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Mill Owners and Wobblies

The Event Structure of the Everett Massacre of 1916

This article examines the event structure of the labor conflict known as the Everett Massacre, which occurred in Everett, Washington, on November 5, 1916. The much-celebrated confrontation between members of the Industrial Workers of the World and local law officials and citizen groups came to symbolize the sharp class divisions that shaped the lumber industry in the latter years of the nineteenth century in the Northwest. The article uses event structure analysis (ESA) to identify the causal structure of this conflict. Guided by this analysis, the focus turns to the structure of discourse in newspaper articles to reveal changes in the contrasting accounts of mill owners and union members, or Wobblies. The article draws on the concepts of relational distance and the monstrous double as a theoretical interpretation for the comparatively more violent labor struggles in the Far West.

On Sunday, November 5, 1916, a ferry from Seattle carrying about 250 representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) labor union tried to dock in Everett, Washington. They were met by Sheriff Donald McRae and about 200 deputy citizens. Words were exchanged, and a shot was fired. This led to the deaths of at least seven people and the wounding of many more. The gun battle at the dock soon became nationally known as the Everett Massacre.

The confrontation of November 5 was preceded by many disputes between mill owners and the IWW. The accumulation of antagonisms and violence began some six months earlier, on May 1, with a shingle workers' strike. All the area mills had agreed to a pay raise for workers once prices went

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up. The Everett mill was the only one that did not meet this earlier promise. The nonviolent protests by the strikers against this refusal were countered by brutal beatings and several arrests. Roads were blocked by police preventing IWW members, or Wobblies, from entering the city. But on October 30, 1916, 41 Wobblies boarded a ferry to avoid the roadblocks. They were met by the sheriff and his deputy citizens, taken to Beverly Park in Everett, and kicked, tripped, and poked with spiked cattle guards. This horrific beating prompted the violence six days later. For the deaths on November 5, 75 IWW members were arrested on their return to Seattle and charged with murder. All were eventually cleared.

The significance of the conflict in Everett reached beyond the local boundary of this mill town just north of Seattle. Indeed the very use of the term *massacre* was intended not only to describe the horrific nature of the violence but also to place the event in the context of western labor radicalism generally and among the list of pitched battles preceding the confrontation in Everett. A deeper comprehension of the event requires that the days leading up to November 5, 1916, be viewed against the regional and national contexts that structured the central actors and defined the implications of their violent conflicts.

The article explores the Everett Massacre as a cultural struggle as much as, if not more than, an economic conflict between labor and capital. The general research question addressed is why confrontations in the western region exhibited such intense collective violence; the more specific research question is why the disputes ended with such violent finality as to earn the designation of a massacre. The heritage of this region is one of rising social polarization defined by the cumulative series of bitter and violent miner strikes, some earning the title of war or massacre. Spanning the years from the strike of hard-rock miners in Leadville in 1880, through the strikes in Coeur D'Alene in 1892 and 1899 (Smith 1961) and in Cripple Creek in 1894 (Langdon 1969) as well as the Colorado labor wars of 1903–4 (Jensen 1968), to the Ludlow Massacre of 1914 (Gitelman 1988), western labor became synonymous with a militant radicalism that was far removed from the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor (AFL; see Brundage 1994; see also Taft and Ross 1969). Indeed, the Ludlow Massacre, where 66 persons were known to have been killed, was the culmination of a long history of strikes that had plagued the mines and coalfields of the Rocky Mountains and was this region's counterpart to the Homestead strike 22 years earlier (Adams 1966). The violence at Ludlow foreshadowed the conflict in Everett

just two years hence and was no doubt the source of its summary depiction as a massacre. As a turning point for how specific local events represented broader national issues, the extraordinary intensity of the violence at Ludlow exposed how delicate the moral boundaries of labor conflicts can be (see West 1915: 5). Similarly, Everett earned the designation of a massacre because it too represented how a conflict may begin as a labor strike but become a moral and cultural struggle that overshadows subsequent wage concessions and erodes any basis for a political resolution.

To explore this proposition, the article uses event structure analysis (ESA) to access the event *meaning* of the massacre. ESA is used to identify the crucial points in the structure of actions that constitutes the Everett Massacre. This analysis is preliminary to a more detailed review of articles from newspapers, one partisan to mill owners, another partisan to the IWW. Here the article explores how interpretations of encounters became mirror images of each other, converging in a mutual adoption by each side of a self-conception as victim. This convergence signified a crucial point, contributing to the rise in violent encounters and ensuring the violent finality on November 5, 1916. I theorize these dynamics by drawing on two concepts: Donald Black's "relational distance" and René Girard's "monstrous double." As Black makes clear, relational distance is not a static metric but a dynamic relation, at times submerged, at other times activated. Relational distance was certainly evidenced by the sharp division between mill owners and Wobblies. But the intensity and direction of their conflict was influenced, ironically, by the avowed neutrality of a segment of citizens critical of the violence and opposed to the illegal tactics of mill owners. As conflicts increased, becoming more collective, the nonpartisanship of this segment exerted a constraining influence on how the relational distance between mill owners and Wobblies became more pronounced and yet, ironically, less so as well. Girard's concept of the monstrous double captures this paradox: as the two sides became more distant, they became more alike, and violence became more severe and terminal.

Linking the Regional to the National

Western Labor Radicalism

In the face of considerable differences in the type of industry and forms of local labor organization, both of which were shaped by geographic and cul-

tural environments, national unions often appeared removed and politically conservative. This was most conspicuous for the mining industry of the northwestern region of the United States. At the base of this industry were countless mining camps, which, despite their thin populations and distance from the cities of the Midwest and the East, grew by virtue of their "colonial" ties to corporate and railroad interests into "industrial islands" (Paul 1963), rapidly acquiring populations of a size that contrasted sharply with their frontier and mountain locations. Thus while removed geographically from Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, which had dominated the labor unrest of the 1870s and 1880s, the mining towns of the West "shared a tradition of union organization, a common language, and a certain amount of ethnic similarity" (Dubofsky 1966: 135), conditions especially favorable to sustain a radical challenge to corporate power (see also Debs 1902).

Such conditions as these were indeed favorable to the internal solidarity among workers in the face of employer and corporate power, but of more significance to western radicalism were the social relations among the groups that composed the towns themselves. In the early years of the towns' growth, the miners enjoyed sympathetic and supportive ties to other groups, especially to merchants and professionals (Paul 1963). The benign relations between the miners and the "middle class" were reinforced by populist political promotions and by local Republican and Democratic leaders as well. Yet the social commonality that protected and encouraged periodic opposition from labor was in time undermined by technological innovations and increasing corporate concentration. The ties that joined miners to merchants and professionals were severed, and the loss of political sympathies soon followed. The resulting "social polarization" contributed to the rising scale of radicalism in the level of violence and rhetoric. As Melvyn Dubofsky (1966: 139) aptly put it: "Western working-class history is the story not of the collapse of social polarization but of its creation. . . . The interesting historical feature is the manner in which corporate executives separated labor from its quondam allies, and polarized society and politics to the disadvantage of the worker."

