, meantime, worried that the Port would end up in Hoquiam. Joe Vance, a lumberman from Malone who sided with Lamb, was persuaded to run against McNeill and won handily with support from Aberdeen and Hoquiam, 1,526 to 345.

Billy Patterson saw that the tide had turned and submitted gracefully.

In January of 1920, Lamb and his new ally appointed an engineer to draw up plans for slips and docks at the Myrtle Street site. The Port rented the dredge *Washington* and deepened the inner channel from Grays Harbor City to Aberdeen to a twenty-four-foot draft. Some \$1.05 million in bonds were issued to pay for the dredging and construction of the terminals.

Hellraisers Journal: 700 Thugs Organized by Mayor Parks to Stop IWW Free Speech Fight in Aberdeen, Washington

10th December 2021 / Janet Raye / Free Speech Fights, Hellraisers Journal

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**On to Aberdeen! On to victory!
Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!
-Spokane Industrial Worker
November 30, 1911**

Hellraisers Journal – Sunday December 10, 1911

"FREE SPEECH must be established in Aberdeen! ON TO ABERDEEN!!"

From the Spokane *Industrial Worker* of December 7, 1911:



We will now sing that touching hymn entitled
"Throw a Little Dough Upon the Drum."

ABERDEEN FULL OF THUGS

A LULL IN THE STORM

-700 AUTHORIZED THUGS TO STOP

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

-MAYOR PARKS THREATENS TO MURDER.

ABERDEEN, Wash., Dec. 1.-Aberdeen is quiet after the storm. The I. W. W.'s have left, and can't come back now if they want to. In fact, they did petition the mayor for permission to return peaceably, and were refused. So say the citizens.

Sympathizers with the organization, however, say guardedly that the "woods are full" of I. W. W.'s waiting for the proper time to strike a second blow against the town which, they say, has denied them the right of free speech.

The bustling lumber town is in a hubbub of excitement. The recent "invasion" is the topic of conversation on every street corner. Every one is aroused. "Aberdeen for law and order," is the motto.

The 700 citizen police are still in authority and have their hickory ax handles and stout wagon wheel spokes handy in case they are needed again. The town is unnaturally quiet-like the calm before a storm. Serious men realize that the war may not yet be ended, and are waiting.

When the first skirmish took place five men mounted soap boxes on prominent street corners and demanded the right to preach their doctrine wherever they pleased. They were arrested. The next night 150 men wearing red tags made a demonstration before the city jail in favor of their imprisoned comrades. City officials ordered out the fire department and the crowd of I. W. W.'s and many bystanders were soaked with water. Several arrests followed. Friday Mayor Parks gave the oath to 500 special police. The number has since been swelled to 700. The I. W. W.'s attempted to hold a meeting in the Empire theater and the hardest struggle of the week took place. Citizen police patrolled all streets in squads and arrested every man they could find wearing the red tag of the I. W. W.'s. The meeting was dispersed.

Friday at midnight came the sensational "silent cure." Thirty of the ringleaders under arrest were taken to the eastern edge of the town by a strong guard of citizens. They were stationed several feet apart and not allowed to talk.

"Don't hurry, boys; the tar isn't hot yet," was the only word spoken by the Vigilance committee. The prisoners had no knowledge of their fate. In the band were men who have for years been citizens of Aberdeen. They were drummed out of town for a difference of opinion with their fellows in authority.

Each man was given two loaves of bread and told to move, and keep moving. "God be with you if you keep going; God help you if you come back," was the final word as the party moved across the bridge.

The men have left the country. It is said they are gathering in Seattle, where a meeting will be held in February to discuss further plans for securing their rights.

"We surprised them at their own game," said Mayor Parks. "They thought we would arrest them and throw them in jail, at a great expense to the town. We arranged the citizen police plan of getting rid of them, and I think it was a wise move. I hardly think they will return."

"If the I. W. W.'s come back we have little jail room for them, but plenty of rope. Their diet will be bread and water, with lots of water," are the two expressions frequently heard.

"Can the I. W. W.'s come back?" That is the interesting question at Aberdeen right now.-
Spokane Press.

ON THE ROAD TO ABERDEEN.

Pasco, Nov. 29, 1911

You ought to have seen the bunch that pulled out of Spokane last night. We were 40 strong and all in one car. We were ordered to unload by Mr. Brakeman, but we told him to come in and unload us. Well we were met here by a posse and they were armed to the teeth, two guns apiece and they did their best to "start something." They turned us back and told us to get off the right-of-way. I cut across lots and beat them back to town. More new later.

DEV.

SOURCES & IMAGES

Quote re Aberdeen WA FSF, IW Nov 30, 1911

<https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/industrialworker/iw/v3n36-w140-nov-30-1911-IW.pdf>

Industrial Worker

(Spokane, Washington)

-Dec 7, 1911

<https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/industrialworker/iw/v3n37-w141-dec-07-1911-IW.pdf>

See also:

Tag: Aberdeen WA Free Speech Fight 1911-1912

<https://weneverforget.org/tag/aberdeen-wa-free-speech-fight-1911-1912/>

Hellraisers Journal: How the Sacred Constitution Is Upheld Against Fellow Workers in Aberdeen, Washington

30th December 2021 / Janet Raye / Free Speech Fights, Hellraisers Journal

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**On to Aberdeen! On to victory!
Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!
-Spokane Industrial Worker
November 30, 1911**

Hellraisers Journal – Saturday December 30, 1911

Aberdeen, Washington – The Constitution as Upheld for Fellow Workers

From the *Spokane Industrial Worker* of December 28, 1911:



WAKE UP GOVERNOR HAY.

