

TEACHING AMERICAN HISTORY 2005 CURRICULUM TEMPLATE

NAME(S): Tom Conry and Amanda Alonso	SCHOOL: Madison High School
UNIT TITLE: Wobblies!	
TARGET GRADE LEVEL: 10th	
APPROXIMATE TIME NEEDED: 3 days of 60 min. classes	
PREREQUISITE KNOWLEDGE: Gilded Age (Robber barons, beginnings of labor struggle, Great Railroad Strike of 1877, Compromise of 1877, alliance of railroad interests with Rutherford B. Hayes, controversies over southern vs. northern transcontinental railroad routes, increasing mechanization of farms), Espionage and Sedition Acts	
UNIT OVERVIEW (Abstract): By the end of this unit students will understand the changes that industrialization brought to American society, the different responses of American working people to the exploitation that these changes facilitated, and the unique contributions to that struggle of the IWW (Wobblies) in the Pacific Northwest.	
STANDARDS	
NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS:	
Era 6 The Development of the Industrial United States (1870-1900) Standard 1: How the rise of corporations, heavy industry, and mechanized farming transformed the American people. Standard 3: The rise of the American labor movement and how political issues reflected social and economic changes.	
Era 7 The Emergence of Modern America (1890-1930) Standard 1: How Progressives and others addressed problems of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and political corruption.	
What accounts for the surging growth of the American economy in this era? What were the main features of industrial capitalism, and what were the benefits and costs of this economic development?	
How did the American labor movement develop? Who were its leaders? What were its goals?	
What were major conflicts between big business and labor? And what was the role of the federal government in resolving such disputes?	

PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS HISTORY STANDARDS:

Standard 9. Political Philosophy. Students will know and understand the development of political philosophies and how they influence history and culture.

Standard 10. Imperialism. Students will understand that the dynamics of empire involving the domination and/or exploitation of one culture or national group by another.

GEOGRAPHY STANDARDS:

Topic 1: The World in Spatial Terms

Standard 1.2 The student will know and understand how to read maps to organize information about people, places, and environments.

Topic 5: Human Systems

Standard 5.5 The student will know and understand how forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth's surface.

LESSON PLAN: National to Local Connection

This lesson introduces the historical topic and creates the historical context for the unit. This lesson also identifies the national historical framework and links it to a local “story.”

Lesson Objectives:

Students will analyze examples of the changing situation of labor in the United States and the Pacific Northwest by looking at photographs of workers *in situ* from 1880-1910.

Students will identify the categories of physical labor (craftsmen, operatives and laborers) and examples using the photographs.

Students will identify Portland as the site of predominately extractive industries (timber, mining, fishing, wheat farming) which sends its resources eastward to financial centers controlled by railroads and banks.

Outcomes/Goals:

Upon completion of this lesson the student will understand the different types of labor present from 1880-1910 and examples of laborers in the Pacific Northwest.

Time Needed: Two class periods (60 min. each)

Materials/Resources Needed:

- Historical photographs depicting labor in the Pacific Northwest from 1880-1910.
- Powerpoint project “PNW Economy Lesson 1.ppt” and “Labor Strategies Lesson 1-5.ppt.”
- InFocus projector and screen.
- Discussion questions and note taking form (“The Changing Situation of Labor in the Pacific Northwest”)

Procedures:

Activity 1 – In groups, of 3 to 4, students will make observations about the historical photographs on the note taking form. Every 5 minutes the photographs will rotate to another group until all groups have seen all photographs.

Activity 2 – As a class, project and review the 3 types of labor (craftsmen, operatives and laborers) and the corresponding graph of emerging trends in labor.

Activity 3 – Back in their small groups, students answer the discussion questions.

Assessment Tools:

As a class, check for understanding by reviewing key concepts (types of labor, trends in labor, and Pacific Northwest examples).

Extensions or Modifications:

Because students will be working in small groups with visual, writing and oral components all students should be able to participate at the level appropriate to their learning.

Students could search the Oregon Historical website for other photographs depicting the 3 types of labor discussed.

LESSON 1.5: National to Local Connection**Lesson Objectives:**

Students will understand the diverse strategies that working people used to try and organize to accomplish better pay and working conditions and maximize their autonomy.

Outcomes/Goals:

Upon completion of this lesson the student will be able to identify the leaders, members, and strategies of the IWPA, KOL, Socialist Party, AFL and IWW.

Time Needed: One class period (60 min)

Materials/Resources Needed:

- Powerpoint “Labor Strategies” and corresponding graphic organizer note taking worksheet.
- Projector and screen.

Procedures:

Activity 1 – The teacher will present information on the 5 organizations through power point. Students will follow along and take notes on the graphic organizer.

LESSON TWO: Primary Source Documents

This lesson integrates primary source materials into the unit.

Lesson Objectives:

Students will read primary source documents describing the free speech fights in Oregon, Washington and California.

Outcomes/Goals:

Upon completion of this lesson the student will be able to describe what the free speech fights were, identify examples of free speech fights in the region and discuss further questions they may still have.

Time Needed: One class period (60 min)

Materials/Resources Needed:

- Articles describing the free speech fights in San Diego, Fresno, and Spokane.
- Graphic Organizer “IWW Free Speech Fights”.

Procedures:

Activity 1 – In a group, of 3 to 4, students will each read a different source describing the free speech fights. (It is a good idea to remind students to highlight or underline key concepts.) Then when individuals have finished reading, students will complete the graphic organizer together with their collective knowledge.

Activity 2 – Students will then be able to summarize the free speech fights in writing and begin to address the following question; what effect did the Wobblies have on the labor situation in the Pacific Northwest?

Assessment Tools:

Students will write a half page summary about the free speech fights and address the question of labor in the Pacific Northwest.

Extensions or Modifications:

The readings are at different levels and would be given to each student appropriately. Also, the group discussion to complete the graphic organizer could help some students to clarify questions or pose further questions to the group.

LESSON THREE: GIS/Spatial Component

This lesson integrates GIS/spatial data component into the unit.

Lesson Objectives:

Explore the Radical Tour of Portland that includes local sites and events that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century.

Outcomes/Goals:

Upon completion of this lesson the student will be able to identify local events and locations that were a part of the labor movement and strategies of the IWW.

Time Needed: One class period (60 min)

Materials/Resources Needed:

- This ArcView project will be projected to the class as a whole.
- Guided note taking form “Radical Tour of Portland”.

Procedures:

Activity 1 – Project the Arc View project to the entire class. Students will use the table worksheet to take brief notes on each event.

Activity 2 – Students will then use their guided notes to write a descriptive page about life in Portland at the turn of the century using the following prompt; “Given the events that happened during this time period, what do we know about Portland?”

Assessment Tools:

Students will turn in their writings describing Portland at the turn of the century.

Extensions or Modifications:

Students could choose one or two locations to focus on for further research. Another extension would be for students to visit these locations and create a journal to share with the class.

Name _____ per. _____ date _____
US History

The Changing Situation of Labor in the Pacific Northwest

Information can be taken from a variety of sources. Photographs are particularly rich resources for historical understanding. You are going to analyze several historical photographs and gather as much information as you can.

1. Photograph #1

1.1. *Describe what you see in this picture. Be as specific as you can.*

1.2. *Who do you think took the picture?*

1.3. *Why do you think the picture was taken?*

1.4. *For what audience do you think the photograph was intended?*

1.5. *What point is the photographer trying to make?*

1.6. *What do you think has been left out of this picture?*

1.7. *If you were making a title for this picture, what would it be?*

2. Photograph #2

2.1. *Describe what you see in this picture. Be as specific as you can.*

2.2. *Who do you think took the picture?*

2.3. *Why do you think the picture was taken?*

2.4. *For what audience do you think the photograph was intended?*

2.5. *What point is the photographer trying to make?*

2.6. *What do you think has been left out of this picture?*

2.7. *If you were making a title for this picture, what would it be?*

3. Photograph #3

3.1. *Describe what you see in this picture. Be as specific as you can.*

3.2. *Who do you think took the picture?*

3.3. *Why do you think the picture was taken?*

3.4. *For what audience do you think the photograph was intended?*

3.5. *What point is the photographer trying to make?*

3.6. *What do you think has been left out of this picture?*

3.7. *If you were making a title for this picture, what would it be?*

4. Photograph #4

4.1. *Describe what you see in this picture. Be as specific as you can.*

4.2. *Who do you think took the picture?*

4.3. *Why do you think the picture was taken?*

4.4. *For what audience do you think the photograph was intended?*

4.5. *What point is the photographer trying to make?*

4.6. *What do you think has been left out of this picture?*

4.7. *If you were making a title for this picture, what would it be?*

5. Photograph #5

5.1. *Describe what you see in this picture. Be as specific as you can.*

5.2. *Who do you think took the picture?*

5.3. *Why do you think the picture was taken?*

5.4. *For what audience do you think the photograph was intended?*

5.5. *What point is the photographer trying to make?*

5.6. *What do you think has been left out of this picture?*

5.7. *If you were making a title for this picture, what would it be?*

Labor Types Matrix:

	type of work typically done	Pacific NW example
craftsmen		
operatives		
laborers		

Discussion Questions:

1. What kind of workers are in the photographs? (craftsmen, operatives, laborers)
2. How are the workers alike?
3. How are the workers different?
4. What do you think the wages are?
5. What are the safety concerns?
6. How secure is this job; in other words, how long do you think the job is likely to last?
7. Who do you think is likely to be hired for this job?