This distinction between organized strikes and struggles against arbitrary power was an apt description of what defined the western region. The outcomes of many conflicts in the mines and mills of the far western region did not lend themselves to the crisp decision of a win or a loss. Such ambiguity stamped the ideological tone of the labor organizations that emerged

from the long history of "revolts." The most important labor organization with roots in this legacy is the IWW.

The Rise of the IWW

The indigenous radicalism of these western mining camps leaned more favorably toward the socialist alternative and its positive embrace of industrial unionism. The organization that linked this western radicalism to the national scene, the parent of the IWW, was the Western Federation of Miners (WFM).

Formed in 1896, the WFM became the symbol of genuine labor radicalism, opposing the established political parties and the "pure and simple" policies of Samuel Gompers and the AFL. Its affiliation with the AFL, which began in 1896, ended only a year later. Emerging out of the radicalism that was more than reminiscent of the Commonweal movement, the WFM was strategically situated to challenge the railroads and corporate power more directly than did the strikes of the 1870s.[1] As a "federation," it nourished relations with its equally radical counterparts of the Brewery Workmen, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. It was out of these relations that the IWW was conceived in 1904 and formally organized in 1905.

The IWW burst onto the national scene after its formation in the urban center of Chicago in 1905. The IWW was the inspiration of six labor leaders who met in Chicago in November 1904 to consider forming an industrial union that would better address the conditions of migrant and unskilled laborers in the mills of the East and the mines of the West. Different in kind of industry and geographic location, the six produced a manifesto that articulated in broad but pointed terms the need for "one great industrial union" that would be founded on class struggle and would meet the needs of industrial workers in ways craft and trades unions did not. The call for the first convention in June 1905 in Chicago drew the various factions of radical labor.

The founding convention drew on the common sentiment across the factions of radical labor. In spite of their factional differences, leaders hoped that through "one big union" they could create an industrial democracy by controlling production. They sought to abolish the current system of production and distribution and to establish one that would benefit all involved.

On January 2, 1905, a secret conference was held in Chicago, where the first Union Manifesto was drawn up. This manifesto declared that there was to be another convention with the purpose of forming a new union. This convention was held in Chicago on June 27, 1905, with 186 attendants representing about 90,000 members. The convention lasted 12 days and produced the union's constitution. The IWW became official on July 7, 1905. The first few years of the IWW were difficult, and the organization suffered from many internal problems. Charter members withdrew, and other founding members existed on paper only. Despite this, they were successful on many accounts, often gaining concessions through strikes.

In more ways than not, the workers who made up the IWW resembled the Coxeyites of the Commonweal movement. In spite of its forceful rhetoric and its attempt to complement the national socialist parties, the IWW became "less a stable union than a revolutionary cadre whose ranks swelled and diminished with the spectacular crises of periodic class war" (Preston 1963: 430). It became quickly and widely known through the free-speech tactics that were its instrument of support for fellow workers in different industries. The Wobblies, who became the often-feared champions of the lowest of the low, nourished this symbol through free speech, songs, and volumes of written documents (see especially Brissenden 1920; Parker 1920; Foner 1965; Cannon 1967; Renshaw 1967; Dubofsky 1969; Brooks 1970; Laslett 1970; Winters 1985; Salerno 1989). Although comparatively small in numbers, they could appear as a substantial force in towns and cities across the country (Thompson 1955: 41). Their potential was made evident in numerous strikes, including steel (Lynch 1981), textiles (Carlton 1982; Tripp 1987; Clark 1997), lumber (Hidy et al. 1963; Tyler 1967; Todes 1975 [1931]; Fickle 1981), mining, and migrant agricultural labor (Dubofsky 1969: 294–300; Newbill 1981; Sellers 1998).

Popular fear of the IWW grew for reasons that went beyond the union's militant tactics and commitment to the marginal and disreputable. Its growth, in a network of local unions and in the list of successful strikes in which its members participated directly, paralleled the geographic spread of a nativism that linked anti-immigrant, but largely Catholic, sentiments with the menace of industrial laborers. The IWW became a psychological force seen as a threat to the moral necessity to preserve national unity through the protection of local community. The Wobbly was the rootless stranger whose potential for violence was stimulated when many gathered. As the

outsider, the IWW was the "great anticipation" (Cannon 1967), which could be inserted into the political and economic struggles of local communities.

The Local Setting: Lumber and Trusts in Everett

Everett, Washington, located just north of Seattle on the shores of Puget Sound, was envisioned as the major terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad and, as a result, was expected to rival the cities of the East in size, wealth, and significance. The 1880s saw Puget Sound linked to cities of the West Coast but, most important, to the East (Cox 1974: 199–226). This enabled a dramatic influx of people with varied backgrounds, intentions, and ambitions. By 1900 the population of Everett, soon to be known as the "city of smokestacks," had reached 30,000. The economic opportunities, based almost wholly on a seemingly boundless volume of lumber, were enormous. The potential for adding to one's fortune attracted men who were already wealthy. Moreover, coming to Everett might enable them to fulfill political ambitions extending beyond their stay in this mill town.

Two years after Washington achieved statehood in 1889, Jim Hill arrived in his private car, and word spread that as John Rockefeller's emissary he would inaugurate the beginnings of Everett's great future with eastern money and eastern ties. The arrival of Hill was bolstered by others whose own wealth and business experiences coincided with the confident and quickly spreading belief that Rockefeller was particularly interested in exploiting the vast potential in lumber. Steered by Henry Hewitt Jr., himself the son of a timber capitalist from Wisconsin, the Everett Land Company was formed, and an organizational foundation was set in place for an economy of lumber mills to flourish.

Believing that he had Rockefeller's backing, Hewitt, now dubbed the "founder of Everett," expanded the company's holdings. Yet Hewitt's visions and dreams outran their economic support. By 1897 Rockefeller had withdrawn his money, and the Everett Land Company was placed into receivership. Seizing the opportunity with Rockefeller and Hewitt out, Hill formed the Everett Improvement Company and set out to fulfill his own ambitions for a "city of smokestacks" that would one day rival cities elsewhere (Clark 1970: 57).

More important than his own personal wealth were Hill's social connec-

tions that elevated his stature and reputation as indeed an empire builder. Hill's prominent role in the expansion of Everett contributed to the formation of mills that were owned by families with close personal ties and loyalties. Among such ties was Frederick Weyerhaeuser, who negotiated 900,000 acres of timber from the Northern Pacific land grants and erected the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company's first construction in Everett (Hidy et al. 1963; Clark 1970: 59). Following Weyerhaeuser came David Clough, former governor of Minnesota, who with his son-in-law Roland Hartley formed the Clough-Hartley Lumber Company. Others followed, formed by strong familial ties and reinforced by intermarriage and social gatherings.

Among the social gatherings that became a major resource to Everett's economic ambitions was the Commercial Club, organized in 1912 as a "forum where millowners, merchants, professional men, ministers, and labor leaders came together to consider the city's future" (Clark 1966: 61). Mill owners gathered to exchange the economic news of timber prices and the wage levels of workers and were joined by citizens of Everett whose own sense of social prominence seemed to align them naturally with the powerful owners of mills (see Bonnett 1922). The Commercial Club became the symbol of Everett's great economic promise, primarily by staunchly promoting the open shop. In doing so, it represented itself as the sole agent entrusted with preserving Everett's economic and moral future.

