What labor history means to Seattle

### James Gregory

Professor, Department of History University of Washington

Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project



### Seattle's identity rests in no small part on its labor history

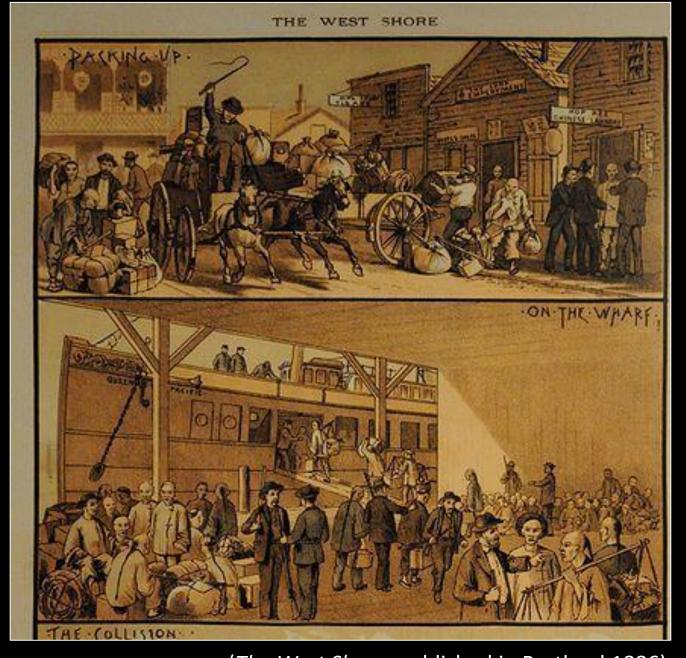


Washington State Labor Council murals depict scenes from the state's radical labor history

## Labor power for whom? Who is in and who is out?

Race, gender, immigration, and other divisions

In February 1886, white workers, many of them members of the Knights of Labor, attacked Chinese workers, destroying the city's Chinatown and forcing nearly all Chinese people to leave.



(The West Shore, published in Portland 1886)

### 1. Seattle 1900-1918: growing population, growing union power



Seattle 1903 street car strike



Founded in 1900 and owned by the Seattle Central Labor Council, the *Union Record* became a daily newspaper in 1918, selling up to 60,000 copies of each issue

### WORLD WAR I (1917-1918)





As tens of thousands faced conscription, Seattle became a shipbuilding center, with 35,000 employed by 1918

## 2. Seattle General Strike (February 1919)



Shipyard workers ask for solidarity strikes by other unions

Photo: UW Libraries

"Streetcar gongs ceased their clamor; newsboys cast their unsold papers into the street; from the doors of mill and factory, store and workshop, streamed sixty-five thousand working men. School children with fear in their hearts hurried homeward. The life stream of a great city stopped."



(from Ole Hanson, Americanism versus Bolshevism)

Front page of the *Seattle Union Record*, February 3, 1919, announcing the decision of the General Strike Committee.

### Count down to February 6



This is plain talk to the common-sense union men of Seattle.

You are being rushed pell-mell into a general strike. You are being urged to use a dangerous weapon—the general strike, which you have never used before—which, in fact, has never been used anywhere in the United States.

It isn't too late to avert the tragic results that are sure to come from its use. You men know better than any one else that public sentiment in Seattle-that is, the sentiment of the ninety per cent of the people who are not directly involved in the wage dispute of the shipworkers—is against a general

strike. You know that the general public doesn't think the situation demands the use of that drastic, disaster-breeding move. You know, too, that you cannot club public sentiment into line, and you know, too, that no strike has ever been won without the

moral support of the public.

The people know that there is a decent solution of the issue at stake. And the issue at stake is merely a better wage to the average unskilled worker in the shipyards. To a large extent public opinion is with these unskilled workers now, but public opinion will turn against them if their wage issue brings chaos and disaster upon the whole



Photo: Museum of History & Industry

### February 7: Mayor Ole Hanson threatens martial law



SEATTLE, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE STRIKE COMMITTEE:-

I hereby notify you that unless the sympathy strike is called off by eight o'clock tomorrow morning, Saturday, February 8, 1919, I will take advantage of the assistance and protection offered this city by the national government and operate all the essential enterprises. OLE HANSON, Mayor.

The Seattle Star

VOLUME 21, NO. 293

## IROOPS IN SEATTLE

### **PROCLAMATION**

To the People of Seattle:-

By virtue of the authority vested in me as Mayor, I hereby guarantee to all the people of Seattle absolute and complete protection. They should go about their daily work and business in perfect security. We have



Under This Flag The Star Will Continue to Publish

an American Newspaper

for any emergency. The federal govern ment will send any number of soldiers and sailors here to protect life and property. Dispatches from Washington to that effect w

Business men in Seattle are today de manding that the city be put under-ma law. The troops thus far here are under the handicaps of today, and despite any at may follow, The Star will continue usual military regulations.