Tacoma, Wash, Dec. 17, 1911.

Honorable Marion E. Hay,
Governor of the State of Washington,
Olympia, Wash.

Sir:-

We, the undersigned, do hereby respectfully call your attention to the lawlessness which, as we are informed, now exists and for some time past existed in **Aberdeen, Chehalis county**, in this state.

We herewith enclose affidavits to show that workingmen who have been charged with no crime whatever have been compelled to leave said city by an irresponsible mob of brutal men armed with guns and clubs-a proceeding for which we are advised, there is no authority in law and which, we submit, is to a marked degree, against the peace and dignity of our state.

Our laws, as we are informed, provide that persons charged with a crime may be arrested and after being found guilty in the manner prescribed by law, may be punished. Such punishments, we are informed, may be fine, imprisonment, the infliction of death penalty upon the offender, and in certain cases the performance of an operation to prevent procreation.

There is no law providing that persons, guilty or innocent, desirable or undesirable may be run out of town.

Trusting that you may, in the exercise of your authority as chief executive of our state, see your way clear to suppress all lawlessness and assuring you of our ability and willingness to furnish much or evidence of the character herewith enclosed, we beg to remain, respectfully yours,

ED GILBERT.
A. J. AMOLSCH.
MANS BECKER.

[Emphasis added.]

WHERE DID YOU GET THAT MILLION?

(By T. Alex. Cairns).

Where did you get that million, sir?
Out of the life blood of your slaves,
Out of a woman's scalding tears,
Out of the children's trembling fears,
Out of the crimson crime of knaves—
That's where you got that million!

Where did you get that million, sir?
Out of the bartered shame of the street.
Out of the poverty grim as despair,
Out of the vagabond everywhere,
Out of the cold and shoeless feet,—
That's where you got that million!

Where did you get that million, sir?
Out of the fraud of the sable gown,
Out of the loot of the halls of State,
Out of the deception and greed and hate,
Out of the cry of the millions down,—
That's where you got that million!

SOURCES & IMAGES

Quote re Aberdeen WA FSF, IW Nov 30, 1911

<https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/industrialworker/iw/v3n36-w140-nov-30-1911-IW.pdf>

Industrial Worker

(Spokane, Washington)

-Dec 28, 1911

<https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/industrialworker/iw/v3n40-w144-dec-28-1911-IW.pdf>

See also:

Tag: Aberdeen WA Free Speech Fight 1911-1912

<https://weneverforget.org/tag/aberdeen-wa-free-speech-fight-1911-1912/>

Hellraisers Journal: From the Spokane Industrial Worker: "To Aberdeen or Bust" IWW Men Leaving for Free Speech Fight

1st December 2021 / Janet Raye / Free Speech Fights, Hellraisers Journal

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**On to Aberdeen! On to victory!
Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!
-Spokane Industrial Worker
November 30, 1911**

Hellraisers Journal – Friday December 1, 1911

L. W. W. Free Speech Fight On in Aberdeen, Washington

From the Spokane *Industrial Worker* of November 30, 1911:

TO ABERDEEN OR BUST

**WILL FIGHT FOR. FREE SPEECH IN
ABERDEEN—MEN GETTING READY
TO LEAVE—SOME MEMBERS
IN JAIL.**

The Spokane local of the Industrial Workers of the World is to rush 100 of its members to Aberdeen, Wash., to fill the jails of that town. They will help in a street speaking agitation now being waged there.

A telegram from Aberdeen Wednesday to the local secretary, W. A. Douglass, stated the fight was on and urged that all available men in Spokane start immediately. The communication stated the organizer and secretary of the Aberdeen local were already in jail for street speaking.

Reports from Portland, Ore., tell of an outbreak of "soap box orators" in that city. In conference Wednesday the chief of police and Commissioner Coffey decided to jail all speakers creating street demonstrations. The Spokane local says men will be rushed to the Rose city immediately, if necessary. -Spokane "Chronicle."

The Aberdeen, Washington, Free Speech Fight of 1911-1912

BY CHARLES PIERCE LEWARNE

By 1911 the free-speech fight was a characteristic tactic of the Industrial Workers of the World in western states. The object was to organize migrant laborers into "One Big Union," using the rhetoric of civil libertarianism. Customarily IWW (Wobbly) organizers occupied city street corners near hiring halls to harangue passers-by, distribute literature, and recruit members, thus goading frightened authorities to limit or prohibit speaking. As violators were arrested, they were quickly replaced, flooding jails and court calendars. If the city fathers reversed themselves and permitted street speaking and union organizing, the IWW gained new glory among local workers. Free-speech fights were conducted in at least seventeen western cities between 1909 and 1916. One of the lesser known occurred in the lumber town of Aberdeen, Washington, in the late fall and early winter of 1911-12.¹

Aberdeen and Hoquiam are sister cities that stretch along the eastern shore of Grays Harbor between the Hoquiam and Chehalis rivers. The ocean harbor, with wide rivers flowing from foothills heavy with fir, hemlock, cedar, and spruce, provided a natural site for lumber industries. Small sawmills were built as early as the 1850s, and a commercial mill was built a few miles up the Chehalis River in 1881. During the same year, George H. Emerson's mill at Hoquiam initiated large-scale commercial industry on the harbor itself. By 1885 three mills were operating in Aberdeen. A. J. West built at the confluence of the Wishkah and Chehalis rivers in 1883; two years later John M. Weatherwax erected what

was to become the Anderson-Middleton Mill, and Peter M. Emery, Gilbert F. Mack, and A. D. Wood started the American Mill.