The construction of lumber and shingle mills brought with it the population of laborers who lived in stark contrast to the baronial lifestyle of mill owners. The condition of work in mills was defined by the constant unpredictability of the lumber industry itself. Outside of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, few mills had control over the competition in the lumber industry (Cox 1950). The vastness of the lumber fueled the competition among countless smaller mills, with overproduction in turn causing wages to be halted or reduced (see Howd 1924; Coman and Gibbs 1949; Cox 1974). Workers would often work only a few days then be let go, forcing a permanent rate of turnover that offered no means to an increased economic level that could sustain families or the social interaction enjoyed by mill owners. Hiring those always available and willing to work easily thwarted periodic strikes throughout the 1890s. If not from within Everett, replacements to striking lumbermen could be called in from surrounding towns and from Seattle.

The vulnerability of mill workers in Everett was made worse by the absence of any real labor representation. Agencies such as the Building

Trades Council were closer to the Commercial Club than to any group of laborers. In spite of periodic populist, progressive, and socialist efforts to gain a foothold in Everett, support from mill workers was blunted not only by the crushing conditions of the mills but also by the greater attraction of itinerant preachers, whose warnings about women and saloons seemed more real than did warnings about wage declines. The weakness of any worker solidarity was certainly reinforced by the ups and downs of individual mills. Yet it was reinforced as well by the notion that a genuine community was in a not-too-distant future. This community would be a classless Christian commonwealth.

There were reasons for such a notion to persist, even in an environment of intensifying class division. Prominent among them was McRae, the sheriff of Everett. As Everett approached the fateful battle in 1916, McRae took the lead in antiworker actions and violence. He became the symbolic and real leader of the Commercial Club and without doubt saw himself as destined to preserve the economic and moral integrity of Everett itself. Yet McRae had been a mill worker himself and a leader in his local union. He exemplified an overlap of experiences that weakened reasons, particularly in his case, to organize mill workers to engage in militant actions against mill owners. McRae had risen up from the mills. If he could, so could others. His violence toward his once fellow workers was in part his attempt to preserve the possibility of a classless and Christian commonwealth.

By the turn of the century Everett's economic growth had proceeded at the mounting cost of human exploitation, bloodshed, and the erosion of community. The result of Hill's "sawdust baronage" (Clark 1970: chap. 4) and the class division it generated between mill owners and wage laborers seemed to lead to an opposite outcome. What would be called the Everett "Massacre" was possibly the inexorable outcome of what Norman H. Clark (ibid.: 18) brilliantly identifies as "two basic ironies":

> The first is that the opportunities of 1892 could so quickly turn toward farce and tragedy, that so fanciful a beginning could come so quickly to such a sorry end; the second and more elusive is that in twenty-four years the "forces of progress" Jim Hill set in motion across a region could turn upon themselves to induce economic paralysis and to rend the flesh at the Everett Massacre, a moment curiously close to the hour of Hill's own death in 1916, when the community founded on his vision tore itself apart.

The Event Structure of the Everett Massacre

A Brief Chronicle

A standard, agreed-on chronicle of the Everett Massacre identifies a minimal progression of events. In 1916 the Everett Mill refused to raise the shingle weavers' wages, and the infuriated workers struck. The mill sought ways to resume production. Following attempts to use scab labor, resulting in violence between union workers and replacements, mill owners and city officials approved an ordinance that would curtain the influence of the IWW by regulating public speaking about issues pertaining to the strike. The ordinance forbade speeches on city streets known to be used by IWW organizers. This did not discourage the strikers but rather added fuel to their stand. After exercising their right to freedom of speech, several IWW members were beaten. This caused the violence to escalate.

On October 30, 41 Wobblies took a ferry into Everett. They arrived at the dock to find McRae and his deputies waiting. The deputies dragged the men to Beverly Park, a remote area in Everett, and forced them to run a gauntlet of police and deputy citizens. Due to the severity of this beating, people feared Wobbly retaliation. The IWW decided to have a meeting to discuss the Beverly Park incident and set the date for November 5.

The sheriff learned of this meeting and gathered his men. That morning 250 Wobblies boarded the passenger ferry *Verona* for Everett. They arrived at the Everett dock and found McRae and 200 armed deputies waiting. The ferry tried to dock, but McRae would not let it. At this point a shot was fired. No one knows who fired it, and several accounts support each side. Shooting began on both sides. To avoid the gunshots, the men on the ferry ran to the bow of the boat, almost causing it to capsize. As the boat tipped, some wounded men fell off. When the shooting finally stopped, five IWW men and two deputies were dead. Six IWW men were missing and were never found. Seventy-five men were arrested in the deaths of the two deputies and charged with first-degree murder.

The men were then transported from Seattle to a Snohomish County prison. A change of venue to King County was granted on the grounds that a fair trial would be more easily obtained there. Then the trial of the first IWW member, Thomas H. Tracy, began. Tracy pleaded not guilty and was eventually acquitted of all charges. Because they had only the same approach and evidence to use against the other IWW members, the prosecutors realized

that none would be convicted. Thus they dropped the charges against the remaining men, bringing the proceedings to an end.

The limitations of such a brief chronicle are several. The shear brevity of the account tends to give each element in the sequence equal causal weight. The mere chronological ordering of the elements offers no explanation for the larger event. In essence, the Everett Massacre is reduced to the violent gun battle of November 5, 1916. All events that preceded this day are relegated to a background that is minimized because it preceded this day and because it was presumably less dramatic. Yet such accountings are deficient in three key respects: (1) their brevity undercounts the number of elements that composed the larger event; (2) their mere chronological ordering offers no means to assign different causal significance to some elements in contrast to others; and (3) the preceding limitations preclude a theoretical summary of the event that is a reduction of the initial range of elements. The ESA that follows gives such a theoretical summary, but it does so with a sufficiently broadened range of the elements that composed the Everett Massacre.