Photo: UW Libraries

### "Nothing moved but the tide"

-Earl George



Members of the waitress' union serve meals to other strikers



Photo: Museum of History & Industry

### Feb 11: Strike ends



"Our city no longer lies prostrate.

Ninety percent of Seattle stands firm for Americanism. The other 10 percent will be driven from this community."

-Ole Hanson, February 11, 1919

### 3. 1930s-1940s: a new deal for workers

For a better informed, the Northwest.

### Che VANGUARD

Sec. 4351/2, P. L. & R. U. S. POSTAGE Paid

Seattle, Wash. Permit No. 1157

VOL. II. NO. 8

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, AUGUST, 1931

PRICE 5 CENTS

### **JOBLESS CITIZENS** ORGANIZE

### THE RAILBIRD

By HULET M. WELLS

THE BUILT THE ROAD, With

he packs his load wonders why-in Hell-he

Those words first appeared in the old Seattle Socialist. They accompanied a striking drawing of the blankets on his back to do the hard means. and heavy work of a pioneer civilialmost disappeared before the indus-trial trend symbolized by the name of Henry Ford.

THE LINES above quuted came back to the Railbird's mind when, thru the kindness of a car-owning friend, he rolled luxuriously, over the new Natches Pass highway to the opening of Suñrise Park, a public playground on the northeast salient. which the car slid almost noiselessly seemed to have changed from the road we knew, when, soaked with sleet or blistered with heat, we chopped and sawed and blasted our way

THE FORCES of so called pro-

### UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS DON'T BE FOOLED

(Editorial)

UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS, don't be fooled by President Hoover's promises that business is picking up and that there will be lots of new work under way by fall.

Remember in June 1930 he told those who wanted the Government to help the unemployed that they were "6 weeks late"; that the tide had already turned.

UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS, don't be bambozzled by the promise of politicians that they are going to make large appropriations to provide work for the unemployed this winter.

Remember that last year an appropriation of \$32,500.00 gave 75 men two months work. Of other amounts that were appropriated the contractors got most of it.

UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS, don't expect the rich through who tramped the railroads with his charity to feed you. They only give a little in proportion to their the evening of July 23 the Olympic

Remember the workers who usually make up the bulk of the zation. He is a social type that has Community Funds are either starving, on part time or on low

> UNEMPLOYED MEN AND WOMEN OF SEATTLE, don't look for a saviour. Depend apon yourselves. Organize yourselves in your own communities to demand relief through work at fair wages without the stigma of charity. Demand Federal and State unemployment insurance through taxation of super-wealth.

Get busy now before the cold rains come.

### of Mt. Rainier. The Railbird was one of the "blanket stiffs" who built he road. But the smooth grade over Ballard Mill Workers Strike **Against Starvation Wages**

Wage Cuts Reducing Income to Less Than \$10.00 A Week Brings Walk Out of Seattle Cedar Mill Hands

Unemployed In Communities Forming League To Demand Public Work From City, County Or State.

West Seattle residents, many of them home owners, who are feeling the severe pinch of unemployment are setting an example for other districts in organized action to stimulate public works at once on the part of city, state and county, so that self respecting citizens should not be forced to accept the beggarly crumbs of charity or starve.

At a spontaneous gathering in the Olympic Heights Community Club house (35th and West Kenyon) on Heights Unemployed Citizens League was formed and a resolution adopted calling upon the authorities to at once begin the development of some major for the expenditure of not less than million dollars in wages. The completion of the Marine View Drive was suggested as something to be underaken at once and the work should be done as far as possible without the intervention of contractors but by day labor allocating it fairly among all the resident unemployed who register for that purpose. (See resolution n page 2).

One of the first tasks undertaken by the League is to secure accurate statistics as to the degree of unemployment in the district. A committee under the chairmanship of J. A. tion requested gladly.

M. J. Miller, the second of the carpenter progressives to be tried has been convicted after a ridiculous trial and expelled, Alleged attendance at so-called radical meetings was stressed by the prosecution. He was also accused of responsibility for articles in the Vanguard and the Federated Press Labor's News, which he de-

In spite of the determined effort Arthur is making a house to house of the reactionary officials of the anvass with blanks to be filled out District Council of Carpenters to iland people are giving the informal legally expell five active members of Local 131 the union itself continues