Related industries also appeared. Logging camps dotted the hillsides. Alexander and Robert Polson expanded a logging railroad into the largest logging and milling operation on the harbor. Logging blocks and mill machinery from the Lamb Machine Company were sold world-wide, and Grays Harbor shipyards turned out vessels to transport the finished lumber. Hastened by California demands, by a tax structure that encouraged cutting, and by a reckless belief that their forests would not give out, Grays Harbor industrialists felled the timber and turned it into lumber.²

Lusty brawling towns developed around these industries. Of Aberdeen's 13,660 permanent residents, nearly two-thirds were men, more than a

¹ Most accounts of the IWW discuss the nature of the free-speech fight. See, for example, Melvin Dubinsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago, 1969), 173-97, and an early statement in Paul F. Brinkman, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism* (1919), 2nd ed. (New York, 1957), 262-68, 362. For a contemporary account from the Pacific Northwest, see the editorial, "Free Speech Fights," *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), March 21, 1912. There has been no thorough study of the Aberdeen fight, but Philip S. Foner has a short account in *History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Vol. 6, Industrial Workers of the World, 1903-1917* (New York, 1965), 191-94. Robert L. Tyler treats the fight as if it had ended in November 1911 instead of the following January. See his *Rebels of the Woods: The I.W.W. in the Pacific Northwest* (Eugene, 1967), 40-43. A committee report by the IWW participants was prepared by C. E. Payne, W. L. Fisher, and J. T. McCarthy, "History of the Aberdeen Free Speech Fight," and published in *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Feb. 1, 1912 (hereafter cited Payne et al., "History").

² Ellis Lucin, *Head Rig: Story of the West Coast Lumber Industry* (Portland, 1965), 132-41; "Millions Invested in Harbor Lumber and Logging Industries," *Aberdeen World*, May 26, 1911; Herbert Hunt and Floyd C. Kaylor, *Washington West of the Cascades: Historical and Descriptive, the Explorers, the Indians, the Pioneers, the Moderns* (Chicago, 1917), 11, 63-64, 92, 262-66.

CHARLES PIERCE LEWARNE teaches history at Mendocino High School in the Edmonds School District. His book, *Utopias on Puget Sound, 1883-1913*, will be published this spring. The present paper was read at the Pacific Northwest Labor History Conference held in Portland, May 3-4, 1974.

thousand were Finnish-born, and many were illiterate. Hundreds of men invaded the harbor town from the lumber camps on weekends and holidays. Saloons lined the streets, and a red-light district flourished. Fighting and violence were commonplace, accentuated by the bizarre crimes of Billy Gohl, who posed as a Sailors' Union agent to fleece and kill itinerant workers, dumping the remains in nearby waters. During one winter the bodies of forty-four of Gohl's victims turned up in the Wishkah.³

The lumberjacks were picturesque with their brown and earthy profanity, their "tin pants," wide suspenders, red flannel underwear, and blanket rolls or "bindles." But they were an insecure disheartened lot; 90 percent were unmarried drifters who moved from camp to camp. Although some employers boasted of a paternal interest in their men, the camps were crowded and vermin-infested places which offered few amenities, little recreation, and meager social contacts. A lack of safety precautions and adequate medical care plagued the men. Hospital insurance plans that cut into a man's earnings strengthened his subservience to the company and his inability to improve his lot. Urban employers fared better but only to a degree.⁴

Salaries varied in the Northwest lumber industry. Laborers' wages in Washington tended to rise steadily, although there had been a decline from an average of 21.08 cents an hour in 1910 to 20.83 cents in 1911. Except in shingle mills, salaries were determined by individual bargaining before 1918, and the employer held the advantage.⁵

Such conditions rendered the loggers and lumber workers of western Washington suitable targets for union organizing. About 1890, shingle mill workers formed the short-lived West Coast Shingle Weavers' Union. Even after it died, new locals received charters from the American Federation of Labor, and in 1903 these united to create the International Shingle Weavers' Union of America, which soon had thirteen hundred members. An Aberdeen local was represented at the founding convention, which was held in Everett; Hoquiam also had a chapter, but sent no delegates. Other attempts to organize sawmill workers and loggers before 1913 met with little success.⁶

The IWW made no serious inroads into the Northwest lumber industry until several years after the union's founding in 1905. A Portland mill strike in 1907 spurred activities. By the spring of 1910, there were a dozen locals in Washington, mainly in Seattle and Spokane, representing several industries. There had been minor

IWW interest on Grays Harbor in 1907, but no major organizing effort occurred until January 31, 1910, when Mixed Local No. 354 was formed in Aberdeen. Soon the local was holding regular meetings in a hall at Wishkah and E streets and sending notices and news reports to the *Industrial Worker*, the official IWW newspaper which was then published in Seattle.⁷

Local No. 354 reported that poor economic conditions and a shingle weavers' strike had closed several Grays Harbor shingle mills. In the lumber mills most of the workers received less than \$2.00 a day, and some men worked as many as twelve and a half hours in a shift. Occasionally, Local No. 354 reported on specific logging camps:

Larkin's Logging Co.