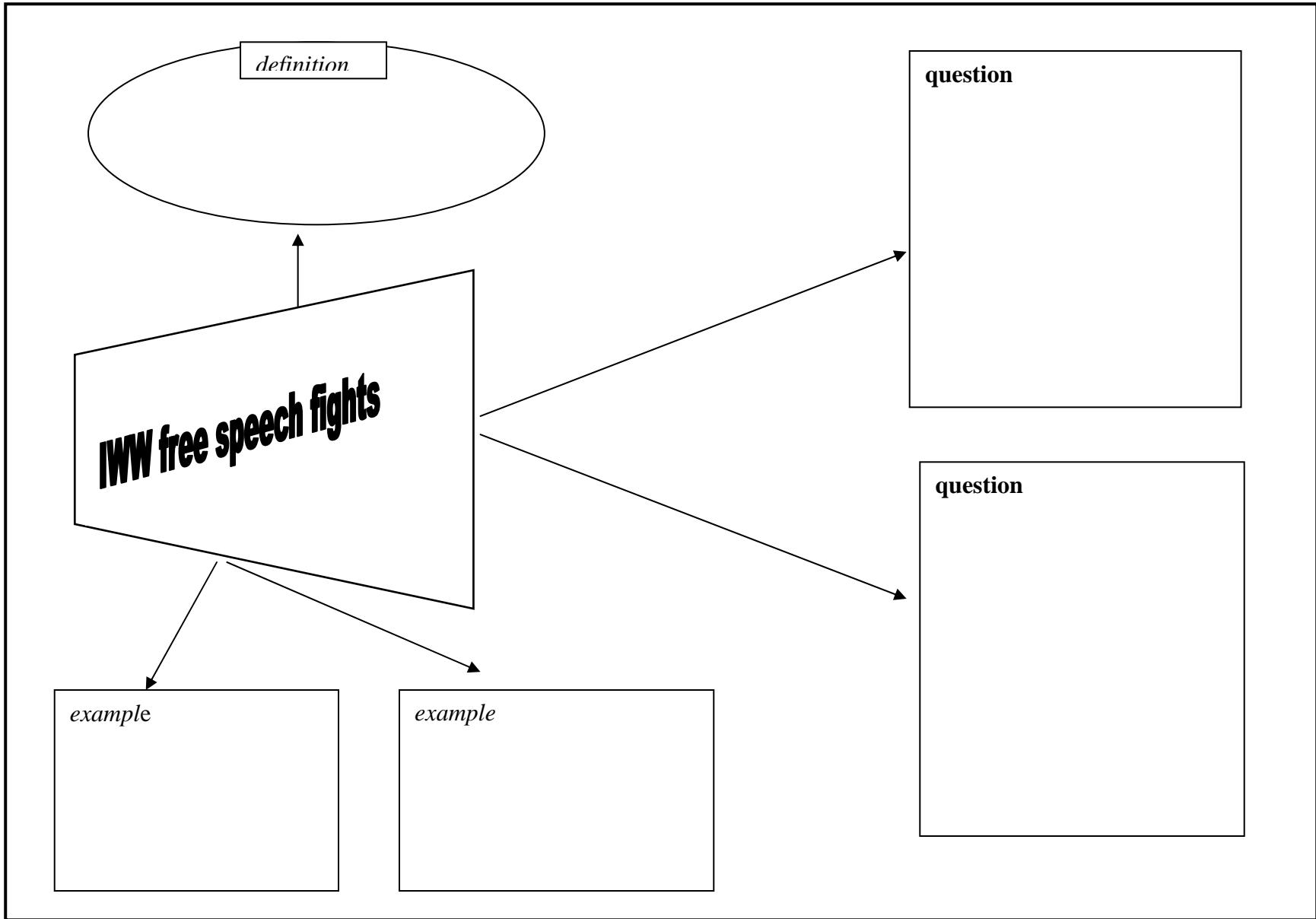
Name _____ per _____ date _____

US History

Diverse Labor Strategies

- IWPA "study and rifle clubs"
- AFL ("more") craft union
- Knights of Labor (co-ops) hybrid
- Socialist Party (electoral politics) political party
- IWW (direct action) "one big union"

	Leaders	Who belonged	Strategy for success	What happened?
IWPA				
AFL				
Knights of Labor				
Socialist Party				
IWW				



**Excerpt from *Living My Life*
by Emma Goldman
(Volume 1, pp. 494-501)**

Vigilante activity in San Diego

When I arrived with Ben [Reitman] in Los Angeles in April [1912], San Diego was in the grip of a veritable civil war. The patriots, known as Vigilantes, had converted the city into a battle-field. They beat, clubbed, and killed men and women who still believed in their constitutional rights. Hundreds of them had come to San Diego from every part of the United States to participate in the campaign. They travelled in box cars, on the bumpers, on the roofs of trains, every moment in danger of their lives, yet sustained by the holy quest for freedom of speech, for which their comrades were already filling the jails.

The Vigilantes raided the I.W.W. headquarters, broke up the furniture, and arrested a large number of men found there. They were taken out to Sorrento to a spot where a flag-pole had been erected. There the I.W.W.'s were forced to kneel, kiss the flag, and sing the national anthem. As an incentive to quicker action one of the Vigilantes would slap them on the back, which was the signal for a general beating. After these proceedings the men were loaded into automobiles and sent to San Onofre, near the county line, placed in a cattle-pen with armed guards over them, and kept without food or drink for eighteen hours. The following morning they were taken out in groups of five and compelled to run the gauntlet. As they passed between the double line of Vigilantes, they were belaboured with clubs and blackjacks. Then the flag-kissing episode was repeated, after which they were told to "hike" up the track and never come back. They reached Los Angeles after a tramp of several days, sore, hungry, penniless, and in deplorable physical condition.

In this struggle, in which the local police were on the side of the Vigilantes, several I.W.W. men lost their lives. The most brutal murder was that of Joseph Mikolasek, who died on May 7. He was one of the many rebels who had attempted to fill the gap caused by the arrest of their speakers. When he ascended the platform, he was assaulted by the police. With difficulty he dragged himself to the socialist headquarters, and thence home. He was followed by detectives, who attacked him in his house. One officer fired and severely wounded him. In self-defence Mikolasek had picked up an ax, but his body was riddled with bullets before he had a chance to lift it against his assailants.

I go to lecture in San Diego...

On every tour to the Coast I had lectured in San Diego. This time we were also planning meetings there after the close of our Los Angeles engagements. Reports from San Diego and the arrival of scores of wounded Vigilante victims decided us to go at once. Especially after the killing of Mikolasek we felt it imperative to take up the free-speech fight waged there. First, however, it was necessary to organize relief for the destitute boys who had escaped their tormentors and had reached us alive. With the help of a group of women we organized a feeding-

station at the I.W.W. headquarters. We raised funds at my meetings and collected clothing and food-stuffs from sympathetic store-keepers.

San Diego was not content with the murder of Mikolasek; it would not permit him even to be buried in the city. We therefore had his body shipped to Los Angeles, and prepared a public demonstration in his honour. Joseph Mikolasek had been obscure and unknown in life, but he grew to country-wide stature in his death. Even the police of the city were impressed by the size, dignity, and grief of the masses that followed his remains to the crematorium.

Some comrades in San Diego had undertaken to arrange a meeting, and I chose a subject which seemed to express the situation best--Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*.

...and am warmly greeted on my arrival

On our arrival we found a dense crowd at the station. It did not occur to me that the reception was intended for us; I thought that some State official was being expected. We were to be met by our friends Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Kirk, but they were nowhere to be seen, and Ben suggested that we go to the U.S. Grant Hotel. We passed unobserved and got into the hotel autobus. It was hot and stuffy inside and we climbed up on top. We had barely taken our seats when someone shouted: "Here she is, here's the Goldman woman!" At once the cry was taken up by the crowd. Fashionably dressed women stood up in their cars screaming: "We want that anarchist murderess!" In an instant there was a rush for the autobus, hands reaching up to pull me down. With unusual presence of mind, the chauffeur started the car at full speed, scattering the crowd in all directions.