Unemployed Citizens League organizes, 1931

New unions

New workplace rights

Higher standards of living for many

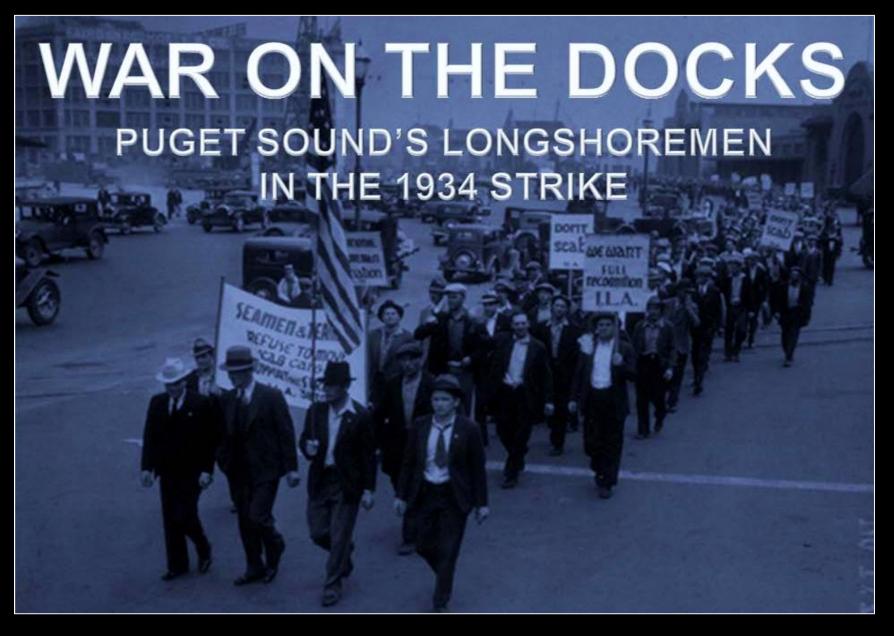
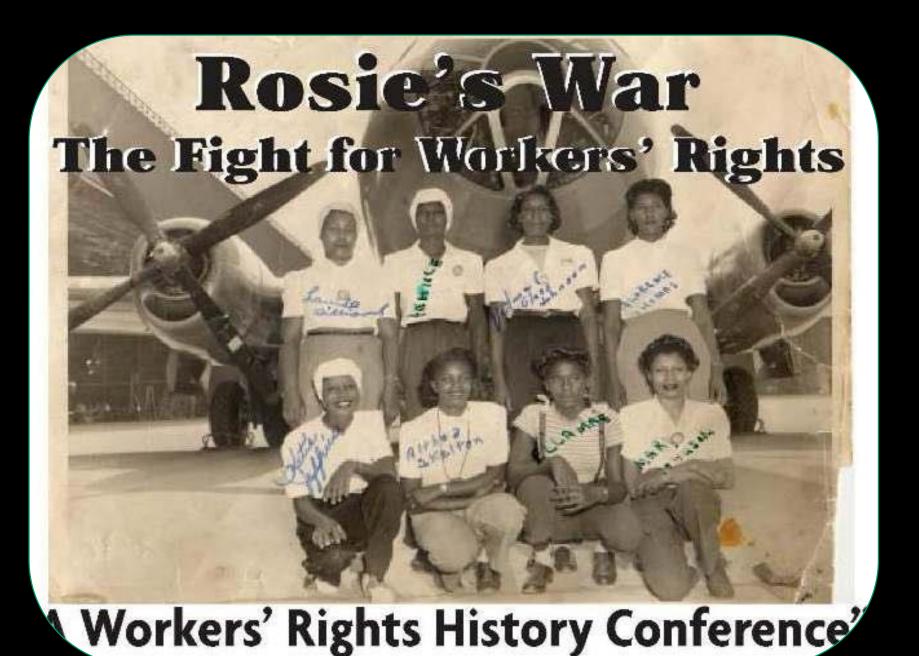


