Notes

Introduction

1. *Humboldt Times*, January 3, 1884.
2. There is a brief autobiography of Keller's early life in the Kaweah Collection, Folder C. F. Keller, CA 302, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

**Chapter 1**


4. The following contain many biographical sketches of early Humboldt County pioneers: John Carr, *Pioneer Days in California* (Eureka, Calif.: Times Publishing, 1891); Elliott, *History of Humboldt County*. The *Humboldt Historian*, published by the Humboldt County Historical Society since 1953, is a good source for biographical sketches, as is the *Redwood Researcher*, published by the Redwood Genealogical Society.


7. *Humboldt Times*, August 8, 1857. The *Humboldt Times* was the county's first newspaper and commenced publication in September 1854 at Eureka as a weekly. In December 1854 it moved to Arcata, but in 1858 returned to Eureka. It became a daily publication on January 1, 1874.

8. *Humboldt Times*, January 26, 1861, and June 7, 1862.

9. Ibid., September 5, 1863.

10. Ibid., September 13, 1856.
11. Ibid., November 19, 1859.
17. *Humboldt Times*, January 1, 1891.
18. *Report of the California Surveyor General*, 1870, p. 84. The size of the lumber workforce was calculated from the Manuscript Census Schedules of Population for Humboldt County, 1870.
19. *Humboldt Times*, June 8, 1878.
24. According to the 1880 Manuscript Census Schedules for Humboldt County, 211 lumber workers resided in Eureka and 231 in Arcata and the Arcata Precinct.
26. This was true of most large lumber companies in the Pacific Coast states by the late nineteenth century. Cox, *Mills and Markets*, pp. 128–129.
27. Melendy, "One Hundred Years of Redwood Lumber," p. 305. On the history of the U.S. lumber industry and its failure to achieve order and stability,


33. Humboldt Times, October 23, 1889. Howard Libby, who worked in the Humboldt County lumber industry for many years, states that “many of the resident managers of the various companies are men who came up through the ranks.” Interview with Howard Libby, 1953, transcript, Bancroft Library, P-W, vol. 3, p. 5.


35. Some women worked as cooks at logging camps and in mill towns, but most cooks were male. By the early twentieth century, and perhaps before, several mills employed women as clerical workers.

36. Frontier Journal (Calais), July 17, 1851.


40. Eugene F. Fountain, “The Story of Blue Lake” (unpublished manu-


43. Statistics compiled from the Manuscript Census of Population for Humboldt County, 1860, 1870, and 1880.

44. *Arcata Union*, April 12, 1917.

45. Ibid.

46. *Labor Enquirer* (Denver), September 18, 1886.

47. For a fuller description of logging, see Carranco and Labbe, *Logging the Redwoods*; and Carranco, *Redwood Lumber Industry*. For a good general description of technological changes in the West Coast lumber industry during the late nineteenth century, see Cox, *Mills and Markets*, pp. 227–254. Logging terminology differed according to region, with significant differences between the redwood lumber industry and that of the Pacific Northwest. For example, the men who worked in the woods were called ‘loggers’ in Oregon and Washington but ‘woodsman’ in Humboldt County.

48. Descriptions of sawmilling in the Humboldt County lumber industry are not nearly so detailed and frequent as those of logging, but see Melendy, “One Hundred Years of Redwood Lumber,” pp. 56–64; *Humboldt Times*, November 3, 1889; Gates, *Folk’s Claim*, pp. 85–87. As Cox et al. note in their bibliographical essay in *This Well-Wooded Land*, p. 309, there are very few studies of sawmill technology for the post-1850 years.


51. This was particularly evident from an examination of the census, Special Schedules of Manufactures for Humboldt County, 1880.


53. *Humboldt Times*, November 20, 1889.


58. Humboldt Times, January 12, 1897.

59. The Eureka City Census of 1904 was reprinted in Humboldt County Souvenir (Eureka: Times Publishing, 1904), pp. 199–201.