At the hotel we met with no objections. We registered and were shown to our rooms. Everything seemed normal. Mr. and Mrs. Kirk called to see us, and we quietly discussed final arrangements for our meeting. In the afternoon the head clerk came to announce that the Vigilantes had insisted on looking over the hotel register to secure the number of our rooms; he would therefore have to transfer us to another part of the house. We were taken on the top floor and assigned to a large suite. Later on, Mr. Holmes, the hotel manager, paid us a visit. We were perfectly safe under his roof, he assured us, but he could not permit us to go down for our meals or leave our rooms. He would have to keep us locked in. I protested that the U.S. Grant Hotel was not a prison. He replied that he could not keep us incarcerated against our will, but that, as long as we remained the guests of the house, we should have to submit to his arrangement for our safety. "The Vigilantes are in an ugly mood," he warned us; "they are determined not to let you speak and to drive you both out of town." He urged us to leave of our own account and volunteered to escort us. He was a kindly man and we appreciated his offer, but we had to refuse it.

Mr. Holmes had barely left when I was called on the telephone. The speaker said that his name was Edwards, that he was at the head of the local Conservatory of Music, and that he had just read in the papers that our hall-keeper had backed out. He offered us the recital hall of the conservatory. "San Diego still seems to have some brave men," I said to the mysterious person at the other end of the telephone, and I invited him to come to see me to talk over his plan. Before long a fine-looking man of about twenty-seven called. In the course of our conversation I pointed out to him that I might cause him trouble by speaking in his place. He replied that he did not

mind; he was an anarchist in art and he believed in free speech. If I were willing to take a chance, so was he. We decided to await developments.

Towards evening a bedlam of auto horns and whistles filled the street. "The Vigilantes!" Ben cried. There was a knock at the door, and Mr. Holmes came in, accompanied by two other men. I was wanted downstairs by the city authorities, they informed me. Ben sensed danger and insisted that I ask them to send the visitors up. It seemed timid to me. It was early evening and we were in the principal hotel of the city. What could happen to us? I went with Mr. Holmes, Ben accompanying us. Downstairs we were ushered into a room where we found seven men standing in a semicircle. We were asked to sit down and wait for the Chief of Police, who arrived before long. "Please come with me," he addressed me; "the Mayor and other officials are awaiting you next door." We got up to follow, but, turning to Ben, the Chief said: "You are not wanted, doctor. Better wait here."

I entered a room filled with men. The window-blinds were partly drawn, but the large electric street light in front disclosed an agitated mass below. The Mayor approached me. "You hear that mob," he said, indicating the street; "they mean business. They want to get you and Reitman out of the hotel, even if they have to take you by force. We cannot guarantee anything. If you consent to leave, we will give you protection and get you safely out of town."

"That's very nice of you," I replied, "but why don't you disperse the crowd? Why don't you use the same measures against these people that you have against the free-speech fighters? Your ordinance makes it a crime to gather in the business districts. Hundreds of I.W.W.'s, anarchists, socialists, and trade-union men have been clubbed and arrested, and some even killed, for this offence. Yet you allow the Vigilante mob to congregate in the busiest part of the town and obstruct traffic. All you have to do is to disperse these law-breakers."

"We can't do it," he said abruptly; "These people are in a dangerous mood, and your presence makes things worse."

"Very well, then, let me speak to the crowd," I suggested. "I could do it from a window here. I have faced infuriated men before and I have always been able to pacify them."

The Mayor refused.

"I have never accepted protection from the police," I then said, "and I do not intend to do so now. I charge all of you men here with being in league with the Vigilantes."

Thereupon the officials declared that matters would have to take their course, and that I should have only myself to blame if anything happened.

Ben is abducted

The interview at an end, I went to call Ben. The room I had left him in was locked. I became alarmed and pounded on the door. There was no answer. The noise I made brought a hotel clerk.

He unlocked the door, but no one was there. I ran back to the other room and met the Chief, who was just coming out.

"Where is Reitman?" I demanded. "What have you done with him? If any harm comes to him, you will pay for it if I have to do it with my own hands."

"How should I know?" he replied gruffly.

Mr. Holmes was not in his office, and no one would tell me what had become of Ben Reitman. In consternation I returned to my room. Ben did not appear. In dismay I paced the floor, unable to decide what steps to take or whom to approach to help me find Ben. I could not call any person I knew in the city without endangering his safety, least of all Mr. Kirk; he was already under indictment in connexion with the free-speech fight. It had been brave of him and his wife to meet us; it was sure to aggravate his situation. The circumstance that the Kirks did not return as they had promised proved that they were being kept away.

I felt helpless. Time dragged on, and at midnight I dozed off from sheer fatigue. I dreamed of Ben, bound and gagged, his hands groping for me. I struggled to reach him and woke up with a scream, bathed in sweat. There were voices and loud knocking at my door. When I opened, the house detective and another man stepped in. Reitman was safe, they told me. I looked at them in a daze, hardly grasping their meaning. Ben had been taken out by the Vigilantes, they explained, but no harm had come to him. They had only put him on a train for Los Angeles. I did not believe the detective, but the other man looked honest. He reiterated that he had been given absolute assurance that Reitman was safe.

Mr. Holmes came in. He corroborated the man and begged me to consent to leave. There was no object in my remaining any longer in town, he urged. I would not be allowed to lecture and I was only endangering his own position. He hoped I would not take undue advantage because I was a woman. If I remained, the Vigilantes would drive me out of town anyhow.

Mr. Holmes seemed genuinely concerned. I knew there was no chance of holding a meeting. Now that Ben was safe, there was no sense in harassing Mr. Holmes any further. I consented to leave, planning to take the Owl, the 2:45 A.M train, for Los Angeles. I called for a taxi and drove to the station. The town was asleep, the streets deserted.

I had just purchased my ticket and was walking towards the Pullman car when I caught the sound of approaching autos--the fearful sound I had first heard at the station and later at the hotel. The Vigilantes, of course.

"Hurry, hurry!" someone cried; "get in quick!"

Before I had time to make another step, I was picked up, carried to the train, and literally thrown into the compartment. The blinds were pulled down and I was locked in. The Vigilantes had arrived and were rushing up and down the platform, shouting and trying to board the train. The crew was on guard, refusing to let them on. There was mad yelling and cursing--hideous and terrifying moments till at last the train pulled out.

We stopped at innumerable stations. Each time I peered out eagerly in the hope that Ben might be waiting to join me. But there was no sign of him. When I reached my apartment in Los Angeles, he was not there. The U.S. Grant Hotel men had lied in order to get me out of town! . . .

At ten o'clock I was called on the long-distance phone. A strange voice informed me that Dr. Reitman was boarding the train for Los Angeles and that he would arrive in the late afternoon. "His friends should bring a stretcher to the station." "Is he alive?" I shouted into the receiver. "Are you telling the truth? Is he alive?" I listened breathlessly, but there was no response.

The hours dragged on as if the day would never pass. The wait at the station was more excruciating still. At last the train pulled in. Ben lay in a rear car, all huddled up. He was in blue overalls, his face deathly pale, a terrified look in his eyes. His hat was gone, and his hair was sticky with tar. At the sight of me he cried: "Oh, Mommy, I'm with you at last! Take me away, take me home!"

The newspaper men besieged him with questions, but he was too exhausted to speak. I begged them to leave him alone and to call later at my apartment.

While helping him to undress, I was horrified to see that his body was a mass of bruises covered with blotches of tar. The letters I.W.W. were burned into his flesh. Ben could not speak; only his eyes tried to convey what he had passed through. After partaking of some nourishment and sleeping several hours, he regained a little strength. In the presence of a number of friends and reporters he told us what had happened to him.

Ben relates details of his torture

"When Emma and the hotel manager left the office to go into another room," Ben related, "I remained alone with seven men. As soon as the door was closed, they drew out revolvers. 'If you utter a sound or make a move, we'll kill you,' they threatened. Then they gathered around me. One man grabbed my right arm, another the left; a third took hold of the front of my coat, another of the back, and I was led out into the corridor, down the elevator to the ground floor of the hotel, and out into the street past a uniformed policeman, and then thrown into an automobile. When the mob saw me, they set up a howl. The auto went slowly down the main street and was joined by another one containing several persons who looked like business men. This was about half past ten in the evening. The twenty-mile ride was frightful. As soon as we got out of town, they began kicking and beating me. They took turns at pulling my long hair and they stuck their fingers into my eyes and nose. "We could tear your guts out," they said, "but we promised the Chief of Police not to kill you. We are responsible men, property-owners, and the police are on our side." When we reached the county line, the auto stopped at a deserted spot. The men formed a ring and told me to undress. They tore my clothes off. They knocked me down, and when I lay naked on the ground, they kicked and beat me until I was almost insensible. With a lighted cigar they burned the letters I.W.W. on my buttocks; then they poured a can of tar over my head and, in the absence of feathers, rubbed sage-brush on my body. One of them attempted to push a cane into my rectum. Another twisted my testicles. They forced me to kiss the flag and sing *The Star Spangled Banner*. When they tired of the fun, they gave me my underwear for fear we should meet any women. They also gave me back my vest, in order that I

might carry my money, railroad ticket, and watch. The rest of my clothes they kept. I was ordered to make a speech, and then they commanded me to run the gauntlet. The Vigilantes lined up, and as I ran past them, each one gave me a blow or a kick. Then they let me go."