Wages \$2.50 to \$6.00 per day. Grub is free. Sleep in bunk houses in which men are packed like sardines. Work 11 hours per day. Hospital fee 75¢ per month. Board \$5.25 per week. Run a slave driver. Once in a while men are hired from employment stock. Whenever men are needed a person can hear out at the company's office in Aberdeen. I.W.W. men can work here. Camp is two and one-half miles from Aberdeen. Pay at any time.⁸

Yet a disappointingly large number of workers accepted low wages and long hours. "Talk industrialism to some . . ." complained an organizer, "and they spring the old gag of 'identity of interest' between master and worker."⁹

In the summer of 1910, a concerted effort was under way to organize Pacific Northwest lumber workers, the impetus coming from Loggers and Lumberworkers Local Union No. 432 in Seattle. Fred W. Hockwood, a veteran organizer and long prominent in IWW activities, came west to help, and when he was appointed editor of the *Industrial Worker* in November 1910, he began

³ Vernon Jensen, *Lumber and Labor* (New York, 1945), 22-23, 104-105; *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Abstract of the Census, with Supplements for Washington* (Washington, D.C., 1913), 75, 395, 602; Lucia, *Head Rig*, 37-38, 136-40; Herbert Landy, "At Aberdeen . . . The Men Keep Their Mouths Shut," *Portland Oregonian*, Feb. 11, 1940, magazine section, 7.

⁴ Jensen, *Lumber and Labor*, 22-23, 104-105; Foster, *Industrial Workers of the World*, 214-18; Lucia, *Head Rig*, 136.

⁵ Claire R. Howard, *Industrial Relations in the West Coast Lumber Industry*, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 345 (Washington, D.C., 1932), 68.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 93-98.

⁷ Joyce L. Kocoshuk, ed., *Rebel Forces: An I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor, 1960), 251; Foster, *Industrial Workers of the World*, 68, 219-22; *Industrial Worker* (Seattle), April 2, 30, May 14, 1910; Howard, *Industrial Relations*, 61. A second local enrolled workers of various trades, usually on a temporary measure until the trades had sufficient membership to form their own unions. Brimenden, *The I.W.W.*, 164-62.

to emphatic news of local union and of agitation.¹⁰

The following spring the Seattle local noted that there was interest in organizing lumber workers at Grays Harbor, and it issued a special "invitation" to the region's loggers. The *Industrial Worker* reported:

At the present time we have a number of our members working in the camps around there who will no doubt transfer into the new local and by the help of the camp delegates and the workers in the sawmills there is no reason why we should not have one of the strongest and largest unions in the country.¹¹

In April, W. I. Fisher, a union organizer, set up headquarters in the Kendall Hotel in Aberdeen. On July 24 Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 354 was chartered with twenty-four members and Fred H. Allison as temporary secretary. William D. Haywood aroused interest when he visited the harbor during the month.¹²

The organizers started their street-speaking efforts in Aberdeen at a downtown location close to the Sailors' Union Hall, where off-duty laborers passed and congregated. The favored spot was also near the saloon of City Councilman John O'Hare. The council, alarmed by a group that they considered disruptive at best and anarchistic at worst, forbade street speaking in the locality. For the time being, the IWW complied.¹³

The first real encounter between the city officials and the Wobblies occurred during mid-summer 1911, when seven ships of the Pacific Torpedo Fleet visited Grays Harbor. William A. Thorn, one of the principal IWW organizers in Aberdeen and Hoquiam, launched into a typical Wobbly harangue at the corner of Heron and G streets. Sailors from the visiting vessels began to shout protests against his attacks on the govern-

ment, and confusion mounted. According to the first reports, Thorn refused a policeman's request to cease his verbal attacks, and the angered officer threatened to arrest him. Thorn's supporters in the increasingly restless crowd came to his aid, but when he was arrested for disturbing the peace, they followed him quietly to the police station. The police admitted that Thorn's friends had prevented a riot by not interfering, but nevertheless they urged further restrictions on street speaking. A jury later acquitted Thorn and concluded that he had tried to bring peace in an argument involving his associate Allison. The incident suggested to the Wobblies that they had the sympathies of the town's citizens. It also aroused officials to seek further legislation.¹⁴