60. Western Watchman (Eureka). September 24, 1887, July 7, 1888, April 25, 1891. Typescript, “History of the Pacific Lumber Company as Told by the Late George Douglas,” Pacific Lumber Company files at Scotia, unmarked folder. See also Allen, Penobscot to the Eel, chap. 14, pp. 7–8.

61. According to the 1880 Manuscript Census Returns, 41.2 percent of millmen were married and 32.6 percent of woodsmen.


65. Strikes by lumber workers were relatively rare in the nineteenth century. There was little effective organization among lumber workers until the coming of the Knights of Labor in the mid-1880s, and the Knights only succeeded in organizing lumber workers briefly. The first major recorded strike of American lumber workers occurred in 1872 in Pennsylvania. Nancy Lee Miller, “Sawdust War: Labor Strife in Lumber-Mills,” Pennsylvania Forests 72 (March–April 1982): 6–8, 13. Federal government statistics indicate that there were only 275 strikes involving 73,626 workers in the “lumber and timber products” industry between 1881 and 1905; Florence Peterson, Strikes in the United States, 1880–1936 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor Bulletin 651, 1938), p. 30. The number of strikes and workers involved in them was far greater in such industries as coal, iron and steel, boots and shoes, the building trades, tobacco, and textiles.

66. Humboldt Times, October 29, 1881.


Chapter 2

224 • Notes to Chapter 2


4. Valuable contributions to our understanding of Gilded Age labor and radical politics before the advent of the Populists have been made in the following books, although they differ in the degree to which they focus on politics: David Montgomery, Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872 (New York: Knopf, 1967); Steven J. Ross, Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Richard J. Oestreicher, Solidarity and Fragmentation: Working People and Class Consciousness in Detroit, 1875–1900 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Nick Salvatore, Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Fink, Workingmen's Democracy.


7. Historians of nineteenth-century America, especially the Gilded Age, are divided as to the relative degree to which local, state, or national politics were people's major frame of reference. Eric Foner's Free Soil, Free Men, Free Labor: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) was deservedly highly acclaimed. Besides having much to say about the roots and nature of the democratic-republican tradition, Foner demonstrates the extent to which politics had been "nationalized" by the 1850s. Yet the consensus of most social and political historians is that peo-
people were animated mainly by local political issues during the Gilded Age. In the oft-quoted phrase of Robert Wiebe, they inhabited "island communities" in terms of their political frame of reference. Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877–1920 (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967). In reviewing the historical literature, Thomas Bender reflects this consensus while trying to reconcile it with contradictory evidence. Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978), pp. 86–120.

10. Ibid., February 4, 1861, p. 52.
11. Humboldt Times, February 27, 1858.
12. Ibid., August 7, 1858.
13. Ibid., January 14, 1860.
14. Ibid., March 26, 1864.
20. Humboldt Times, December 21, 1867, and January 4, 1868.
21. Ibid., January 11 and 18, 1868.
22. Ibid., November 14, 1868.
23. Ibid., January 8, 1868.
24. Ibid., July 15, 1871.
25. Northern Independent (Eureka), July 13, 1871.
26. Ibid., August 26 and September 1, 1869.
27. Ibid., August 19, 1869.
29. Ibid., April 15 and August 26, 1871.
30. West Coast Signal (Eureka), July 9, 1873.
32. West Coast Signal, August 6, 1873.
33. Humboldt Times, August 30, 1873.
34. Ibid., July 5, 1873.
36. Humboldt Times, September 20, 1873.
37. West Coast Signal, September 24, 1873. The local press printed official election returns about two weeks after an election. Local and state election
returns are also available at the California State Library, Sacramento. Returns for 1849 to 1916 are on microfilm at the University of California, Berkeley Library.

38. Biographical information on Sweasey was obtained from T. J. Vivian and D. G. Waldron, *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates to the Convention* (San Francisco: Francis & Valentine, 1878), pp. 29–30; *West Coast Signal*, September 24, 1873; *Democratic Standard*, January 1, 1879; *Humboldt Times*, October 1, 1893; *Western Watchman*, October 7, 1893; and *Nerve*, October 7, 1893.