Questions on the San Diego Free Speech Incident:

1. Describe the events in the San Diego incident.
2. Summarize the mayor's position and Goldman's position on her free speech rights in San Diego. How were these viewpoints in conflict with each other?
3. Did the mayor and town authority behave responsibly in this situation?
4. What happened to Ben Reitman according to the *Los Angeles Times* report?
5. What was the reporter's opinion of Reitman, Goldman and the anarchists? How do you know?
6. How was the San Diego incident portrayed on the cover of *Mother Earth*? What is happening in the drawing? Who are the men? What symbols are used to make a political point? What does the title mean?

General Questions on This Exhibit:

1. Do you think criticism of American government is unpatriotic? Why?
2. What, in your opinion, are the most controversial issues of the day? Which elicit the most violent responses?
3. What price might a person pay when they advocate a cause that falls outside of the "mainstream"?
4. What groups in America's past have used vigilantism to achieve their goals? What groups practice vigilantism in today's society?
5. When and why do you think groups resort to vigilante activities?

Spokane Free-Speech Fight

In the fall of 1909, the IWW launched the Spokane free-speech fight. This was a civil disobedience action mounted in public defiance of a Spokane City Council ordinance banning speaking on the streets, an ordinance directed against IWW organizing. On November 2, one by one, IWW members mounted a soapbox (an overturned crate) and began speaking, upon which Spokane police yanked them off the box and took them to jail.

On the first day, 103 Wobblies were arrested, beaten, and incarcerated. Within a month, arrests mounted to 500, including the fiery young Wobbly orator Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964). The Spokane free-speech fight ended in victory, with the City revoking the ordinance. It inaugurated free-speech fights in other cities, and is considered one of the most significant battles to protect freedom of speech in American history

IWW formally begins Spokane free-speech fight on November 2, 1909.

On November 2, 1909, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies) formally begins the Spokane free-speech fight. This is a civil disobedience action mounted in public defiance of a Spokane City Council ordinance banning speaking on the streets, an ordinance directed against IWW organizing. On this day, one by one, IWW members mount a soapbox (an overturned crate) and begin speaking, upon which Spokane police yank them off the box and take them to jail. On the first day, 103 Wobblies are arrested, beaten, and incarcerated. Within a month, arrests will mount to 500, including the fiery young Wobbly orator Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964). The Spokane free-speech fight will end with the City revoking the ordinance. It will inaugurate free-speech fights in other cities, and is considered one of the most significant battles to protect freedom of speech in American history.

Employment Agencies Prefer Silence

Stevens Street in Spokane was lined with employment agencies that charged the many transient workers looking for work a dollar to receive a job in a logging camp or construction crew. The employer would then keep the worker for a day or two, dismiss him, and hire another. If the worker wanted another job he could go down to one of the employment agencies and pay another dollar to get one.

IWW organizer James Walsh arrived in Spokane in the fall of 1908, and found the streets surging with two or three thousand angry workers. On at least one occasion Walsh calmed a mob set to wreck an employment agency, urging the men instead to join the IWW. That year the IWW established a union hall with a library, a cigar and newspaper stand, and a meeting hall. The union conducted meetings and lectures four or five times a week. A newspaper, the *Industrial Worker* was established.

The employment agencies, known to laboring men as "sharks" or "leeches," persuaded the Spokane City Council to pass an ordinance against speaking on the streets, and this went into effect on January 1, 1909. Spokane Mayor N. S. Pratt, a prominent wholesale lumberman, did not object.

The IWW cooperated at first, holding union meetings inside the union hall. In the summer the harvest season was on and many workers left town. In August the City Council made an exception to the prohibition on street speaking for the Salvation Army. This was not acceptable

to the IWW. In the fall numerous transient workers returned to town, and the free-speech fight was on. The *Industrial Worker* sent out a call for Wobbly members to come to Spokane to get arrested for the cause, and migrant laborers from all over, known as hoboes or bindlestiffs or timberbeasts, began pouring into town.

"Friends and Fellow Workers!"

On November 2, a soapbox was put up, and Wobblies began standing on it to begin speaking to the huge assembled crowd. Each "speaker" was arrested immediately, so there was no need to be a talented orator. Legend has it that one brave soul mounted the box and began: "Friends and Fellow Workers!" For the moment there was no police officer at the ready. The man was struck with stage fright and hollered, "Where are the cops?!"

During the next month more than 500 were arrested. The U.S. War Department assisted the City of Spokane in its fight against the constitutional right of free speech by providing Fort Wright to lock up the Wobblies after the city jail was full to overflowing.

Rebel Girl Arrives

The young organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn arrived in town and delayed her immediate arrest by chaining herself to a post. She was an impassioned and appealing orator and one of the reasons other citizens in town began to come around to the point of view that the Wobblies were on the right side.

Flynn was put in jail and later published accounts in the *Industrial Worker* of the filthy, crowded, and generally horrendous conditions in the city jail, including the charge that the sheriff was using the women's section of the jail as a profitable brothel, with police soliciting customers. Police attempted to destroy every copy of the December 10 issue in which Flynn made these charges. Before this, eight editors in succession had gotten out an issue before being arrested. After the December 10 issue, the Wobblies moved the *Industrial Worker* to Seattle until on May 10, 1910, they moved it back to Spokane.

Spokane Comes Around

The Spokane free-speech fight attracted nationwide attention. The IWW's own union history gives this account of its successful conclusion:

"The constant arrests; the police brutalities; the appearance of men in court matted with blood; the disrepute into which Spokane had fallen in the more enlightened portion of the nation's press; the widely-known evil practices of the employment sharks; the mounting cost to tax-payers; the boycott on Spokane merchants by men in many camps -- all these made it harder for city fathers to continue. Feeling was for the prisoners. On the rare occasion when they were marched through the streets to where they could get a bath, citizens showered them with Bull Durham, apples and oranges" (Thompson and Murfin, 49).

In the end the Wobblies were supported by the *Spokane Press*, local women's civic groups, AFL craft union affiliates, various socialists, and German societies.

On March 4, 1910, Spokane revoked the ordinance, and the prisoners were released. Before long the licenses of 19 of the employment agencies were revoked and firms began hiring workers directly. The reputation of the Industrial Workers of the World reached a high point in Spokane.

Fred Thompson and Patrick Murfin, *The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years, 1905-1975* (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1976), 48-49; Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 61-62; Robert L. Tyler, *Rebels of the Woods: the I.W.W. in the Pacific Northwest* (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1967).



THIRTEEN I.W.W. MEN ARE THROWN INTO JAIL BY THE POLICE

Their Offense Haranguing in the Street Without a Permit.

Report is That the Workers Have 75 Agitators in Town at Call.

Thirteen members of the I.W.W. were arrested last night by Chief of Police Shaw and a squad of officers at the corner of I and Mariposa streets for violating the city ordinance which prohibits public speaking on the streets without a permit.

Using a box for a platform, F. H. Little, who at the jail gave his occupation as organizer for the I.W.W., was exhorting a small crowd when the chief and his squad approached. Little was ordered to stop speaking and when he refused, was forcibly stopped. Twelve other I.W.W. men then jumped upon the box and started to speak, only to be seized by awaiting officers.

The bunch was taken to the county jail and locked up. A search at the county jail revealed the fact that eleven of the men arrested were without money. One man had about \$6 and another had 35 cents, and that was all the money in the crowd.

It was announced last night that there are about seventy-five I.W.W. agitators in Fresno and that reinforcements are coming into this city today from Los Angeles. The local judge formerly had a hall over the Cosmopolitan restaurant on Mariposa street, but left that place and I.W.W. headquarters have since been in a large tent on Palm avenue, north of Belmont. Circulars telling of incidents in I.W.W. history in this city during the past few months were circulated about Fresno last Saturday night, also in violation of a city ordinance.