Photo: Waterfront Workers History Project



The Battle at Boeing 1941

## 4. 1960s-1970s: new labor movements

**United Construction Workers Association** 







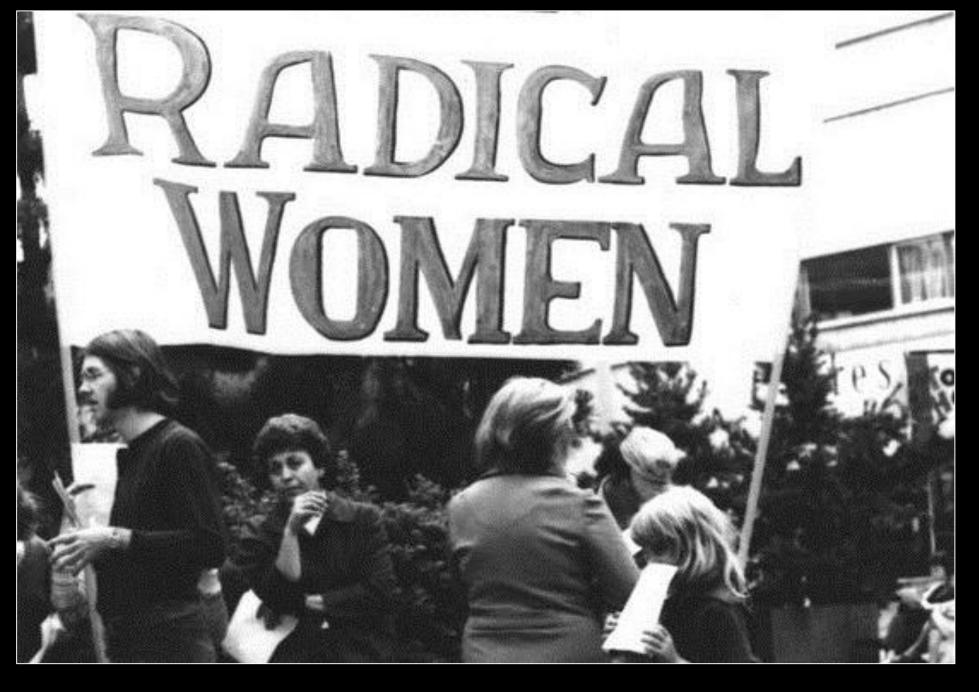


Photo: Steve Ludwig collection

### Alaska Cannery Workers Association

### COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR DOMINGO AND VIERNES



Anti-Marcos Labor Activists Murdered

## MARCOS LINKED TO SEATTLE SLAYINGS





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Photo: Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project

## 5. Battle of Seattle, November 1999



Unforgettable images



Photo: Dang Ngo/ Rainforest Action Network



Unforgettable images

Photo: Wikipedia

### Unforgettable slogan

## "Teamsters and Turtles: They're Together at Last"



Los Angeles Times (Dec 2, 1999)

Photo: WTO History Project, UW Libraries

## 6. Since 2008: new labor movement, new city



# What labor history means to Seattle

James Gregory



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Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project

### THE LABOR ARCHIVES OF WASHINGTON

Overview, Collection Highlights and Sample Clips from the LAW Oral History Collection

Conor Casey, Labor Archivist/Director Labor Archives of Washington, University of Washington

Seattle City Council: Housing, Health, Energy, and Workers' Rights Committee

May 3, 2018

### Session Structure

- Introduction/Overview
- Selected Events from Collections
- Selection of Oral History Clips



- Founded in 2010 as a collaboration between the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies and the University of Washington Libraries Special Collections
- Our Mission: To preserve and make accessible the records of working people and their unions as well as the interconnected histories of civil rights and social justice organizing, and to serve as a center for historical research, free and open to the public, ensuring that new generations have access to the rich labor history of the region.
- Community archives/Advisory board

### Collections

- Organizational Records
- Manuscripts, Research Materials of Labor Historians
- Papers of Organizers, Labor Leaders, Rank and File Members
- Photographs/AV Material
- Artifacts
- Ephemera
- Artwork
- Websites and Social Media Content
- Oral History Interviews—Legacy and Born Digital



## Selected Highlights

- United Construction
   Workers Association
- Radical Women and the Fight at City Light
- SeaTac/Seattle
   Minimum Wage
   Campaigns



### **Collections at UW Labor Archives**

- > Beverly Sims (Currently part of Tyree Scott > Papers, will soon be its own collection)
- > Cannery Workers and Farm Workers Local 7 > Records (also related collections of officers)
- > Cindy Domingo Papers
- > Silme Domingo Papers
- > Henry Andes Papers
- > Clara Fraser Papers
- > IBEW 46 Records
- > IBEW 77 Records
- > King County Labor Council Records