Event Structure Analysis

Larry J. Griffin and Robert R. Korstad (1998: 145) succinctly define ESA as "a member of a family of formal analytic procedures designed to analyze and interpret text, in particular the temporal sequences constituting the narrative of a historical event" (see also Heise 1989). Through the analysis of historical textual materials, the aim is to identify the logical structure of an event as a representation of the event's narrative structure. With this aim, the analysis produces two structures: the concrete and the general. The concrete structure produces a diagram based on *all* of the actions identified as constituting the event studied. Table 1 identifies 27 actions that span the time frame from May 1, 1916, to November 5, 1916. The general structure diagrams a reduced set of actions selected from the concrete structure on theoretical grounds. For the concrete structure, a particular action is defined by its specific meaning, such as "Police arrest Thompson, which prompts succession of speakers." For the general structure, the meaning of an action points beyond its specific time and place, for it suggests a process that is more general. Thus the "Thompson arrest" may be interpreted as an instance of a general process of *labor mobilization*, a translation of the specific conditions in light of their representation of the regional level. What is prompted by the

Table 1 Descriptions of actions in 1916

Abbreviation	Place in chronology	Date	Action
Wlk	1	May 1	International Shingle Weavers walk out.
Rai	2	May 7	Seaside Shingle Company grants raise to workers.
Res	3	May 27	Commercial Club passes resolution on open shop.
Imp	4	May 28	Other mills begin to import scabs.
Ar1	5	July 31	Police arrest James Rowan after he speaks.
Opn	6	August 9	Levi Remick opens IWW hall.
Be1	7	August 19	Scabs beat pickets of Jamison mill.
Spk	8	August 22	Celebrated organizer James Thompson speaks.
Ar2	9	August 22	Police arrest Thompson, which prompts a succession of speakers.
Par	10	August 29	Mill owner Neil Jamison parades his workers to theater.
Att	11	August 29	Non-IWW men attack Jamison workers.
Sw1	12	August 30	Commercial Club swears in deputy citizens.
Dis	13	August 30	Select members of Commercial Club disavow tactics.
Ret	14	August 30	Commercial Club retaliates with merchant boycott.
Wan	15	September 9	Free-speech sail from Mukilteo to Everett on *Wanderer*.
In1	16	September 11	IWW committee investigates conditions in Everett.
Me1	17	September 15	IWW and injured citizens meet.
Pro	18	September 16	Commercial Club prohibits free speech in public ordinance.
Me2	19	September 22	10,000 to 15,000 citizens meet in public park.
Ar3	20	October 10	Police arrest 29 Wobblies in Lowell attempting to enter Everett.
Sa1	21	October 30	41 Wobblies sail from Seattle to Everett on *Verona*.
Be2	22	November 1	Wobblies are taken to Beverly Park and forced to run a gauntlet.
In2	23	November 1	Churchmen and citizens investigate beatings.

Table 1 (continued)

Abbreviation	Place in chronology	Date	Action
Sw2	24	November 2	Deputy citizens assemble at city dock.
Sa2	25	November 2	Wobblies again sail from Seattle to Everett on *Verona*.
Inf	26	November 4	Pinkerton police inform Sheriff Donald McRae of IWW sailing.
Gun	27	November 5	Gun battle at Everett dock.

arrest is a change in reference and scale: from this action forward arrests take on a different meaning, for they are now linked to circumstances beyond the specifics of August 22 in Everett.

The structural relations between and among the actions are the key elements. The relations proceed through time, producing a structure that tells us how the event unfolds generally and how later relations are contingent on earlier actions (see Griffin 1992). Importantly, the actions by individuals or groups are taken as deliberative; actors are agents of particular motivations and objectives. While their actions are intentional, they are not necessarily able to foresee or accommodate the circumstances that unfold; their subsequent actions become implicated in and are shaped by unintended and unanticipated consequences. Much like dramatic and literary structure, historical events may take the form of metaphor to irony (see Danto 1985; Koselleck 1985; White 1990: 31–38).[2] Like statistical methods, the objective is to minimize the original list of actions in a way that sufficiently explains the "story" of the event.

Data Sources and Events

The designation of the conflict in Everett on November 5, 1916, as a "massacre" is attributed to the single book on the struggle by Walker C. Smith. Smith, a proponent of the Wobblies, openly dedicated his account to "those loyal soldiers of the great class war who were murdered on the steamer Verona." He published *The Everett Massacre: A History of the Class Struggle in the Lumber Industry* only two years after the conflict (Smith 1971 [1918]). There is no other book-length account of the conflict.

In addition to Smith's account, three sources are examined to produce

as exhaustive a list of the elements that composed the Everett Massacre as possible. The sources were published in varying *distances* from the violence of 1916. The first is Robert Edward Hull's (1938) MA thesis, which focuses on the labor conflicts between May 1916 and the outcome of Tracy's trial in November 1917. The second source is Philip Foner's (1965) chapter "The Everett Massacre." Finally, we draw on two chapters from Clark's (1970) definitive history of Everett, "The Iron Law" and "The Iron Hand," wherein Clark focuses on the proximate events that contributed to the violence of November 5, 1916. A comparison of the lists of events constructed from Hull ($n = 21$), Foner ($n = 27$), and Clark ($n = 30$) against Smith's "baseline chronology" reveals the level of agreement and distinction among these sources that differ both in time from the massacre and in ideological affinity. From this comparison 27 elements are drawn for use as occurrence data in the ESA (see table 1).[3]

The Concrete Event Structure

The prerequisite analysis of the 27 elements yields the concrete structure shown in figure 1. A test of the concrete structure initially prompted three inquiries concerning logical implications. ESA asked if the effects of Levi Remick's opening the IWW hall (Opn) on August 9 were limited to the beating of pickets at the Jamison mill 10 days later. Responding that they were not preserved the causal significance of this action as an early stimulus of group tensions. Similarly, ESA asked whether the effects of the arrest of James Thompson on August 22 were limited to the Jamison mill beatings. Again, responding that they were not preserved the causal links from the opening of the IWW hall to the inauguration of repressions and violent confrontations. These causal links accentuate the critical meaning of the attack by nonunion men on Jamison workers on August 29. The effects stemming from the opening of the IWW hall culminated in the swearing in of deputy citizens by the Commercial Club on August 30 (Sw1). As figure 1 suggests, this event was a key juncture, because it was "the repository of previous actions and funnel[ed] the causal force of that past onto subsequent actions, thereby establishing future possibilities" (Griffin and Korstad 1998: 160). Particularly evident is how this action stimulated a series of events culminating in the Commercial Club's move to prohibit free speech (Pro). Between these two points were 11 events, 5 of them violent encounters (Be1, Ar2, Par, Att,

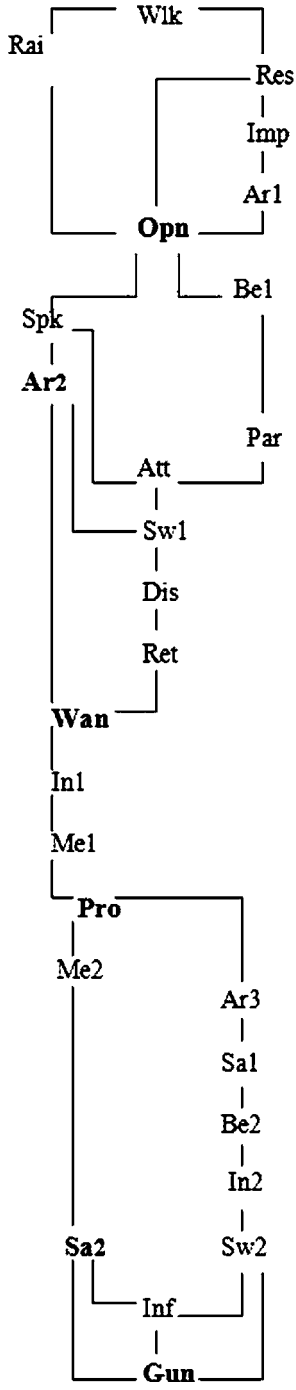

Figure 1 Concrete event structure

Wan). Within this series were two events crucial to the intensification of violence: the swearing in of the deputy citizens (Sw1) and the opposition of a segment of the public to that tactic (Dis). As the concrete structure suggests, actions between the opening of the IWW hall on August 9 and the prohibition enacted by the Commercial Club on September 16 encompassed the core actions of the massacre: violent encounters followed by an elevation of response by each side, punctuated by citizen attempts to investigate and reconcile parties to the conflict.