F. H. Little, the I.W.W. organizer, who was arrested last night with the other twelve, was arrested on the 24th of last August for disturbing the peace and served practically all his time in the "dark cell" because he refused to abide by the jail regulations. The others arrested last night were John L. Sullivan, W. H. Gregson, Robert Locke, John Mertens, John McMahon, Harry Beverling, J. Mitchell, Paul Sholtz, Robert O'Brien, John Grant, J. H. Carmichael, and E. F. Lefferts.

October 21, 1910

THIRTY-THREE MEMBERS OF I.W.W. NOW IN COUNTY JAIL

Police Arrest Five More for Speaking on Streets Without Permit.

Sheriff Chittenden Says He Can Accommodate 300 "Workers."

With the arrest of five members of the I.W.W. last night by the police, there are now thirty-three of the so-called "workers" in the county jail. One was released yesterday as he declared that he was not an I.W.W. and asked for an opportunity to shake Fresno's dust from his feet. Police Judge Briggs gave him the chance and he left town. All of the remainder, excepting the five jailed last night, have entered pleas of not guilty and demanded immediate trials by jury.

Four of the "workers" were in court yesterday morning. Alfred Nelson said he was not an I.W.W. and pleaded guilty to a charge of vagrancy. He was given a "floater." H. S. Barnes, E. F. Dores and William Love pleaded not guilty to the same charge and demanded immediate jury hearings. The trio was returned to jail in default of bonds of \$100.

At 8 o'clock last night, five were arrested on a charge of violating the city ordinance against speaking on the public streets without a written permit from the chief of police. Patrolman Al Hayes arrested J. Alpert, a lineworker; Helms arrested William Cashman and George Berger, miners; Pickens jailed Manuel Carragal, a laborer; and McKee arrested C. R. Neeley, a smelter-worker. All had I.W.W. buttons, working cards and literature but no money. The men arrived in town on the brakebeams of the southbound trains yesterday afternoon.

Since the I.W.W. headquarters were removed from Mariposa street to a tent in Belmont, just beyond the city limits line, the "workers" who arrive in town have found some difficulty in locating the place where they are supposed to register and receive financial assistance.

Sheriff Chittenden, who witnessed the scene at I and Mariposa streets last night, stated that he had made arrangements to accommodate three hundred of the I.W.W.'s if they come to Fresno.

"I can, on a moment's notice, take all of the vags out of the bull-pen and turn it over to the 'workers.' This bull-pen, which is on the lower floor of the northwest wing of the jail, will accommodate approximately three hundred men. I am prepared for any invasion," said the sheriff.

When the "workers" tried to speak at I and Mariposa streets last evening, a crowd of fully five hundred was in attendance. At the same time, evidently at a given signal, four men tried to speak, each on a different corner. The police were on hand in large numbers and the men had no sooner started than they were jerked from their boxes and taken to jail. The big crowd lingered for several minutes expecting to see more of the "workers" on the boxes, but after the arrest of the five men, none ventured forth and the crowd gradually melted away.

By Davey Jones - *San Diego Indymedia*, January 21, 2005

The radical interaction between the working members of a community and the owners of production and capital in modern times have been, in the words of one historian, a streak that "runs through the fabric of American history like a color through a plaid: sometimes dim, sometimes bold, but always a part of the design." Indeed the Free Speech Fight in San Diego that was waged throughout most of 1912 by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was one of this streak's boldest moments, and yet stands alone in its bitter excess and consequences, causing one to question its place in the larger quilted design of labor conflict. The events of 1912 in San Diego demonstrate more than a fight for free speech, however. They indicate the power of big business leaders in their ability to overcome labor in vying for public sympathy, which both forces demanded for their respective plights. In utilizing the press which they owned, capital was able to mobilize citizens against the IWW, who were eager to address the issue themselves as Wobbly tactics in jail and court overcrowding left the city essentially powerless.

To say that the Wobbly's struggle to freely demonstrate and recruit on public property was met with harsh resistance in San Diego is a drastic understatement. The battle was surely the most violent of such Free Speech Fights staged by the IWW, of which there were at least twenty-five in various cities across the country in the years 1907 to 1916. Autumn of 1909 saw large campaigns in the states of Pennsylvania, Montana, Washington, and even as far north as Vancouver, British Columbia, with smaller yet still important fights being waged during the following two years. In Missoula, Montana, the IWW won a relatively easy victory, but in Spokane, Washington the battle was bitter and hard-fought. More than 100 speakers were arrested on the first day of the conflict, growing to 500 four weeks later. The punishment of those arrested was extremely harsh in all cases, with beatings by police officers, denial of medical treatment, and overcrowded, unsanitary jailing the norm.

The most notable forebearer of the San Diego struggle was in 1910 in Fresno, California. This Free Speech Fight, relative geographic proximity aside, can be seen as a small prologue to events that would follow further south. It was in the farmlands surrounding Fresno in the San Joaquin Valley that immigrant and unskilled fruit labor (which comprised the majority of the rural working population of the area) was organized into a local union by veteran IWW leader Frank Little. The police began disturbing IWW meetings and making vagrancy arrests upon accusations by local employers of a deliberate labor shortage caused by the organization, to which Little responded to with a call out for help. In a courageous display of unity that seems to remain at a sorrowful idle in labor's past, men from as far up the Pacific coast as Portland, Oregon traveled south to aid in the struggle. Rail lines, which were already frequented by migrant Wobblies searching for work, became massive arteries that allowed IWW members to flood the town from neighboring Western states.

Events in Fresno quickly became less about the initial accusations by employers, and more about the rights to publicly speak, organize, and recruit. This development was no surprise, as the organizer Little had prior participation in both the Free Speech Fights in Missoula, Montana and Spokane, Washington. In the case of Fresno, the outpouring of support from outside the battleground, and the city's attempts to deal with the situation, are precursors to the later fight in the south. Yet what sets the San Diego experience apart from the other struggles, other than the tremendous amounts of civic unrest, lawlessness and violence that accompanied it, was that no such existing conflict or strike served as an immediate catalyst, as in the case of all other Free Speech Fights. As one historian noted, "it was the point of view of many Wobblies that a fight for free speech should be undertaken only when it arose as a result of, or in connection with an industrial dispute. The San Diego affair had no such direct connection."

Historians and the IWW themselves agree that the Free Speech Fight in San Diego officially began in January/February of 1912, but dealings with Wobblies in the area go back a few years earlier. Perhaps inspired by the growing strength of the IWW in nearby Los Angeles and further north in Fresno and San Francisco, a 'mixed' local was formed in 1910; mixed meaning that the chapter did not have the numbers necessary to limit itself to a specific industry. Despite the fact that the chapter never had more than fifty members at a time, once established Local Union 13 began assisting workers in strike efforts.

In August of 1910, the IWW led the organization of Mexicans working at the San Diego Consolidated Gas and Electric Company, demanding better pay. This small battle was successful and the company settled with the strikers within a week's time, conceding to higher wages and a union shop, which unfortunately did not last long, as many immigrant workers returned home to partake in the Mexican Revolution. However the IWW now felt a certain local pride that comes with small victories, and bilingual meetings on street corners were held weekly, with a Ms. Laura Payne Emerson leading the proceedings in English. The initial success of the IWW in collectively bargaining against a local utility monopoly seemingly resounded with prominent members of the business community, for later that year in November, it was evident that the group was not held in the city's highest regard. Attempting to organize a

commemoration of the Chicago Haymarket victims' hangings of 1887, the IWW was met with police resistance, as Germania Hall, where the event was to be held, was forcibly closed by authorities to prevent the gathering. Members then proceeded to continue the festivities unabated by moving into the streets of the business district, where they were promptly arrested and released after a brief but embarrassing detainment that included fingerprinting and photographing them.

This action against Wobbly activity can be seen chronologically as a response to fears that extended beyond locality, for less than five weeks prior the Los Angeles Times plant was rocked by a dynamite explosion which killed 20 persons. Despite the fact that subsequent police investigation proved that the IWW were not involved, the event forever tainted popular support for all labor groups. A culmination of labor struggles at the newspaper that began decades prior in 1890, the explosion also rang with recently escalated circumstances in the last seventeen months pressed by general strikes in the metal-working and brewing industries in the Los Angeles area. The entire county was thus engulfed in labor conflict, and under pressure from industry leaders, owners of big capital and arch-conservatives such as Times editor Harrison Gray Otis (who gave the IWW the 'Wobblies' label in print for the first time), the city of Los Angeles passed an anti-picketing ordinance in 1909 which led to nearly 500 worker arrests in the weeks that followed. The ordinance was clearly directed at the speaking rights of labor activist groups such as the IWW: It shall be unlawful for any person to discuss, expound, advocate, or oppose the principles or creed of any political party, partisan body, or organization, or religious denomination or sect, or the doctrines of any economic or social system in any public speech, lecture, or discourse, made or delivered in any public park in the City of Los Angeles. It was ordinances such as this that some "eighty-five citizens and property owners" had on their minds when they recommended by petition to the San Diego Common Council on December 8, 1911 that the city take action against speech within a "seven-square block" business sector that included the strip known as "Soapbox Row." These 'citizens' were also invariably swayed by none other than the words of the Times' Otis, who with the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association's (MM) representative F.J. Zehandelaar, had spoken in November at a local business conference calling on San Diego to enact curbs on free speech.