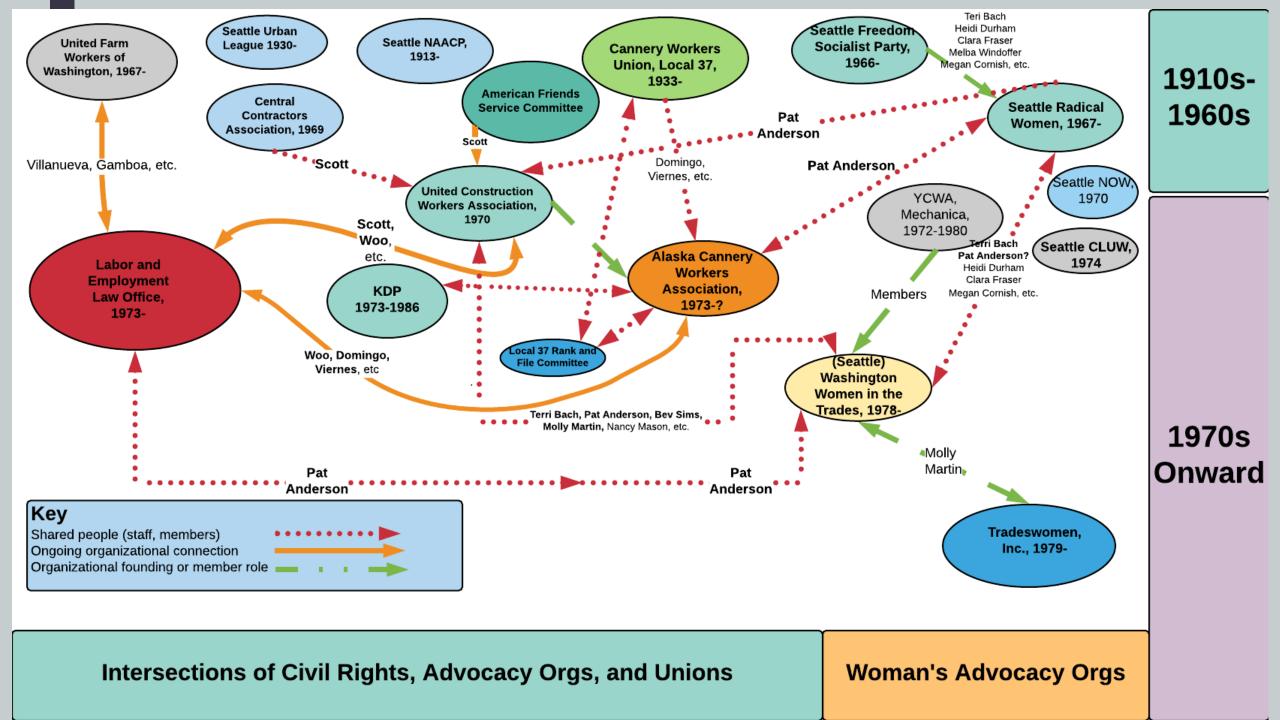
- Nancy Mason Papers (IBEW 46, apprenticeship)
  - **Seattle Building Trades Council Records**
  - Seattle Economic Opportunities Center Records
- > Tyree Scott Oral History
- > Tyree Scott Papers (Also contains LELO)
- > United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners District Council
- > William Little Oral Histories

### Collections at UW Special Collections

### Related collections

- Civic Unity Committee (Seattle) Records >
- Solution > Gary Greaves Oral History Project
- > William Little Oral Histories
- Leonard Shroeter Papers
- > NAACP Records
- National Organization of Women, Seattle
- Population Research Office Records
- Seattle Model Cities Program Records

- **Seattle Urban League Records**
- > Tamara Turner Papers
- Young Women's Christian Association Records (University of Washington) (Mechanica Committee)
  - Melba Windoffer Papers



## **United Construction Workers Association logo.**

**University of Washington Libraries Special Collections,** 

Young Women's Christian Association (University of Washington) records, 1930-021



### **UCWA's**

### No Separate Peace, February 1976

Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project Website

## UCWA: union that didn't just sit by the door

One June night in 1970, 20 Black construction workers met in the basement of a house in Seattle. They discussed the problem of employment in the building trades in which they were skilled.

At that time, their only concern was admission into the trade unions which had conspired to maintain an all-White membership.

The four major mechanical trades in the Seattle area, the plumbers, electricians, sheetmetal and iron workers, had a total of less than ten Black members out of a total membership of ten thousand. The goal of the 20 Black workers was to gain entry into these trade unions and to change the discriminatory policies forever.

One week later, that group of workers met again. This time they gave themselves a name and established committees to carry out certain tasks. They decided to call themselves the "United Construction Workers Association" (UCWA).

From the organization's birth, UCWA's members approached the problem of employment discrimination in a militant way. By mid-July 1970,

the Association organized demonstrations, demanding job closures where employers had all-White work crews. The group was able to generate community support and within three years those same four mechanical trades had over 400 Black members.

Young Blacks were no longer denied entry into these trades, all of which now pay in excess of \$10 per hour plus fringe benefits.

UCWA. membership organization, is located in the Seattle Urban League Building on 14th Ave. and Yesler Way. It is governed by a Board of Directors entirely made up of construction workers. There are four full-time and two part-time staff people, five of whom are construction workers, two women, and not all are Black. The staff composition reflects UCWA's early understanding that the problem of employment discrimination in the skilled trades has never been confined to the Black community. Other minority workers as well as women have played an important role at UCWA. They too, have not had a fair chance at equal employment in the construction industry.

In 1970 UCWA's goal was to get into the trades and stop racial discrimination. They, to a great extent, have achieved this goal. Twenty Black apprentices are admitted into the Electricians' and Plumbers' unions yearly.

UCWA now sees its major role as twofold — in the community and in the unions. In 1976 it aims to re-align itself with the Black community by tackling community problems such as redlining and health care. It will continue in its work to reduce the number of unemployed persons in the Central Area.