On August 2 the city council adopted Ordinance No. 1684 which outlawed street speaking downtown—except within a two-block area bordered by I and Broadway streets between River and Hume—and provided for a fine of up to \$100 for violation. The ordinance clearly was aimed at the IWW, and one councilman hinted that it would not be enforced against Salvation Army missionaries. Aberdeen Socialists joined the IWW protests, calling the law a "grave mistake . . . depriving us of the rights of American citizens." Councilman R. J. Hils, who was sometimes friendly to the radicals, moved to reconsider, but his efforts were blocked by O'Hare's motion to adjourn the meeting. The Wobblies sought repeal of the ordinance and threatened to speak wherever they chose. Citing their constitutional rights of speech and assembly, they complained that the designated areas were not frequented by workers. On Hils's motion the matter was returned to the street committee of the council.¹⁵

Editorials in the *Aberdeen World* reflected the stand of civic leaders. Streets belonged to the citizens, and officials were obliged to ensure peaceful passage of traffic. The constitutional defense of the Wobblies was mocked:

What does the Constitution mean to these people? Mighty little, if anything. They preach a doctrine that would overthrow the constitution. They meet at the officers who have office under the constitution. They defy law and scorn at the courts. The constitution means nothing to them. They would live outside it.¹⁶

City government was advised to assert its rights "in a way that cannot be mistaken."¹⁷

On October 11 the council reconsidered its ordinance. Thorn attended the meeting, but the council refused to hear him—the officials shortened the meeting so that they could view a touring dance troupe at the Grand Theater.

¹⁰ *Industrial Worker* (Seattle), March 29, 1910.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1910.

¹² *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), June 11, 1910; James R. Ford, "The Industrial Worker in the Northwest, 1909-1911: A Study of Community-Newspaper Interaction," M.A. thesis (University of Washington, 1969), 85. On Haywood, see Dobash, *We Shall Be 40*, 112-66, 129, 136, 140, 182.

¹³ *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), April 6, 1911.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 27, July 20, Aug. 17, Nov. 16, 1911; *Aberdeen World*, May 24, 1911. The revision of the number 354 might suggest that the older mined local was converted to the lumber workers local.

¹⁵ Payne et al., "History."

¹⁶ *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Aug. 8, 1911; *Aberdeen World*, July 15, 18, 1911.

¹⁷ Payne et al., "History"; *Aberdeen World*, Aug. 3, 24, Oct. 8, 1911 (quotation in issue of Aug. 20). Ordinance No. 1684 was printed in the *Grays Harbor Post* (Aberdeen), Aug. 5, 1911.

¹⁸ *Aberdeen World*, Oct. 6, 1911.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Thorn was pursuing his complaint with Mayor James W. Parks in the City Hall lobby, when he was suddenly felled by a right "haymaker" from Councilman John Myles, a former police officer. It was the first "violence" of the campaign.¹⁶

Wobbly leaders determined to test both the ordinance and their own strength. Officers at national headquarters wired to Mayor Parks that they "would make grass grow in the streets" if the ordinance was not repealed. Thorn called for sympathizers to come to Aberdeen for a free-speech fight; then he suddenly retracted his request, saying that matters had been settled satisfactorily. The calm was brief. Activity resumed when IWW organizer James M. Train arrived early in November. One hundred and twenty men were reported to be available for a major demonstration, and the Wobblies met to plan their action.¹⁷

On November 21 Thorn took his post to speak at the illegal intersection of H and Heron streets. He was arrested immediately and replaced by Train, "who began to belabor the National administration, the local administration, the mill owners, the business folk, the union officials and the local police." Within half an hour, both Thorn and Train were in jail. They demanded jury trials and were released on bail, but three more speakers were arrested the next day.¹⁸

At this point the police altered their tactics. When W. I. Fisher—dubbed "Windy" by the business leaders—spoke outside the prescribed block limits for more than an hour, Police Chief Louis D. Templeman gave orders not to silence or arrest him. Frustrated, Fisher proposed that his listeners and the other speakers march to City Hall, where the council was in session. As soon as Train set up his soapbox outside the municipal offices and began to speak, he was arrested. Next the fire department unleashed hoses on the assembled crowd, estimated at three thousand including some women and children. Agitators and spectators endured a "water cure" for thirty minutes. The Wobblies then turned away, publicly rejoicing that such treatment had aroused curiosity and support. Thousands of red free-speech flags, the identifying symbol, were sold during the excitement. Fisher, who was speaking a block away, reiterated that the fight was on, and he predicted that Wobblies would come to Aberdeen by the thousands.¹⁹

The next morning Police Judge W. H. Tucker went to the IWW hall and proposed a truce. Conceding that he could not convene jury trials

before November 27, he promised to release the three men in custody if street speaking would be curtailed until after the trial. The IWW agreed, and the men were released. Wobblies sensed a delaying tactic that would allow civic leaders to prepare for further encounters. Despite the truce, the IWW continued to make preparations for an indoor mass meeting, scheduled for that evening at the Empire Theater.²⁰

At noon the executive committee of the chamber of commerce met with Mayor Parks in the Washington Hotel and resolved to help city officials resist the Wobblies. A larger meeting of citizens was called for the same afternoon.²¹ Ben Weatherwax, a member of a prominent Grays Harbor family, recounted in later years:

And they came. The clerks and the doctors, the hutchins and the lawyers; the mill operators and most of their crewmen. The little downtown town was practically closed up when 3 o'clock rolled around—500 of them packed the Ellis Temple and hundreds more overflowed into the streets.²²