Equally compelling to these commercial interests was a similar recommendation in late 1911 by the San Diego Grand Jury, whom the Wobblies had prior confrontations with. The San Diego Union reported just two days prior to the petition on December sixth that IWW members "denounced and threatened" Jury members regarding two men who were arresting for resisting an officer. The "Soapbox Row" referenced in the petition referred to the downtown block of E Street between Fourth and Fifth that since the 1890's had been officially sanctioned by the city as an area for meetings and demonstrations. Frequented by the Salvation Army, various religious groups, socialists and single-taxers, the IWW was using the area in conjunction with its street-corner recruiting tactics, the primary means by which the Wobblies expanded their influence and grew their membership. The "Row" was now clearly under siege by those who felt that the IWW's numbers certainly did not need to increase, especially by recruiting in the heart of commerce in the city (geographically beneficial for the Wobblies yet with irony equally embarrassing for business leaders).

A counter petition was offered to the council five days later on December 13, 1911, which was signed by 250 persons, including socialists and Wobblies. It was on this night that the council deliberated whether to ban speech in the area requested in the initial petition, ban it altogether city-wide, or let the situation stand, as the 250 new signers suggested. Councilmen were confident that the matter would be resolved with a public vote, and the matter sat idle over the next few holiday weeks until the night of January 6, 1912, when the malaise was effectively shattered by bold headlines. "'SHOOT THE POLICE' SHOUTS DISTURBER; 'YES' CRIES ANGRY MOB Open-Air Meeting at Fifth and E Ends in Serious Disorder" screamed the San Diego Union the following morning. The "incipient riot that for a time threatened to end in bloodshed" was how the press dramatically described the multi-hour ordeal that ended in arrests and required the attention and efforts of every available officer in the city.

Although it is unclear of his direct motives, one can easily speculate what R. J. Walsh, a wealthy real estate baron (and coincidentally deputy constable), was thinking as he drove his car, honking the horn loudly, into a crowd of nearly a thousand people that the police were carefully observing at a relative distance. From all accounts, he was there to incite a riot, and that's what he got. Socialists and assorted allies were holding a meeting, and a large number had gathered to hear them, spilling into the street. Managing to anger the crowd enough to have debris thrown at his car, a man hopped onto the running board of the vehicle, and went so far as to slit the left rear tire with his knife. Sure enough, a mere two days after the ordeal, the council were no longer torn about the matter of free speech in San Diego. Without a public vote, Ordinance 4623 was passed on December eighth (with an emergency clause that made the law immediate and superseded the customary waiting period), and the 'official' fight for free speech had commenced. The measure restricted street meetings within "49 square blocks in the center of town," citing traffic disturbances and "preserving the peace" as motivations. Punishment meant the standard for such a measure; a fine, thirty days in jail, or both. The council may have responded hastily in foregoing the typical delay process, but they

acted in confidence, for the Ottis-sponsored Los Angeles law had indeed withstood court scrutiny upon its passing a few years prior.

Press coverage of the events began with varying degrees of hostility, depending on the paper. The San Diego Union, initially seeking to compromise (yet still keep speech out of the center of commerce), mildly editorialized in the week following: The council proposal, while dictated by a sense of justice and fair play, appears rather inadequate. It is hardly fair to prohibit the oratorical discord in one small part of the city, and suffer it to have full sway only a block or two distant. Other property owners have some rights. The ordinance would merely have the effect of removing what many persons regard as an intolerable nuisance, from one locality to another. . . Why would it not be better to set aside for the nocturnal oratory some vacant tract, where the speakers could talk all night if they saw fit without discomfort to anybody except their hearers. . . perhaps a part of Balboa park could be utilized.

This permissive attitude of the Union eroded quickly however, and the publication in ensuing months wholly commits to berating the IWW along with its peer, the Evening Tribune. Traditionally less 'liberal' than the Union, the Tribune did not delay and blasted the speakers on January twenty-third, stating that "these are the patriots who assume to exercise the despotic powers of the initiative, referendum and recall." Police Chief Keno Wilson, who noted that the IWW were "worse than animals," did not press his officers into making arrests immediately (perhaps waiting to see if the measure would be contested), but within a month the jail cells were beginning to fill. The newly formed California Free Speech League, comprised of church activists, Wobblies, Socialists and other concerned allies, held a large parade demonstration on the one-month anniversary of the ordinance passage. The march, which numbered nearly 5,000, resulted in forty-one arrests, all of whom were held (illegally) for nearly a full day and night without being formally charged. Word spread quickly that the fight was on, and by the end of the month, Police Superintendent John C. Sehon had thus requested a general round up of all vagrants within the city limits. The California Free Speech League, this time allied with the American Federation of Labor, responded with yet another massive, two-mile protest parade.

Arrests continued throughout, and over 200 men had been jailed by the first week of March, thereby necessitating transfers north to Orange County facilities. On the tenth of that month, responding to rising arrest rates and reports of brutality, a crowd of nearly 5,000 people amassed around the city jail while IWW members orated regarding the conditions inside its brick walls. The police promptly dispersed everyone present with fire hoses, the use of which was a relatively new practice, but one that has continued through the civil rights struggle of later decades to the present day. "For a full hour hundreds packed themselves in a solid mass" reported an eyewitness in the Oakland Globe that month. "Bending themselves to the terrific torrent that poured upon them they held their ground until swept from their feet by the irresistible flood. . . an old gray haired woman was knocked down by the direct force of the stream from the hose. . . a mother was deluged with a babe in her arms."

The situation was clearly reaching a critical mass for both sides, and editorials in the corporate press all along the California coast became increasingly hostile towards the IWW, suggesting drastic solutions. The voice of capital was calling on San Diego's citizenry to take matters into their own hands, for it was clear that with their jail-filling and court-crowding tactics, the IWW had the San Diego police force in shambles. On March fourth the San Diego Evening Tribune lambasted the protesters; "Hanging is none too good for them and they would be much better dead; for they are absolutely useless in the human economy; they are the waster material of creation and should be drained off in the sewer of oblivion there to rot in cold obstruction like any other excrement." The following day the paper clearly demanded that someone take action. "Why are the taxpayers of San Diego compelled to endure this imposition?" the editorial of March fifth asked. "Simply because the law which these lawbreakers flout prevents the citizens of San Diego from taking these impudent outlaws away from the police and hanging them or shooting them. This would end the trouble in an hour." The San Diego Union concurred without surprise, and directly challenged its readers to violence, stating; "if this action be lawlessness, make the most of it."

The citizens of San Diego overwhelmingly and graciously accepted, as the real violence of the situation came to fruition after the battle cry in the press had sounded. The Free Speech Fight saw its first fatality mere days after the harsh editorials demanding action began running, on March 28, 1912. The IWW reported that Michael Hoy, a man in his sixties, was beaten severely with kicks to the groin and stomach in Jail where he was held for forty days, and denied medical treatment. Conversely, the corner's office reported that the cause of his death was tuberculosis of the lungs and valvular heart disease. It was now clear that no matter what the costs, San Diego would not, in the words of the Tribune, "be invaded by armies of Wobblies, nor bankrupted by scores of prisoners who resided in jail as beneficiaries of the public purse and who demanded costly individual trials."

On April Fools Day (thus perhaps in exaggerated jest), the IWW announced that "within the next few days 10,000 unemployed persons would march on San Diego," yet as those days came and went, the local press reported not of a protester mass, but of a "vigilante committee of 1,000 persons" that had been assembled to combat the Wobblies. On

April 12, 1912 a letter to the editor of the Union from the committee clarified its purpose: We the law abiding citizens of this commonwealth think that these anarchists have gone far enough and we propose to keep up the deportation of these undesirable citizens as fast as we can catch them, and that hereafter they will not only be carried to the county line and dumped there, but we intend to leave our mark on them in the shape of tar rubbed into their hair, so that a shave will be necessary to remove it and this is what these agitators (all of them) may expect from now on, that the outside world may know that they have been to San Diego.