The current work of UCWA is also directed toward getting new union members to take part in union meetings in order to strive for democratic unions that truly represent the workers. Another UCWA Board member said, "We fought and got into the trade unions as Black workers. Once we got in we recognized that White workers had the same problems we has as working people. We learned from our struggle and now we think it is important to take those experiences and come together with White workers to win the bigger struggle."

UCWA recognizes that racism exists within trade unions. It also realizes this is a situation that can be overcome, "If people stick together and realize that change doesn't come overnight," says a long time Board member.

Asked about problems, UCWA's members admit they have made a lot of mistakes. Some support was lost among a few folks in Seattle's Black community which they feel is essential if they are to remain a strong community-based organization.

There have been a lot of other groups and programs that have come and gone since UCWA's beginning. UCWA's members say the key to their longevity is that the decisions of the organization have always been made by workers who had something to gain or lose in the outcome. Also, people in the community have always understood that UCWA was right in demanding decent jobs, and they have given their support even if they didn't always agree with the tactics.

UCWA will be six years old in June. When asked about the future of the organization, one board member responded, "We will change with the times but we're here to stay."

February, 1976

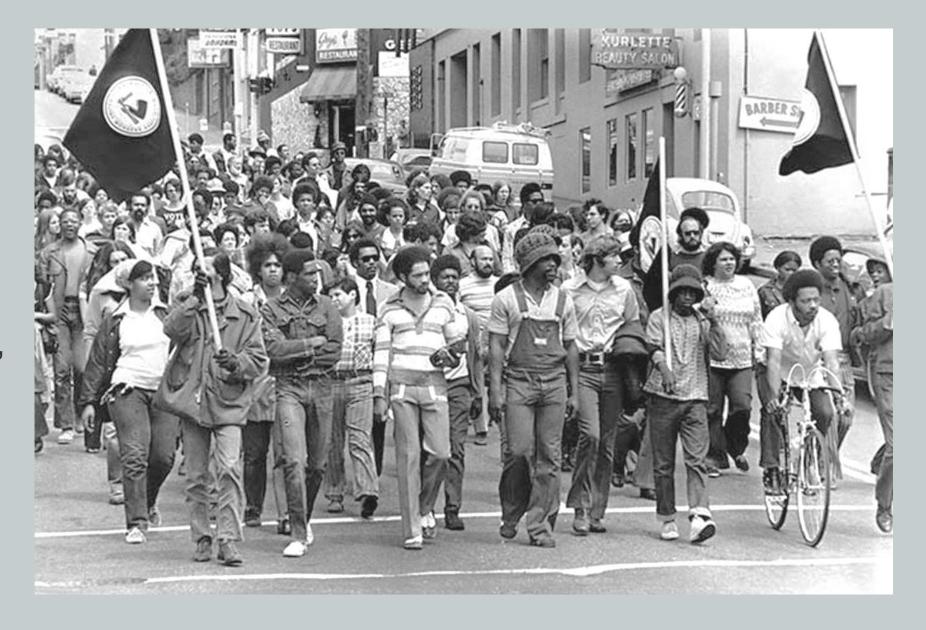
no separate peace

page three

UWCA members marching down Madison St., Seattle, July 7, 1972

Museum of History & Industry Photograph Collection

Image Number 2000.107.216.06.01



#### THE FIGHT AT CITY LIGHT

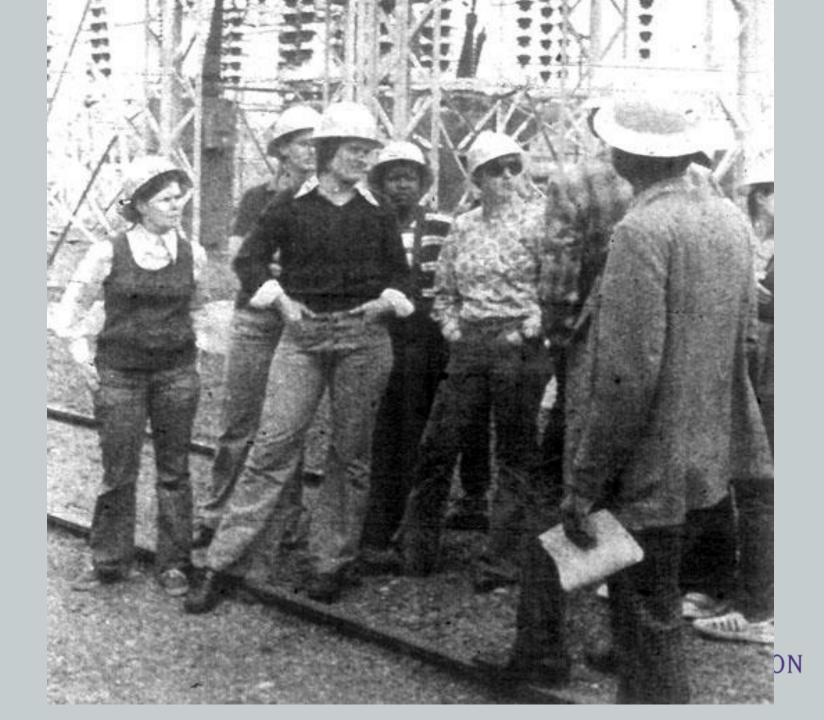
CLARA FRASER AND RADICAL WOMEN

Trainees tour City Light power station. *Pandora*, July, 1974. p.6

From Grant, Nicole.