The General Event Structure

The construction of the general event structure begins with the identification of elements that had a significant impact on shaping the Everett Massacre. Four stand out: the opening of the IWW hall (Ope), the arrest of Thompson (Ar2), the sailing of the *Wanderer* (Wan), and the passing of the Commercial Club's ordinance prohibiting free speech (Pro). Each of these actions was a "repository" of earlier actions and "funneled" causal forces into subsequent actions. Beyond their specific circumstances, they may be theoretically summarized as representing three general social processes: solidarity, mobilization, and reunification. These general processes are dynamically interrelated: specific actions, such as arrests, beatings, or ordinances against public speaking, were intended to reinforce the solidarity of mill owners or Wobblies; these in turn prompted responses in the form of symbolic or violent countermobilization (for similar dynamics, see McAdam 1982; Biggs 2002). Within this dynamic were actions that attempted to reconcile or minimize conflict; such actions may be conceived as efforts at moral reunification, attempts that advanced the interests of the community above the private interests of either mill owners or the IWW. Each of these general processes has a referential dimension (either local or regional) and an expressive dimension (either symbolic or active). Thus the opening of the IWW hall on August 9 was met with ridicule, arrests, and the hall's closing, but the effectiveness of this action came from its symbolic meaning, signaling the physical presence of the IWW in Everett. The Commercial Club's ordinance prohibiting public speaking affirmed a legal right to actively restrain violations. Thompson's arrest (Ar2) on August 22 was a local event, although it prompted a succession of speeches, many of them delivered by people from outside Everett. The sailing of the *Wanderer* on September 9 was regional, for it enlisted

Table 2 Theoretical meanings of general terms

Element terms		
Concrete	General	Theoretical meanings
Ope	LSS	labor solidarity: symbolic
Ar2	LSR	capital solidarity: local
Sw1	CIS	capital mobilization: symbolic
Dis	MRS	moral reunion: symbolic
Wan	LML	labor mobilization: regional
Pro	CSS	capital solidarity: active
Be2	CIV	capital mobilization: active
In2	MRA	moral reunification: active
Sw2	CSA	capital solidarity: active
Sa2	LMR	labor mobilization: regional
Gun	CDI	mutual mobilization: active

Wobblies from outside Everett. The dimensions capture an important direction of change that was relevant to rising levels of violence: as actions moved from local to regional and from symbolic to active, encounters became more collective and severe. More important, alternatives became fewer and a violent denouement more likely.

The central goal of a general event structure is to reduce the several actions of the concrete structure to a minimal number that best capture the essential meaning of the massacre. Accordingly, the number of essential actions may be significantly smaller than the original 27 and may span less time than the concrete structure. Moreover, by capturing the essence of the massacre, the general structure identifies those actions that have their own beginning and end. Gauging the original actions in light of the general processes, the original 27 are reduced to 11, beginning with the opening of the IWW hall on August 9 and ending with the gun battle on November 5. The theoretical meanings of these actions are given in table 2.

The analysis of the 11 elements yields the general event structure given in figure 2, diagram (A). The structure reveals two segments. The first begins with the Thompson arrest on August 22, an action prompted by the opening of the IWW hall on August 9. This act contributed to the symbolic response by mill owners of deputizing citizens and to the mobilization of the IWW in the sailing of the *Wanderer*. The cumulative influence of these actions led the Commercial Club to prohibit speaking in public places. This action was

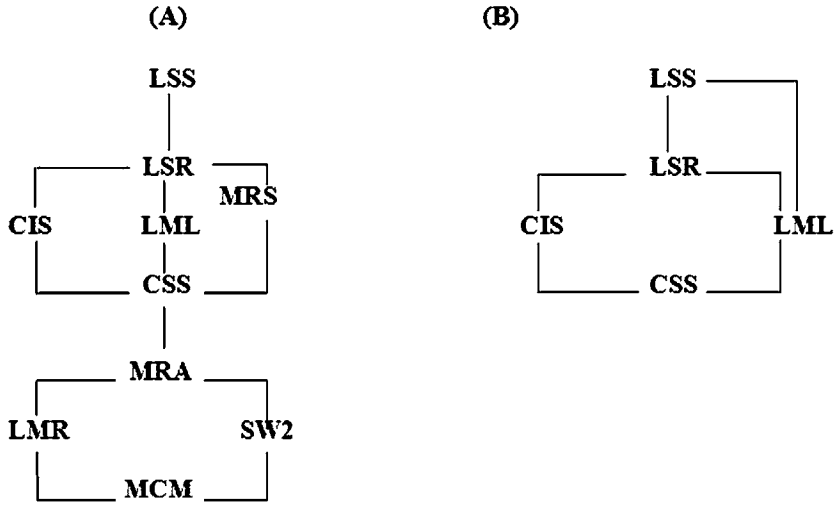

Figure 2 General event structure

a high-water mark of previous conflicts, actively declaring an end to specific encounters by defining the character of future ones. This segment lasted six weeks, from August 9 to September 16.

The second segment begins with an attempt at moral reunification—the investigations by churchmen and citizens into conflicts—and ends with the celebrated gun battle on November 5. This segment spans a mere four days. While ESA distinguishes this segment on logical grounds, it adds little to what the first segment provides. If the second segment is eliminated on this basis, then a final general structure emerges that includes only five actions. As shown in figure 2, diagram (B), this structure begins with the opening of the IWW hall and ends with the Commercial Club ordinance. Between these two actions are three: the Thompson arrest, the swearing in of deputy citizens, and the sailing of the *Wanderer*. While the opening of the IWW hall was conspicuously symbolic, it was certainly an active response that signaled future consequences. The sailing of the *Wanderer* on September 9 was decidedly regional, signaling the capability of the IWW to enlist forces beyond Everett. The Commercial Club ordinance emerges as a central event, for it was the repository of earlier actions whose effects became regional and active. Moreover, following Griffin and Korstad's (1998) term, it funneled these effects into another series of actions that in all essential ways replicated what had occurred before.

The Meaning of Event Structures

The event structures of the Everett Massacre, both concrete and general, have the merit of revealing a picture of the causal relations that link individual actions across time. These pictures depict the paths of dependency in ways that can greatly assist summarizing the multiple actions in fewer theoretical terms. From the general event structure in figure 2, diagram (B), we see that the Everett Massacre began with the opening of the IWW hall on August 9 and ended, not with the gun battle on November 5, but with the Commercial Club ordinance on September 16. The gun battle on November 5, routinely taken to be the massacre, was, as Alexis de Tocqueville (1955: 1) remarked on the French Revolution, "so inevitable . . . yet so completely unforeseen." If the violent ending of November 5 was so inevitable, the essential forces that caused it were in place well beforehand. Following the general event structure, they were in place by September 16.