40. Ibid., January 6, 1877.
41. Ibid., January 20, 1877.

42. *Pacific Coast Wood and Iron*, a trade journal of the Pacific lumber industry, published a review of redwood lumber prices for the previous thirty years in 1899, which was reprinted in the *Humboldt Standard*, December 13, 1899.

43. *Humboldt Times*, February 10, 1877.
44. *Daily Evening Signal*, July 3, 1877; *Humboldt Times*, July 7, 1877.
46. *Humboldt Times*, July 21, 1877.
47. Ibid., July 21 and October 13, 1877, March 2, 1878.
48. Ibid., March 2, 1878.


53. The study named all landholders possessing 500 acres or more in every California county. The *San Francisco Chronicle* began serializing the findings of the *Sacramento Daily Record* on October 28, 1873, and the findings for Humboldt County were published in the *Humboldt Times*, November 8, 1873.

54. *Humboldt Times*, November 8, 1873. See also obituary of Joseph Russ, *Times-Telephone*, October 10, 1886.
55. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 28, 1873.
56. Ibid., November 1, 1873.


59. *Humboldt Times*, April 27, 1878.
60. Ibid.
Notes to Chapter 2 • 227

61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., May 11, 1878.
63. Democratic Standard, November 23, 1878.
64. Humboldt Times, May 9, 1874; Pacific Rural Press, July 14, 1877.
65. Humboldt Times, October 21, 1876.
66. Ibid., November 18 and December 2, 1876.
69. Humboldt Times, September 22, 1877.
70. Delmatier et al., Rumble of California Politics, p. 83.
72. Evening Star (Eureka), January 17, 1877.
74. Statistics compiled from the Manuscript Census of Population for Humboldt County, 1880.
75. Humboldt Times, June 4, 1878; Democratic Standard, June 1, 1878; Ferndale Enterprise, June 1, 1878.
76. Humboldt Times, May 11, 1878.
77. Democratic Standard, May 25, 1878.
78. Humboldt Times, July 6, 1878. In 1878, the bulk of lumber workers, as well as laborers, artisans, and businessmen, resided in Eureka and, to a lesser extent, Arcata. Farmers constituted the majority of the electorate outside these precincts. Unfortunately, even later in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, there were no clearly identifiable "lumber worker precincts," which limits the utility of precinct analysis per se to gauge the voting behavior of lumber workers. Unquestionably, farmers constituted a larger proportion of the registered voters in relation to their numbers than lumber workers and most other occupational groups. Nevertheless, lumber workers made up a significant
proportion of registered voters. The geographic stability of a sizable core of lumber workers, and the relative leniency of residency requirements imposed by California law, both before and after the 1879 constitution, facilitated this. While farmers tended to "persist" longer on the voting registers than most other occupational groups, they too were fairly transient. On the above issues, see Robert A. Burchell, "Opportunity and the Frontier: Wealth-Holding in Twenty-Six Northern California Counties 1848–1880," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 189–190.


81. Ibid., May 24, 1879.

82. Ibid., April 5, 1879.

83. Ibid., May 10, 1879.

84. Ibid., June 7, 1879.

85. Ibid., April 12 and June 28, 1879.

86. Ibid., July 5, 1879.

87. Biographical sketches of the men on the Workingmen’s party ticket appeared in the *Democratic Standard*, July 19, 1879.


89. Ibid., July 5, 1879.

90. Ibid., September 6, 1879.


93. Ibid., April 24, 1880.

94. Ibid., May 15, 1880.

95. Ibid., April 17, 1880.

96. Ibid., January 8, 1881.

97. For critical responses to Sweasey's land-reform proposals, see the *Humboldt Times*, May 4, 11, and 18, 1878. Sweasey strongly defended his proposal in the *Daily Evening Signal*, June 12, 1878.

98. *Arcata Union*, August 14, 1886.

Chapter 3


3. In addition to Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, for accounts of national monetary and economic policy in the immediate post–Civil War years, see Irwin Unger, *The Greenback Era: A Social and Political History of Ameri-


6. Democratic Standard, June 1, 1878.
7. Ibid., May 29, July 3 and 31, 1880.
8. Ibid., July 24, 1880.
11. Reports of the California Surveyor General, 1879 and 1880.
12. Arcata Leader, August 7, 1880.
15. Ibid., July 10, 1880.
17. Ibid., December 25, 1880.