"Challenging Sexism at City
Light: The Electrical Trades
Trainee Program" Seattle
Civil Rights and Labor
History Project

http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/citylight.htm



#### Seattle Times. June 25, 1974.

**Grant, Nicole. "Challenging Sexism at City Light: The Electrical Trades Trainee Program**" Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project

http://depts.washington.edu/ civilr/citylight.htm



City Light Superintendent Gordon Vickery talked with new trainees, from left, Letha Neal, Jody Olvera, Jennifer Gordon and Megan Cornish.—Staff photo by Peta Liddell.

#### Women enter the electric circuit

reported to work vesterday in the making. morning-and they were a first for the nation as well. City Light Superintendentto his knowledge, the program is "unique in the nation; certainly there is nothing like it on the West Coast."

Trainee Program, coordinated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the city's Civil

Seattle City Light's first Service and Personnel Defemale electrical trainees partment, has been a year

The 10 women were selected from among more than 200 applicants after besic tests and two interviews.

"As well as complying with the city's affirmativeaction program," Vickery said, "we're opening up a field of work from which women have been historically excluded."

INDICATING that the program does not find favor

everywhere. Vickery told a press conference; "I won't say it's the most popular program we've ever had at City Light, but it's a very important one . . . I predict in a year or so we'll find this is one of our more successful programs."

Vickery praised the cooperation of the union with City Light, saying, "We've had some problems at City Light recently, in case you didn't know, which sort of postures the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against City Light. an hour.

But we couldn't have worked out this program without their cooperation.

Several of the women trainees said their main reason for wanting to join the program was money. One said she had never earned as much before as she would make even as a

Starting pay is \$3.50 an hour, rising to \$4.44 at the end of the first or second year, based on merit, Journeymen are paid about \$8

Megan Cornish, one of the trainees, said she has "always wanted to be in a highly skilled job." and said, in addition, "I am a feminist, I think it's very important for this programto succeed. The first 10 women are crucial."

Other trainees said they were feminists, too, but added that it also was the pay, or the fact that entering a trade union is extremely difficult "unless

CITY LIGHT said train-

#### Seattle Post-Intelligencer. October 3, 1975

From Grant, Nicole. "Challenging Sexism at City Light: The Electrical Trades Trainee Program" Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project

http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/citylight.htm

#### Fired City Light Woman Gets Check and Apology

BY JOHN O'RYAN

Clara Fraser, dismissed City Light employe, vesterday received an unemployment compensation check and an apology from City of Seattle Comptroller Carl Erlandson.

Furthermore, she was told that, for the time being at least, the city has dropped demands that she repay \$409.78 illegally given her by City Light in lieu of two weeks notice.

"She'll be getting her unemployment compensation check regularly." said Erland on. We have not made a final decision about repaying the money given her instead of notice."

-Erlandson indicated that, since City Light made the error in giving her moncy instead of proper notice. City Lightmight have to pay for the mistake.

He said the city decided to release her compensation checks, and hold up demands for \$409.78, on advice from the Corporation Counsel's office.

Ms. Praser seemed amazed by her sudden victory in the money dispute.

office, gave me the check they were holding up, and apologized." she said.
"It's almost too good to be true."

She said she needed her unemployment compensation checks to support herself and her son while she looked for a new job.

Erlandson couldn't say when city officials would decide who would have to compensate city coffers for the two



-P-I Photo by Cary Tolman

CLARA FRASER: A \$409.78 VICTORY

. She may not have to pay back notice money

weeks' pay given Ms. Fraser when she was dismissed last July 11.

"It's a very complex matter." he

#### The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Feb 17, 1983

Nancy Mason Papers Box 4, Folder 1

Labor Archives of Washington University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections



Present and former City Light employees hold a press conference to air complaints about treatment they have experienced working at

the utility. From left are Teri Bach, Pam Graham-Smith, Karen Meadow, Heidi Durham, Dorris Harris, Sue McGonagle and Jody Olivera.