Mayor Parks and other officials described the situation and asked for the active support of "the business men and good citizens generally." It was agreed that all saloons would close at six o'clock, citizens would patrol the roads, small groups of persons would be dispersed, and "suspicious characters" would be arrested.²³

Then the mayor called for volunteers to be sworn in as special police officers for the duration of the emergency. Every man in the hall stood up. For the moment the political differences, the social, economic and race walls that had separated the citizens of the lumber town into brackets and cliques, class and strain, dropped away.²⁴

After the men were sworn in, they were divided into squads, each squad under a captain and each assigned to patrol a selected part of the city. Special attention was accorded the downtown area, the highways, and the railroad station. When Wobblies arrived for their meeting,

¹⁶ Aberdeen World, Oct. 12, 1911; Ben Weatherwax, "Hometown Scrapbook—No. 71—Wobblies," radio script for Station KBLW, Aberdeen, recorded in the 1930s, in the possession of the Washington State Historical Society.

¹⁷ Aberdeen World, Nov. 24, 1911; Industrial Worker (Spokane), Nov. 2, 23, 1911; Payne et al., "History."

¹⁸ Weatherwax radio script; Aberdeen World, Nov. 22, 1911; Payne et al., "History."

¹⁹ Aberdeen World, Nov. 24, 1911; Industrial Worker (Spokane), Nov. 30, 1911; Weatherwax radio script.

²⁰ Industrial Worker (Spokane), Dec. 14, 1911.

²¹ Aberdeen World, Nov. 24, 1911.

²² Weatherwax radio script.

²³ Aberdeen World, Nov. 24, 1911.

²⁴ Weatherwax radio script.

²⁵ Industrial Worker (Spokane), Dec. 14, 1911; Payne et al., "History."

they found the Empire Theater roped off and a hundred "citizen police" blocking the entrance. Electric light wires had been cut. Suddenly a troop of vigilante police "came charging down the street," waving hickory ax handles, and arresting anyone with a red flag.²⁷

Appropriately, the first arrest was made by William J. Patterson, a banker whom the Wobblies considered to be the citizens' singleader, and by Dudley G. Allen, secretary of the chamber of commerce. Their prisoner, according to the *World*, marched to jail "stolidly," setting a pattern of nonresistance. Other prisoners were booked by Mayor Parks and by John C. Hogan, a former city attorney who, the Wobblies emphasized, lacked any current civic position of authority. Several men were released after they denied connections with the IWW, even though they had been in the area and wore the red flag, but many were locked up. From six o'clock until midnight, police were busy with the roundup.²⁸

Citizen police arrested some forty men including all of the local IWW leaders. Several deputies took a turn up East Heron Street to IWW headquarters above the Butte Cafe. Finding it deserted, they confiscated papers, records, and about \$30.00 worth of literature, and then they closed the hall. Just after eleven o'clock, the leaders recalled all the troops to City Hall to decide the fate of the prisoners. After considering several alternatives, one of which was to take the men out of town by train, they settled upon "the simple expedient of escorting the men to the city limits under the guard of the citizen police and there [selling them] 'to beat it.'" It would be the first mass deportation of Wobblies by citizens of an embattled town.²⁹

About midnight the citizen police converged upon the unsuspecting Wobblies in their cells and took them out. Two guards to a prisoner, the deputies marched the men through Aberdeen in the drenching rain. Little was said, except for

occasional threats to tar and feather or horsewhip the IWW leaders. The march halted near the base of Dabney Hill at the eastern edge of the town. In the glare of automobile headlights, the prisoners were lined up several feet apart, and each was given two loaves of bread. Some refused the bread; others "like true victors in the strife . . . threw this dirty dole into the gutter." Mayor Parks mounted an improvised platform and warned the men never to return.³⁰ L. G. Hamburger, former president of the chamber of commerce, caught the spirit of the occasion:

What we have done we did by taking the law in our own hands. You men go and never return. God bless you if you remain away, but God help you if you ever return.³¹

With this benediction the men were left to themselves. Nearby they encountered about fifty sympathizers waiting to come into Aberdeen to enter the fight. Instead, the groups combined and trudged eleven miles east to Montesano, the county seat, where they set up temporary headquarters and pondered what to do.³²

The citizens of Aberdeen were confident that they had achieved a major victory by deporting instead of jailing the Wobblies. Mayor Parks boasted:

"We surprised them at their own game. . . . They thought we would arrest them and throw them in jail, at a great expense to the town. We arranged the citizen police plan of getting rid of them, and I think it was a wise move. I hardly think they will return."³³

Chief Templeman added that an "invading band" of twenty-eight Wobblies from British Columbia and other points had been routed when Sheriff Ed Payne removed them from trains at Montesano. A "train patrol" made up of regular police and volunteers continued to watch transportation routes.³⁴

Meanwhile, the mayor requested nearby towns to keep the exiles moving on out of the county, and the next day he traveled east to Elma to consolidate efforts with his fellow mayors. When he passed through Montesano, IWW leaders obtained a conference with him and asked to negotiate with the citizens' committee. The mayor granted safe conduct for a delegation of five men to return briefly to Aberdeen, but the emissaries were kept waiting outside the office of the police chief while the committee debated whether to receive them. One lumberman reportedly proclaimed: "there is not room enough for the I.W.W. and the business men in Aberdeen, and before I will submit to see them come back I will spend my last cent." The five men were finally informed by E. C. Miller, president of the

²⁷ *Aberdeen World*, Nov. 25, 1911; *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Dec. 14, 1911; Payne et al., "History."