Leave marks the vigilantes indeed did, but tar was the least of it. In the first week of April, Albert Tucker and 140 fellow men, many of whom were minors, were riding on a train bound for San Diego when they were met by nearly 400 armed men carrying various guns, knives, whips and clubs. "Inside of a half hour they had us off the train and then bruised and bleeding we were lined up," Tucker recalled years later. "The vigilantes all wore constable badges and a white handkerchief around their left arms. They were drunk and hollering and cursing the rest of the night. . .we were forced to kiss the flag and then run a gauntlet of 106 men, every one of which was striking at us as hard as they could with their pick axe handles." Tucker's account of the 'gauntlet' was corroborated by many who were driven in automobiles to the edge of the city, most frequently the desert beyond Escondido or San Onofre. Chris Hasen, who received a broken leg the same night Tucker was beaten, recalled that "as I was lying on the ground I saw other fellows running the gauntlet. Some were bleeding freely from cracked heads. . .it was the most cowardly and inhuman cracking of heads I ever witnessed."

However, not just Wobblies came under the wrath of the vigilantes; sympathizers and supporters of the IWW were targeted as well. Some of the men dragged into the desert returned, and gave sworn affidavits regarding their ordeals. John Stone testified in one such affidavit that he and fellow Wobbler Joseph Marko were beaten and shot at near the county line, after being interrogated by the police for ten hours and handed over to vigilantes for transport. The San Diego Herald, the only major paper in the city to not walk the party line of vigilante support and encouragement with the Union and the Evening Tribune, printed the testimonies and shortly thereafter on April fifth the editor, Abram R. Sauer, was kidnapped from his residence by six armed men. He was bound and gagged, roped around the neck, and left in the desert told never to return.

Return he did, and predictably the shaken editor described the incident in his paper, pointing the finger at prominent members of the community. "The personnel of the vigilantes represents not only the bankers and merchants but has as its workers leading Church members and bartenders. Chamber of Commerce and the Real Estate board are well represented. The press and the public utility corporations, as well as members of the grand jury, are known to belong." As if to prove him correct, 30 men promptly went to the press company that printed the Herald and destroyed the upcoming edition forms, threatening to wreak havoc with any plant that would reproduce the paper. Yet the editor Sauer continued remotely, and had to resort to smuggling his publication into the city. Police Chief Keno Wilson denied that there was any official involvement or support of vigilante groups by his department. Indeed by all accounts, the men who 'escorted' and subsequently beat Wobblies were not members of the police department, but citizens wearing plain clothes united only by badges, armbands and intent. Yet by these same accounts those arrested were efficiently removed directly from San Diego's overflowing jail late at night in a systematic fashion for months. Some collaboration was in place, perhaps most likely in the form of silent approval in handing men over to the citizens. It is also important to note that during this entire period of widely reported citizen violence, no vigilantes were ever arrested or accused of any crime.

Possibly the height of the violence in San Diego occurred when Emma Goldman, infamous anarchist author and speaker, arrived with her manager and lover, Ben Reitman on May 14 to give a lecture at the Conservatory of Music. Their train arrived to angry shouts from the crowd; "give us that anarchist . we will strip her naked . we will tear out her guts." The mayor met with Goldman at her hotel advised her not to go out and face the mobs. When she returned to her room upstairs, Ben Reitman was gone. Kidnapped by vigilantes who were under police escort, he was restrained in a waiting automobile and urinated on. Driven some 20 miles outside the city, he was tarred (as surely as the committee had promised in its letter to the Union) and covered in brush and foliage. The gruesome treatment that transpired after is best described in Reitman's own words, as relayed by Goldman in her autobiography: As soon as we got out of town they began kicking and beating me. They took turns at pulling my long hair and they stuck their fingers into my eyes and nose. 'We could tear your guts out,' they said, 'but we promised the Chief of Police not to kill you.' . . the men formed a ring and told me to undress. They tore my clothes off. They knocked me down, and when I lay naked on the ground, they kicked me and beat me until I was almost insensible. With a lighted cigar they burned the letters I.W.W. on my buttocks. . . one of them attempted to push a cane into my rectum. . .another twisted my testicles.

Disgusting as this account is, what is most unfathomable is that neither Reitman nor Goldman were members of the IWW, or affiliated with its members beyond their general agreement with labor struggles. It obviously made little difference to the vigilantes and their supporters.

Most historians with an interest in the topic have concerned themselves with questioning why the San Diego Free Speech Fight was so violent, and the obvious answer is that all the actions taken by the vigilante groups against the Wobblies had the force of the city's official centers of power, but none of the accountability. Police Chief Wilson was able to turn a blind eye to the violence, and this pragmatic approach, whatever his moral scruples about it, came from the forced position of having a jail overflowing and a court system burdened beyond belief by IWW tactics which sought to do just that. Yet because the press played an important role in rousing the populous (no vigilante groups were formed nor fatalities had until after the editorial runs began in the Union and the Evening Tribune), the ownership of these papers is a matter that deserves careful consideration.

Millionaire John D. Spreckels, who was born into an extremely wealthy sugar-refining family, had much to gain from seeing every Wobbler out of San Diego. The ease with which the IWW organized workers that did not fall under the care and guidance of the American Federation of Labor, such as streetcar conductors, infuriated him because he owned the entire San Diego streetcar franchise. Also, Spreckels was planning to invest in building an incoming rail line from Yuma, Arizona that would pass through Baja California. Control of that Mexican land was in jeopardy however, as rebel Flores Magon, who had both the financial and manpower support of the IWW, had invaded the area in 1911 during the Mexican revolution. It is in the matter of Baja California that Spreckels shared interests with fellow millionaire power-player Harrison Gray Ottis. Ottis owned valuable property in the region, and it was subsequently threatened by the same Wobbler-backed forces that Spreckels faced. Also, as mentioned earlier, Ottis had a history of clashes with the IWW in Los Angeles, and led the fight against them there. Fortunately for the two colleagues, both of them had overwhelming control over public opinion and the framing of community discourse, as they both owned powerful newspapers. Spreckels had purchased both the Union and the Evening Tribune at the turn of the century. One citizen of San Diego in a letter dated April 27, 1912 described the Union as "an old-line, stand-pat newspaper, rotten to the core and . . . run in the interests" of its owner. Ottis controlled the Los Angeles Times, which was described by noted Californian historian Carey McWilliams as "the spearhead of the anti-union movement," as well as publications as north as San Francisco.

It is important also to note that when the Free Speech Fight was beginning, unlike in any other American city where they occurred, San Diego was going through a period of change and potential for growth. The large real estate booms of the 1870's and the 1880's were followed by downturns, and it was not until the early twentieth century that the San Diego economy began to stabilize and mature. From 1910 to 1915, heavy developing and city planning was at an all-time high, in anticipation of the Panama-California exhibition which was scheduled for 1915. In 1909 a bond issue of \$1,250,000 was passed to support the event, and new roads and infrastructure were being erected all over the city as a result. With so much industry building, the rise of labor forces in the city comes as no surprise, and equally predictable, given the financial stakes, was capital's crushing response.

In conclusion, the editorials in San Diego papers clearly were intended to curb public support for the Wobblies in their struggle, and then to encourage citizens to take up arms against them. The owners of the press, capitalists with enormous influence, were able to keep the threats of organized labor out of the city by turning the citizens against the workers. Some may question the tenuous relationship between the Wobblies, the owners of the press and San Diego's economy. But it is not difficult to conclude that such motives were indeed a key factor, given an editorial (written by a local business leader) in the Union on April 15, 1912, titled "San Diego's Course Commended" (italic emphasis is mine):

The anarchist horde that recently tried to rule in San Diego did not hesitate to threaten publicly that unless the city allowed the colonized hoboes to do as they pleased, they would destroy its prosperity and ruin the prospects of the Panama-California exposition. Some timid souls in the community have feared that the action taken to rid San Diego of the red menace would "hurt the town," their idea apparently being that were this city advertised throughout the country as an anarchists' paradise, less detriment would result than if it should be proclaimed as a place where advocates of dynamite and the torch would not be tolerated. But the fears that have been expressed appear not to have been warranted.

In any event, San Diego chose the lesser of two evils. It could not afford to be advertised as a city where law could be set at naught with impunity. Such a place will be shunned by respectable, law-abiding people. Capital, too, avoids a locality where persons who would over-throw the government have free reign. The text merely needs some decoding, as do much of the corporate press. A more effective description, closer to the intentions of Spreckels and Ottis, would read 'capital avoids a locality where persons who are active in unions and organizing workers to fight for their rights.' Looking at the economic status of present-day San Diego, it is clear to see which force prevailed.

Material to accompany GIS map of Radical Portland

This material is from Portland sites <http://www.lclark.edu/~polyecon/bike%20tour.htm>



298 W Burnside (1907) & 241 SW Couch (1917)* - IWW Hall [now 616 E Burnside]

The Portland IWW hall was raided on September 6, 1917, as part of a national campaign led by the U.S. Attorney General against the IWW. Records and membership cards were seized. This raid marked the beginning of working relations between the city police and federal authorities.