### Women tell horror stories of discrimination at City Light

#### The Seattle Times February 15, 1983

Mason Papers Box 4, Folder 1

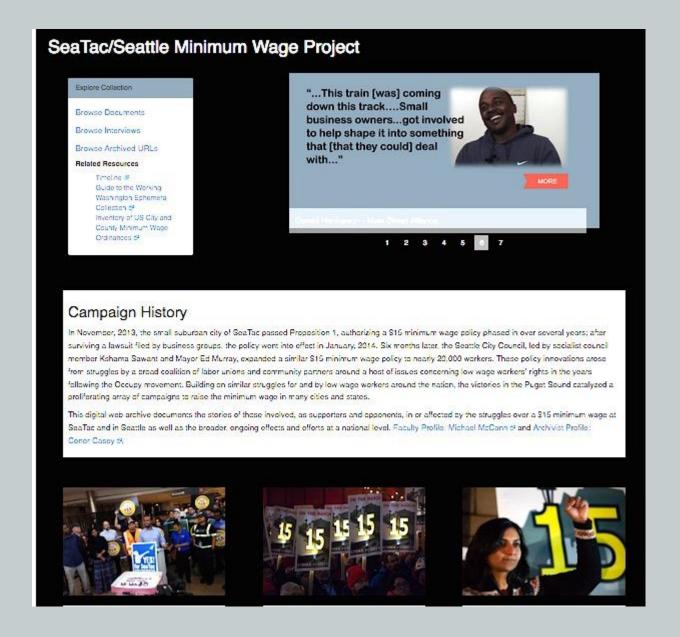
Labor Archives of Washington University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections



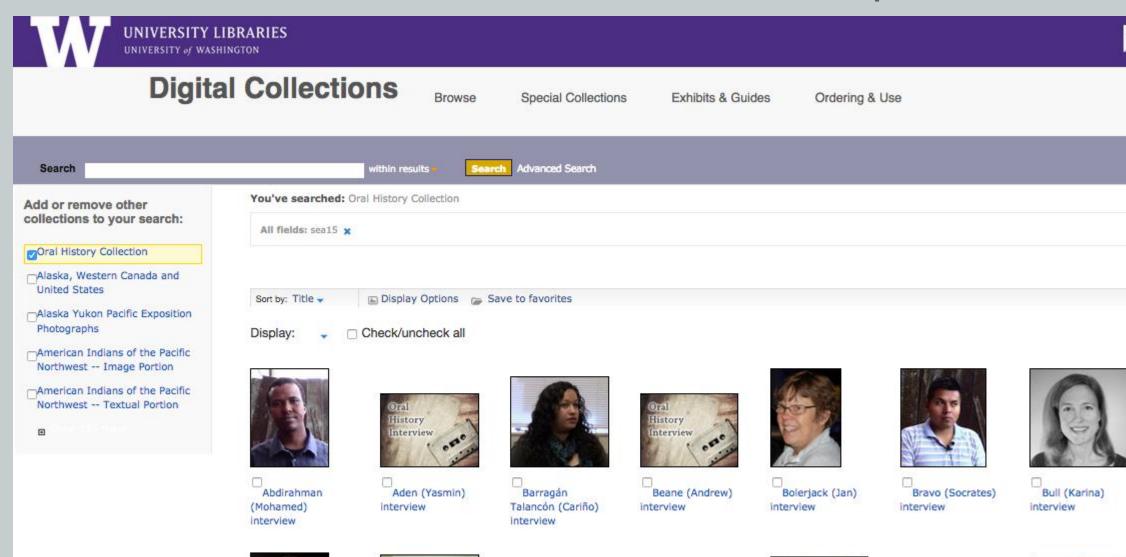
# THE SEATAC/SEATTLE MINIMUM WAGE CAMPAIGNS

#### SeaTac Seattle Minimum Wage History Project Website

- Over 60 interviews
- Archived websites
- Digitized documents



#### Over 60 interviews with labor leaders, politicians,

















#### Labor Archives Digital Collections Portal



Welcome to the portal for digital resources associated with the Labor Archives of Washington. The archival collections of the Labor Archives are physically housed in the Special Collections Division of the University of Washington Libraries: the archive is a collaborative project between the Division and the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies. A selection of materials from these collections has been digitized and added to the University of Washington's Digital Collections, to which this portal provides access. This project has made hundreds of primary textual and visual resources relating to Pacific Northwest labor history more accessible to the public. Those wishing to view materials that have not yet been digitized are encouraged to contact the Special Collections Division for further information and assistance.



Researchers interested in learning more about Pacific Northwest labor history are invited to explore this website and the related online resources to which links are provided. Use the topics below to begin to explore our Digital Collections, and discover more about the history of workers and labor unions. Related digital collections from UW Special Collections of organizations and individuals that opposed unions are included in the portal for the convenience of researchers.

## photos - video - signs May Day Help Document the Marches

Questions? Email me!

Conor Casey cmcasey@uw.edu

Check out our collections at laborarchives.org