The Geometry and Imagery of Social Relations

While both the concrete and the general event structures can reveal paths of influence and critical turning points in these paths, the structures do not by themselves identify the meaning of an event and its logical relation to prior or subsequent events. As Michael Biggs (2002: 612) aptly put it in his analysis of the sequence of strikes, "Instead of external variables causing events to 'happen,' actors make decisions in response to previous actions, and those decisions affect subsequent possibilities." The actions in the structures revealed by ESA are, in essence, points in a sequence of decisions. In addition to the logical meaning of their collective structure, the social meanings of prior actions inform a current action, and this impression extends into subsequent actions. The content of event structures is, in sum, the meanings of actions mimicked, shared, modified, or rejected.

Black's (1979, 1993, 1995) image of the *geometry* of social space is a theoretical framework that fits such a view of event structures. Of particular relevance is his concept of *relational distance*. A greater relational distance makes conflict more likely, but the shape and intensity of conflict are not directly determined by the distance between groups. Both of these features are structured by the intervening condition of functional interdependence, especially the degree to which a superior group must rely on the labor of

subordinate groups. To the extent this interdependence wanes, the shape of conflict becomes more collective and its intensity more violent (Senechal de la Roche 1996: 111). In the context of late-nineteenth-century labor relations, employers in the mines and lumber mills of the West could mitigate their dependence on low-skilled workers by promoting an open shop and hiring nonunionized workers. Workers in turn became more antagonistic toward employers and scab labor. As their economic and social interdependence became more strained, disputes became more contentious and frequent.

The factor that can play a crucial role in defining the functional interdependence of employers and workers, and thus in shaping their relational distance, is the constraining influence of a *third party*, acting either in a supportive role as a partisan to one or another group or in a settlement role, with the goal of mediating conflict (see Black 1993: 97). At the Homestead strike, deputy citizens and Pinkerton guards were strongly partisan, intervening in support of the Carnegie Steel Company (Bemis 1894; Morn 1982: 102–3; see also Horan 1968; Reinders 1977; Isaac 2002). In other ways, local citizen inquiries have intervened in a settlement role, attempting to situate themselves outside conflicting parties and to act as authoritative mediators. This trinary structure of relations was evident in Everett, where the central actors were mill owners, Wobblies, and a segment of the public that was critical of the tactics of the mill owners and the Commercial Club.

The occupational base of this segment is revealing. On August 30 some 200 citizens were sworn in to support the position of the Commercial Club, which declared the open shop foundational to law and order and critical to the existence of Everett itself. Soon after the names of these deputy citizens were published, other citizens swore their opposition to the Commercial Club. As table 3 indicates, the majority of the deputy citizens were either presidents or managers of businesses, nonmanual employees in these businesses, or professionals. Only 10 percent were in small businesses. In sharp contrast to this pattern, 85 percent of those opposed to the Commercial Club were in small businesses, typically clothing stores, confectionaries, and repair shops. The political position taken by these small business owners, expressed as a moral opposition to the open shop stance of mill owners and the harsh tactics of the Commercial Club, contrasts with many accounts that find such groups taking reactive positions, reflected in sectarian beliefs that promote sectarian divisions along racial-ethnic or religious lines. Here such partisan expressions may prolong the conflict between central antagonists. In con-

Table 3 Occupations of Commercial Club deputy citizens and opponents

	Commercial Club		Opponents	
Occupation	*N*	%	*N*	%
President-manager	64	35.7	2	3.0
Employee	40	22.3	3	4.6
Technician	22	12.2	1	1.5
Small businessperson	19	10.1	55	85.0
Professional	16	8.9	1	1.5
Realtor	12	6.7	—	—
Laborer	6	3.3	3	4.6
Total	179		65	

Source: Polk City Directory 1916.

trast, a moral opposition by small shop owners may constrain the conflict between central antagonists yet, ironically, ensure a violent finality.

Why small shop owners in Everett expressed moral opposition to mill owners, in effect expressing support for radical syndicalism, is in part explained by the fluidity of social relations in western towns. As noted earlier, divisions between employers and laboring groups were mitigated by personal and routine associations. Moreover, such benign interrelations held out the promise of community, a vision of a cooperative and prosperous future. In these "industrial islands" small shop owners embodied this vision and actively expressed such in the populist and progressive politics of the time. The moral opposition of this third party did not, however, diminish the violence between mill owners and Wobblies. It may, paradoxically, have contributed to its progression. Thus the concept of relational distance requires further explication, especially so where collective violence assumes a closed or terminal form, that is, becomes a conflict that decisively ends "functional interdependence."

As Black (1993: 44) notes, "Pure vengeance is reciprocal." The reciprocal character of vengeance derives, to be sure, from the relational distance between contending groups. Yet the intensity of the conflict derives from a symbolic *equality* between them: collective violence becomes vengeful and inescapable because it becomes reified. Contending groups may live in different economic worlds, but they are "mutually accessible and share a social arena" (ibid.: 46). The conflict assumes a dialectical life of its own, and paradoxically, as the level of violence mounts, the relational distance between

antagonists diminishes. The direction of "reciprocal violence" is, in Girard's (1979: 78) insightful term, toward a "mysterious unanimity." Although separated by economic and cultural markers, with the cumulative history of conflict the antagonists are "transformed into 'twins,' matching images of violence," becoming "*doubles* of the other" (ibid.: 79). Caught in an accelerating process of mimesis, the seemingly unavoidable outcome is a *violent* unanimity.

The monstrous double was formed out of the cumulative history of confrontations between union workers and IWW "sympathizers" on one side and nonunion workers and deputy citizens on the other. The best forum for the expression of these mutually similar images was newspaper accounts of violent encounters. The contrast between partisan news agencies provides not only a means to detect similarities and differences in how the "other" was portrayed but in how the favored party was portrayed as well. The partisan language of newspaper articles condenses the complexity of encounters to a point where culpability is unambiguous. Portrayals of the opposing group are effected through "semantic triplets" (Franzosi 2004) that are reinforced by their metaphoric referent (Cerulo 1998; see also Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Steinberg 2000; Ignatow 2003). Two sequences are fundamental: one emphasizes a group as the *subject* of action directed against the other; another emphasizes the group as the *object* of action directed against it. Where the IWW is portrayed as attacking nonunion workers (W-A-S), this sequence emphasizes the Wobblies as the subject of action and conveys this action with the metaphor of violence. Where IWW members are portrayed as attacked by police and deputy citizens (W-A-O), this sequence emphasizes Wobblies as objects.[4] The metaphoric meaning of the semantic sequence is conveyed indirectly. By substituting a derogatory epithet for the opposing group's actual name and by equating its action to a derogatory motion, the diversity of the group's membership is collapsed into a collective homogeneity. In Kenneth Burke's (1969) terms, the epithet is the *agent* that performs a particular *act*, doing so in a specified place or *scene* directed to some *purpose*. Here the agents are constant: IWW members, nonunion workers, and deputy citizens. What varies are the kind of action attributed to each and whether the other is portrayed as subject or object of such action. The shift from subject to object can vary with a change in scene, and these changes in turn determine the interpretation of the purpose of actions (ibid.: 15), for the semantic sequence expresses a change in the agent/act "ratio" (Signorile 1989).