212 W Burnside (1910-1930's)*- Tom Burn's watch shop

Tom Burns was known as the "Mayor of Burnside." His watch shop housed a major lending library on labor history. Burns was an active IWW organizer throughout the free speech fights of 1913, and was jailed countless times. During the 1930s, he organized a weekly Tuesday night discussion group at SW. 4th and Alder.



1021 SW Yamhill St.- Louise Bryant's studio (1915)

Louise Bryant was a relentless critic of U.S. imperialism, although she is best known for her love affair with John Reed. Louise grew up in Reno, Nevada and moved to Eugene, Oregon to attend the University of Oregon. In Eugene she was active in the movement for women's suffrage. In 1914, Louise moved to Portland. She wrote for *The Masses*, and in 1917, she traveled with John Reed to Russia to cover political developments. She was highly critical of Nicholas

II and the Russian autocracy and believed that democracy could only be achieved through their overthrow. She published her views on the Russian Revolution in "Six Months in Russia." She came back to Portland in 1919 as part of a national speaking tour, and spoke to an audience of 4000 about the importance of opposing the U.S. military intervention against the newly formed Bolshevik government. She died in Paris in 1934.

522 SE 5th- C.E.S. Wood's Office (1920)

C.E.S. Wood (known as Col. Wood) came to Portland penniless in 1883. Over the next thirty years he came to live two separate lives. In one, he was a well-known poet and lawyer. He also founded the Portland Art Museum, directed the Portland Public Library, and was an influential member of Portland's business and social elite. At the same time, Col. Wood thought of himself as a social anarchist and believed that American capitalism was an exploitative system. Therefore, in his second life, he was a vocal supporter of the IWW and defended Emma Goldman, Marie Equi, Tom Burns, and other IWW members, all for free. He was also a strong supporter of birth control, women's rights, and civil rights. In fact, he quit the Oregon Bar Association in 1913, because it denied membership to an African American lawyer. He kept two different offices, reflecting his two different lives, but used the money he made from his business life to finance the radical causes he believed in. He left Portland in 1920 for Los Gatos, California, where he built an amazing house that still stands.



SW 6th & Washington- Free Speech Park (1913)

Soapbox orators were active throughout Portland in the early months of 1913 as part of an IWW free speech campaign. The corner of 6th and Washington was a favorite location. The newly elected mayor, immediately upon being sworn in, ordered an end to all public speaking except at religious meetings. IWW activists challenged the ruling, and many, including Marie Equi and Tom Burns, were arrested. This period marked the beginning of police violence against "radical" groups such as the IWW.



SW 6th & Alder- Telephone Pole (1913)

Mary Schwab and eight other women were arrested by the police and charged with disorderly conduct for their public speaking as part of the IWW free speech fight. Mary did get to make her speech, however, by climbing the telephone pole.



531 SW Washington, room 34, 35- Marie Equi's office
Dr. Marie Equi was an IWW activist, open lesbian, and one of the first women to graduate with a degree in Medicine from the University of Oregon. She was also a strong supporter of the Oregon Packing Company strike of 1913 and the IWW free speech fight. She was an articulate and effective voice for women's rights, the working class, and minorities. She was also a fierce opponent of the Government's effort to build support for U.S. involvement in World War I. At one rally she unfurled a banner which read "Prepare To Die, Workingmen, J.P. Morgan & Co. Want Preparedness For Profit." She was tried for sedition (an act or threat of act against the U.S. government during wartime). In December 1918, despite a strong defense by C.E.S. Wood, she was found guilty and sentenced to San Quentin for a three year

term; she ended up serving half that time. She was an active supporter, including financially, of the 1934 longshore strike. From 1928 to 1936, she lived with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a national IWW organizer, at her home at 1423 S.W. Hall. Equi was described as a "holy terror" even in her old age. She died on July 13, 1952 at Portland's Fairlawn Hospital.

SW Broadway & Taylor- formerly The Heilig Theater (1916)*

The Heilig Theater was where Margaret Sanger spoke when she came to Portland on June 17th, 1916. Three men were arrested outside the theater for selling her book. They violated the Comstock Law, which made it against the law to distribute or publish birth control information.



SW 4th & Yamhill- Turn Hall (1915)*

On August 7, 1915, Emma Goldman and her partner Ben Rietman were arrested for distributing birth control information, a violation of the Comstock Law. Emma was preparing to speak, having been introduced by C.E.S. Wood, when she was arrested by a plain clothes policeman and taken downtown. Wood bailed her out but she and Rietman received \$100 fines. Emma spoke two more times in Portland, once against World War II, and the other time against monogamy.

SE 8th & Belmont- Oregon Packing Company, 1913*

On June 27, 1913, over 50 of Oregon Packing Company's all female staff walked out to protest low wages and unsafe working conditions. Their strike was met with repression, as the recently elected mayor authorized aggressive actions against the women. In one case a number of the strikers were trampled by police horses. The strike was immediately supported by the IWW, and especially by IWW women such as Marie Equi and Mary Schwab. The strike became tied to the free speech fight when strikers hung banners reading "Forty cents a day makes prostitutes" and were told that they could be arrested for such actions.

836 N. Russell- White Eagle Tavern, 1906

On June 18, 1906, federal agents raided the White Eagle Tavern to arrest a band of anarchists who were said to be plotting to assassinate President Roosevelt. The tavern was run by several Polish immigrants who were threatened with deportation should any of them become involved with the anarchist movement.

NW 23rd & Burnside- John Reed's Home*

John Reed, commonly known as Jack, was a communist and journalist. He was born in 1887 into the wealthy Green family of Portland. The Green family home was located just above this intersection and was known as "Cedar Hill." The only remains of the home are concrete steps (which probably led to the stables) at the end of Cedar, where it meets Cactus Drive. Jack left Portland at the age of 16 to attend East Coast private schools and college. After graduating from Harvard, Jack went to Mexico as a journalist. He rode with Pancho Villa for four months and described what he learned in his 1914 book, *Insurgent Mexico*. In early 1917, he went to Russia to cover the revolution there in monthly installments for *The Masses*. His writings were turned into another book, *The Ten Days That Shook The World*. This book became one of the most highly recognized historical texts about the revolution. John Reed's body is buried in Moscow. In 2001, the Oregon Cultural Heritage Commission dedicated a plaque and bench in **Washington Park** to honor his memory.

Sellwood Post office- Firebrand Anarchist Newspaper, 189?-1897

Henry Addis, Abner Pope and Abraham Isaak wrote and edited the weekly Firebrand, a journal that had an international audience. Low on funds, the trio moved to what was then “wild” Sellwood and lived off the land by picking berries and tending several animals. In 1887, Abner Pope was arrested on federal charges of sending “obscene” literature through the mail in the Firebrand. Issak and Addis were arrested a few days later on the same charge. Only Pope served a long term. Some have said that was because he enjoyed the three square meals and a warm bed. Issak and Addis moved to San Francisco and then later to the Puget Sound’s “Home” colony.

6830 N. Michigan- Julia Ruuttilla's home

Julia Ruuttilla was raised in Eugene, Oregon. Her father was an active member of the IWW and her mother was a strong advocate for birth control. Upon moving to Portland, Julia became a journalist and a life long political activist. Among other things, she supported the 1934 longshore strike and organized a women’s auxiliary in support of the 1935 Lumber Strike. She was called before the House Un-American Activities Commission. She worked for the Oregon State Welfare Division, but lost her job after it was discovered that she had used a pen name to write a series of newspaper articles critical of the Portland Welfare Commission’s handling of the 1948 Vanport flood. Julia was a steady presence at anti-war demonstrations during the 60's; sat in at the electric company to protest their rate increases; wrote for the International Longshore & Warehouse Union's paper "The Dispatcher," and organized and participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations. She remained a radical until her death in 1991: "I'm a radical. I think our government is of, by and for the American-based multinationals. That's radical, isn't it?" (Julia at age 75).

The Red & Black Cafe

2138 SE Division
Portland OR 97202
503.231.3899

Name _____ per. _____ date _____
US History

Radical Tour of Portland

Location	Event
SW 6 th and Washington Free Speech Park (1913)	
SW 6 th and Alder Telephone Pole (1913)	
SE 8 th and Belmont Oregon Packing Co. (1913)	
298 W Burnside (1907) 241 SW Couch (1917) 616 SE Burnside (present) IWW Hall	
212 W Burnside (1910- 1930's) Tom Burn's watch shop	
SW 4 th and Yamhill Turn Hall (1915)	
2138 SE Division Red and Black Café	