²⁸ *Aberdeen World*, Nov. 25, 27, 1911 (quotation in issue of Nov. 25); *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Dec. 14, 1911; Payne et al., "History"; Foster, *Industrial Workers of the World*, 191; *Grey's Harbor Washingtonian* (Floquiam), Nov. 25, 1911.

²⁹ *Aberdeen World*, Nov. 25, 1911; *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 26, 1911; Weatherman radio script; *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Dec. 14, 1911.

³⁰ Payne et al., "History."

³¹ *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Nov. 30, 1911; Payne et al., "History."

³² *Spokane Press*, n.d., article reprinted in *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Dec. 7, 1911.

³³ *Aberdeen World*, Nov. 25, 1911; Payne et al., "History"; Weatherman radio script.

chamber of commerce, that the committee would not hear them, and they were given fares back to Montesano. Although some citizens feared that the refusal might mean "war," the committee remained adamant in their decision.²⁵

Quiet prevailed on the harbor for a time, but civic leaders vowed that they would not be caught napping. They maintained organized divisions that patrolled regular beats. More vigilantes were sworn in, and an emergency alarm system was devised. Aberdeen, "the best little city on the map," crossed over its success and accepted congratulations from elsewhere. Yet there was an attitude of watchful waiting. This was neatly illustrated by a mill manager in the neighboring town of Cosmopolis who informed his superior that labor was quiet on the harbor and that the newspapers had exaggerated the trouble; he neglected to add, however, that he was constructing a high protective fence around the plant.²⁶

During December small groups of Wobblies drifted in and out of Aberdeen to conduct organizational and propaganda work and to assess the climate of opinion. Several who straggled back only a few hours after they had been removed were quickly put out again and warned that next time they would "be turned over to the citizens as mass meetings and be judged." Nevertheless, five determined Wobbly leaders returned to IWW headquarters on December 6. Although they caused no disturbances, they were arrested and driven to the edge of town at midnight. Vigilantes blindfolded, kicked, and beat the Wobblies, knocking teeth out of one, then left their bloodied victim along the muddy roadside. This time the IWW made propaganda of the incident by offering \$5,000 for information about the "business men (stagers)." Apparently, the reward was never paid, but the publicity led to the identification of the driver of the car—Jimmy Barton who, according to the *Industrial Worker*, was rebuked before the mayor, then plied with liquor, and sent off to California by his former accomplices.²⁷

December was thus a month of impasse. The IWW established fight headquarters in Tacoma, distant enough to allow fund raising and publicity work without harassment. The campaign brought in \$970.68. Most of the donations came in amounts of less than \$5.00 from individuals and from IWW locals in the West and in a few mid-western cities. The Western Federation of Miners contributed handsomely; the largest single contribution, \$258, came from the Butte local. Vincent

St. John, national IWW secretary-treasurer, sent \$56.00 from headquarters; this sum included one \$50.00 contribution. The relatively small amount from the national office might suggest that the IWW leadership took only a halfhearted interest in the Aberdeen affair; yet it was consistent with the policy of leaving the financing and control of free-speech fights in local hands.²⁸

A little more than half of the funds collected were used in Aberdeen, chiefly to aid the men who had to leave town or who were in jail or in camps following their eviction. A \$2.98 expenditure labeled "Repairing Eyeglasses R. L. Dennis" implies that the Wobblies took care of their own. Tacoma headquarters spent \$442, mostly in wages, supplies, printing, and postage; about \$120 was used to aid the men on the road to and from Aberdeen. All in all, the expenses of the fight were met. When accounts were cleared in late January, \$16.85 remained for the Aberdeen local.²⁹

The listed expenditures attest to the IWW's preference for propaganda and organizational efforts rather than for the costly legal services that sometimes drained similar ventures and, some Wobblies thought, played into the hands of the employer class. Both Fisher and Bruce Rogers, a Seattle Wobbly who was active in regional IWW work, had been through the Spokane free-speech fight, and they believed that the great legal costs had brought incommensurate gain. In Aberdeen they concentrated on distributing leaflets to workers' homes, including four thousand issues each of two separate statements: "not one cent was spent for lawyers, fines or court procedures," Fisher later recalled.³⁰

During the month of December, the Wobblies distributed handbills throughout the West, and the *Industrial Worker* published articles urging followers to come to Aberdeen. Five hundred

²⁵ *Aberdeen World*, Nov. 27, 1911; *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 27, 1911; Payne et al., "History." The Weatherman radio script, written forty years after the free-speech fight, outlines the IWW delegation with two local Socialists who were greeted on audience and were applauded by the committee when they denied any IWW connections, but nevertheless were refused speaking privileges.

²⁶ *Aberdeen World*, Nov. 21, 22, 23, 1911; Weatherman radio script; Neil Cheney (Cosmopolis to Edwin G. Ames [Seattle], Nov. 29, 1911, Edwin G. Ames Papers, Manuscripts Division, University of Washington Libraries).