Table 4 Indicators of the "monstrous double"

Article (event)	Sequence	Agent/act ratio	Metaphor
Everett Tribune			
August 20 (Be1)	W-A-S	mob/attack	fight
August 23 (Be1)	W-A-S	agitators/storm	protection
September 10 (Wan)	M-A-O	gang/invade	struggle
Northwest Worker			
August 24 (Be1)	M-A-S	scab/attack	conspiracy
September 14 (Wan)	W-A-O	hoodlums/raid	battle

Note: W-A-S: Wobblies (mill owners) as subject; M-A-O: mill owners (Wobblies) as object.

Table 4 shows the contrast in focus for the *Everett Tribune* (*ET*), partial to the mill owners, and the *Northwest Worker* (*NW*), partial to the IWW. Lengthy articles were published at key times, violent turning points in the event structure. One was the confrontation between Wobblies and nonunion workers at the Jamison mill on August 19 (Be1); the other was the arrest of IWW members sailing to Everett on the steamer *Wanderer* on September 9 (Wan). In its account of the confrontation at the Jamison mill, the *ET* portrayed the IWW members as a *mob* and as *agitators*, agents who *attacked*, *crowded in*, *pressed forward*. Against these actions the nonunion workers and police were legitimate defenders of human life, property, and civil order. The IWW counterpart was the reduction of nonunion workers to *scabs* who likewise *attacked* and fought with union workers. For both accounts, the metaphor of the August 19 conflict at the Jamison mill was violence: to the *ET*, it was a "pitched battle"; to the *NW*, it was a "fight to a finish." For the confrontation between police and deputy citizens and IWW members on the *Wanderer*, the contrasting accounts display similar mirror images, but the sequence shifts to where each party is now the "object" of actions done to them. The *ET*'s account portrayed the IWW as a *gang* that was *invading* from outside Everett. For its account of the same confrontation, the *NW* portrayed the sheriff and his deputy citizens as an illegal *mob*, defining Wobblies as victims of an act of piracy. After being illegally arrested and beaten, the IWW members on the steamer were hauled away to the "Bastille," a reference underscoring the reactionary purpose of the actions of the police and deputy citizens. The confrontation with the steamer *Wanderer* signified more than a fight; it was a *battle* with implications reaching beyond Everett.[5]

With the passage of time, the relational distance between mill owners

and Wobblies became intertwined with the "dialectic of tragedy" (Burke 1969: 38–41) that draws on memories of collective violence. As both parties evolved into a monstrous double, *their relational distance widened at a macro level yet was reduced at a micro, interpersonal level*. This shift aggravated social interactions at proximate arenas: the mill, shops, and adjoining streets. Interactions were aggravated precisely because of established interdependencies, reinforced by the closeness of residencies, which in turn reinforced the habitual character of encounters. Regional and national referents imposed themselves as a canopy over proximate interactions, scripting conflicts and defining their interpretations. This is conspicuously evident in the shift from subject to object: as social relations widened, mill owners and Wobblies alike adopted the self-conception of *victim*. This was a deliberate part of a mutual interchange where each side responded to previous encounters while attempting to set the terms and conditions of future encounters. With affinities to examples of interpersonal and intimate violence, a self-conception of victim could enable each side to divest its share of responsibility for violent outcomes (see, e.g., Anderson and Umberson 2001). Adoption of such a conception was a deliberate part of a mutual interchange between mill owners and Wobblies, but as time passed, it became less about the wage disputes that had initiated the strike and more about promoting and defending a credible public image. Key to this image was respect, and counterresponses, however violent their results, were key to preserving respect (Gilligan 2003). Again like interpersonal relations, as mill owners and Wobblies evolved into a monstrous double and as this symbolic equality overshadowed their objective inequality, the parameters that would define their future relations became more ambiguous and contested. Such conditions can set the stage for violent outcomes, for, as Roger V. Gould (2003) shows for interpersonal disputes, the smallest disputes could justify the largest conflicts, ensnaring antagonists in a dialectic of tragedy.

Conclusions

One of the most telling features of Everett was the vision of it as a town of great promise, embodying a future that would turn a mill town into a city rivaling the urban centers of the East Coast. This vision was held and expressed primarily by those with capital and by individual mill owners.

To those seeking to invest their own and others' capital, such as Hill and John T. McChesney, and for the major mill owners, such as Clough, Hartley, Hewitt, and Neil Jamison, Everett was an experiment full of adventure and the certainty of fulfillment. These men viewed themselves as the agents of this experiment, the ones legitimately endowed with the necessary will and moral character. Lacking much formal schooling (Clark 1970: 66), these men measured their own character by how they protected what they believed they had won through hard work and successful competition. Yet they were not self-made men. Through associational ties such as the Masons and the Elks and through intermarriage, their fates were imbricated with those of their peers, forming a loose class consciousness sustained by a code of implicit paternal contempt for those lacking the will to achieve. Yet before 1916 their vision was as moral as it was economic, for a class consciousness signaled the weakening of their own capacities as much as it signaled a threat from labor.[6]

Thus before 1916 the *relational distance* between mill owners and workers was obscured by abstractly similar visions and by a series of tensions, both between and within them. Between them, the network of loose ties inhibited open antagonisms and favored verbal compromises as a form of settling disputes. Locally as well as nationally, the social origins of workers and employers did not distinguish them crisply.

The labor conflict in Everett, Washington, earned its description as a massacre more from the violent gun battle on November 5, 1916, than from the sum of its collective violence. The latter does not distinguish such events as Everett and Ludlow, for it characterized many strikes and work stoppages of the late nineteenth century (see Adamic 1931; David 1958; Bruce 1959; Burbank 1966) and the early twentieth. The more conspicuous feature of labor disputes in this region was the finality of their endings. The analysis presented here of the actions that structured the Everett Massacre has sought an explanation for this violent finality, doing so at the level of the *meanings* that linked the most crucial actions. This explanation centers on a key condition: the adoption of a self-conception of victim. The *mutual* adoption of this self-conception appears to be a crucial turning point. With such a self-conception, each side relinquished responsibility for what caused violent encounters and for their outcomes. Moreover, the self-conceptions of victim interacted, as it were, with a segment of small shop owners whose professed neutrality

facilitated, unintentionally, the continuation of violent encounters and their culmination in the final violence of November 5. Although mill owners and Wobblies both viewed themselves as victims, they differed in the sources from which they constructed this image. As the IWW drew its strength from areas well beyond Everett,[7] this heightened the sense of threat to Everett as a local community. In response, the mill owners viewed themselves as the sole defenders of civil order in Everett. As labor turned outward to a more regional base of support, the mill owners turned inward. While wages, working conditions, and political ideology were necessary conditions for the violence of encounters, the mutual adoption of a self-conception as victim was the sufficient cause of a violent, final end to an unfolding conflict.