²⁷ *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Dec. 14, 21, 1911, Jan. 4, 11, 1912; Payne et al., "History."

²⁸ Payne et al., "History"; "Auditing Committee Report of the Free Speech Funds, Aberdeen, Wash.," published in *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Feb. 8, 1912; *Broadsides, The I.W.W.*, 265.

²⁹ "Auditing Committee Report."

men were reported to be en route from Saint Louis. Spokane enthusiastically announced that a hundred men were leaving to fill the Aberdeen jails; forty of these were put off a freight train at Pasco. That some Wobblies did come is clear from events in January, but the large numbers that might have produced a major free-speech fight in the proportions of the fights in Spokane, Fresno, and San Diego never materialized. Rumors of expected borders served principally to bolster the morale of the participants and to alarm the Aberdeen citizenry.⁴¹

The *Industrial Worker* continued its full propaganda barrage. For several weeks Aberdeen monopolized the front page with news stories, slogans, cartoons, and pleas for men and money. Clayton E. Payne, a journalist who was popularly known as "Stumpy" because he had once owned a stump ranch of unproductive logged-off land, was dispatched to Aberdeen to cover the events and to send regular reports. A dedicated Wobbly from the founding convention, which he attended, until his death almost sixty years later, Payne was jailed during the final days of the Aberdeen fight. Later he wrote a history of the affair before moving on to cover the fight brewing in San Diego.⁴²

The IWW had few organized supporters except for local Socialists who also sought street-speaking privileges. Civic leaders portrayed the Socialists as a legitimate political group in contrast to the revolutionary and violent IWW, and the *Aberdeen World* tried to divide the two. Socialists sometimes criticized the Wobblies as well as the city fathers, and the editor of the *New Era*, the local Socialist journal, sought to dissociate his party from the IWW. Yet Socialists conceded that many workers belonged to both groups, and

as a rule Socialists were sympathetic to the Wobblies. Early in the fall, Socialists had presented before the city council arguments that paralleled those of the IWW. At the meeting on November 26, the citizens' committee which had rebuffed the IWW delegation from Montesano allowed Socialists to speak in behalf of the Wobblies. Socialist units at Puyallup and Hoquiam adopted resolutions supporting the free-speech fight and condemning civic leaders. And as the fight moved toward a conclusion in January, local Socialists took the major steps that paved the way for Wobbly agitators to return.⁴³

The other group involved in street speaking in Aberdeen was the Salvation Army. Its street meetings were tolerated by city officials, but, as elsewhere, were a major irritant to the IWW. The Wobblies ridiculed the "Jesus Screamers" and scoffed at their tactics: "Get an old bible and paste her full of clippings from different papers and then go out and preach a sermon on them and have prayers and testimony the same as the salvation army does." The IWW protested that Ordinance No. 1084 was being broken freely by the Army. When the city council banned all street speaking in January, the Wobblies understood that Mayor Parks had requested the Army to obey the law only until the IWW crisis blew over. The *Industrial Worker* mocked the Army in cartoon and satire. At Christmas, for instance, it ridiculed the Army's requests for food donations while city fathers were claiming that times were good.⁴⁴ The function of the Salvation Army in keeping the poor content was described in a more serious vein:

As the Salvation Army is valuable in keeping a weather eye open for the stars when they get on the point of dying, they therefore become a valuable asset to the master class and this prompts us to say that it is the reason they are allowed to beat drums and yell to their heart's content about wings after death, on any old street corner they desire to, to the fellow that don't want to starve that gets in bad with the law. See the point?⁴⁵

The IWW committee complained in a letter to Governor Marion E. Hay that city officials stood by while workers were driven from town "by an irresponsible mob of brutal men armed with guns and clubs. . . ." Affidavits of two workmen who had been beaten were enclosed. The Republican governor sent an evasive reply in which he disclaimed any other evidence of wrongdoing and assumed that "things have quieted down." The *Industrial Worker* pondered how the governor would have reacted had an armed mob threatened the millowners.⁴⁶

The Wobblies had a measure of success in their

⁴¹ W. I. Fisher, "Justice Through the Courts or Through Direct Action?" *Our Big Union Monthly*, Vol. 1 (July 1919), 32.

⁴² *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Nov. 30, Dec. 7, 1911.

⁴³ C. E. Payne, "The Mainpring of Action," *Our Big Union Monthly*, Vol. 1 (March 1919), reprinted in Rensselaer, ed., *Rebel Forces*, 102-104; *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), April 18, 1912; *ibid.* (Chicago), Oct. 25, 1903.

⁴⁴ *Aberdeen World*, Aug. 24, Oct. 3, Nov. 24, 27, 1911, Jan. 11, 13, 1912; *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Dec. 14, 21, 28, 1911; Weatherman radio script. I have been unable to locate copies of the *New Era*.

⁴⁵ *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Aug. 2, Dec. 7, 14, 1911, Jan. 11, 1912 (quotation in issue of Aug. 2, 1911); Payne et al., "History."

⁴⁶ *Industrial Worker* (Spokane), Jan. 4, 1912.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1911, Jan. 11, 1912. The IWW letter to Governor Marion E. Hay was published in *Industrial Worker*, Dec. 28, 1911.