Further research that would compare (positive) cases with violent finality to (negative) cases without such endings is necessary to test this explanation. At a minimum, this article has argued for the necessity of combining an analysis of event structures with a more detailed discourse analysis of actions identified as critical turning points.

Notes

1 The "industrial armies" of unskilled and migratory labor had their own measure of public sympathy and political support. The apprehension of industrial and manufacturing powers was reinforced by the swell of workers that formed the armies of the Commonweal movement. The gathering numbers of Coxeyites traveled on foot and by rail to Washington, DC, to secure the immediate support of Congress. Although they were summarily rebuffed, the sheer magnitude of idle, angry, but determined workers impressed both corporate power and the radical segment of organized labor. Indeed, the real impact of the movement may have derived from its failure. While it failed to secure legislative change, it stimulated popular sympathy not only for the plight of unemployed men but for their commitment to ideals. The movement's failure to achieve congressional action also impelled the Populist Party. In turn, this broadened the appeal to the ideals of "life, liberty, and happiness" but anchored them in real conditions, "for the right to work at good wages was added to the older conception of property rights" (McMurry 1968 [1929]: 281; see also Vincent 1969 [1894]). To be denied work at a good wage is to be denied the *means* to secure life, liberty, and happiness, however absurd this appeared to many (Veblen 1894). These twin denials were a prime source of the right to speak, and to speak freely, so persistently declared by the IWW. Yet the impact of the Commonweal movement reached beyond the class division between large-scale capital and unskilled labor. The challenge from industrial armies triggered employers to join with both local and state

political figures to seek federal aid, primarily in the form of military assistance. Federal marshals joined with local militia and private guards to crush stoppages and strikes by labor. Backed by local and state militia and reinforced by federal marshals, employers could link the fears about public safety to the legality of protecting property (Fitch 1924: 255). As a consequence, the labor strikes of the 1890s and the first years of the new century assumed a greater scale in both size and drama. Hundreds of workers now confronted hundreds of militia and Pinkerton agents. Moreover, the citizenry beheld a "public opinion" that became galvanized as a force in its own right.

2 The analysis begins with the chronology of actions arrayed in their temporal, sequential order. The actions are read into ESA, which prompts logical yes/no questions. The questions ask if the action was contingent on the prior action, that is, if the prior action was a *prerequisite*. As the actions are read into ESA and the questions answered, the composite of answers produces the configuration of relations, or the event structure. What is central to the procedure is the active participation of the scholar. Answering yes or no is by no means automatic or simply a function of logic. The answer demands historical knowledge, of "counterfactual evidence" in particular (Griffin 1993: 1101–2). Importantly, answers are not limited to the actions that one composes as the chronology in the first place. As one proceeds, the chronology of actions may change. As Griffin and Korstad (1998: 146) state, "ESA lays bare the investigator's understanding so starkly—literally, as a diagram of the logic of action—that insights into causal connectedness and significance are intensely sharpened."

3 There is considerable agreement with Smith's account. This is especially strong for Foner and Clark: only seven of Smith's events are not covered by Foner, and only six are not covered by Clark. The lower level of agreement for Hull may be the result of the more inclusive topic of labor activities. Nonetheless, one-half of Hull's events are identical to Smith's. More important than the level of agreement, however, is the relative independence of sources. This is indicated by Clark (1970: 251n3), the source most likely to reflect predecessors: "I have, of course, used all these works, but rather than fill the same story, again, I have tried to integrate existing scholarship with the primary sources which have as yet been unused."

4 The parallels between the content of newspaper articles, or an equivalent primary source, and specific events ought to be a necessary—and not just supplementary—part of an ESA.

5 The articles for the *Everett Tribute* and the *Northwest Worker* are, respectively, "Cargo Mill Men Clash Twice with Strikers," *Everett Tribute*, August 20; "Sheriff Nabs Launch Laden with 21 I.W.W.'s," *Everett Tribute*, September 10; "Kelly and McRae Defend Strike-Breakers and Gunmen in Everett," *Northwest Worker*, August 24; "Mob of Everett Merchants and Mill Owners Run Amuck in City," *Northwest Worker*, September 14.

6 The paternal contempt of mill owners was directed fundamentally at unionized

workers. The open shop was the moral foundation of a heroic capitalism, and a closed shop was its demise. Yet labor radicalism generally and worker unionization in particular bore a moral conservatism similar to that of employers. For labor, this conservatism stemmed from the legacy of the utopian experiments at the end of the nineteenth century (Grob 1976). Just north of Everett, the Equality Colony was established in 1897 to "socialize" Washington State (LeWarne 1969). Infused with the American form of socialism espoused by Laurence Gronlund (1884) and Edward Bellamy (1897) and with links to Norman Lermond's National Union of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth in the East, the Equality Colony symbolized a populist revolt against encroaching industrial capitalism. Exerting some influence on the Populist and Fusion parties in Washington (Ridgeway 1948), this utopian experiment expressed an early restraint on a class interpretation of labor relations (Grob 1976). Yet as the socialist colonies faded, the mill towns of western Washington opened to the merciless competition of lumber and shingle production. This in turn fostered the frontier unionism common to the mining camps of Colorado and Idaho. By 1910 Everett was a union town, with nearly every mill organized. The legacy of the "cooperative commonwealth" continued to shape both the organization and the vision of labor in Everett. The weekly newspaper the *Commonwealth*, while representing the social and political sentiments of socialist clubs and shingle weavers, sought to control school boards more than to organize strikes for higher wages. The *Labor Journal*, the organ of the Trades' Council, ran bank advertisements that attested to overlapping ties that seemed to elevate the common future of Everett over the private interests of either workers or mill owners (Clark 1970: 116–18). The relations between shingle weavers and mill owners were more often paternalistic than openly adversarial, where fundamental differences were softened by mutual interactions in local churches that voiced the natural affinity between Christian principles and the democratic values of trust and cooperation. Much like the mill owners who met as Masons and Elks, the *brotherhood* of shingle weavers was a fraternal organization protecting workers against illness as well as a labor union to advance economic interests.

7 The *Everett Tribune* of December 21 ran the headline "73 I.W.W. Arraigned on Murder Charge" yet listed 78 names in three groups. A review of these names for residency in Seattle or Spokane found that 26 (33 percent) were listed in the Seattle Polk City Directory and 16 (20 percent) in the Spokane directory; the remainder were in neither directory. Eleven of the latter 16 names were duplicates of names in the Seattle directory. Despite the difficulty in discerning actual residency, essentially all of those who took part in the November 5 sailing and gun battle were from outside Everett. This is not surprising, for the IWW "thrived on repression" (O'Connor 1964: 33), responding to violent confrontations and jailings by calling for Wobblies to mobilize and come to a conflict. Much like migration chains, particular confrontations established ties between cities and defined the tactics used. The free-speech fight in Spokane in the fall and winter of 1909 was a critical antecedent to November 5 in Everett: the sailing of the *Verona* out of Seattle brought men with both

memories and experience of the fight in Spokane. The gun battle on the Everett dock was as much a continuation of the Spokane fight in 1909 and the Ludlow Massacre of 1914 as it was a culmination of the dialectic of tragedy within Everett.

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