20. This view is well developed in one of the most sophisticated critiques of the Populists’ ideology: Bruce Palmer, “Man Over Money”: The Southern Populist Critique of American Capitalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

22. Ibid., March 19, 1881.
23. Ibid., July 22, 1882.
24. The occupation of most delegates can be established by the 1880 Manuscript Census of Population for Humboldt County or L. M. McKenney & Co., Eight County Directory of Humboldt, Napa, Marin, Yolo, Lake, Solano, Mendocino and Sonoma Counties (San Francisco: L. M. McKenney, 1885). Data for this directory were collected in 1883.

26. Ibid., September 25, 1880.
27. Humboldt Times, September 11, 1880.
28. Ibid., March 26, 1881.
29. Ibid., November 20, 1880.
30. Ibid., November 25, 1882.
31. Humboldt Times, October 22, 1881.
32. Democratic Standard, August 19, 1882.
33. Ibid., August 26, 1882.
34. Ibid.
35. Humboldt Times, August 26, 1882.
36. Ibid., September 2 and 9, 1882.
37. Democratic Standard, March 27, 1880.
38. Ibid., May 29, 1880.
39. Ibid., October 2, 1884.
41. Truth, March 25, 1882; Industrial Worker, June 21, 1924.
42. Humboldt Times, March 11, 1882.
43. Democratic Standard, May 8, 1880; Arcata Leader, May 22, 1880.
44. Democratic Standard, August 26, 1882.
45. Humboldt Times, June 17, 1882.
46. Ibid., October 28, 1882.
47. For an account of the issues surrounding the Debris Bill, see Robert L. Kelley, Gold Versus Grain: The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California’s Sacramento Valley (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1959).

Chapter 4


2. On the industrialization of the American West and the rise of a militant labor movement, see Melvyn Dubofsky, “The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism, 1890–1905,” Labor History 7 (Spring 1966): 131–166.

3. The Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1879–1880 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880) asserted that “much trespassing is reported upon the redwood pine found on the public lands of Humboldt and Mendocino Counties” (p. 577). Many lumber companies acquired land and timber by getting people to file “dummy” entries under existing homestead laws or by simply cutting on the public domain. The Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of the General Land Office are replete with accounts of such practices in California and elsewhere. The abuses of federal land law by lumber interests are examined in Harold H. Dunham, Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of Public Lands, 1875–1891 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edward Brothers,
Notes to Chapter 4 • 231


5. *Ferndale Enterprise*, April 7, 1882.

6. The fullest account of this episode is in *House Executive Documents*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., Exec. Doc. 282, pp. 1–21. See also *Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of the General Land Office* for the following years: 1885, pp. 59–60; 1886, pp. 94–95; 1887, pp. 79–81.


12. Ibid., March 24, 1883.


14. On the general problem faced by lumber entrepreneurs in acquiring timberlands, see Thomas R. Cox, Robert S. Maxwell, Phillip Drennon Thomas, and Joseph J. Malone, *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), pp. 138–142. The authors state that there was “a considerable measure of both public support and official understanding—even sympathy—for lumbermen who had to break the law” (p. 141).


16. Ibid., March 31, 1883.

17. Ibid., March 24, 1883.

18. Intermittent references to Ayres’s involvement appeared in the county press from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s. Ayres’s involvement was most fully exposed by C. F. Bergin, who served as a special agent for the General Land Office investigating the California Redwood Company, in an article in the *Berkeley Daily Advocate*, May 23, 1892.


22. Keller Autobiography, p. 3.


26. For more details on the history of the IWA, see Cross, *History of the Labor Movement in California*.

30. IWA Records, unmarked folder, Keller to Haskell, October 9, 1883.
32. IWA Records, Amelia Jones to Haskell, October 5, 1883.
33. IWA Records, Keller to Burgman, October 9, 1883; Keller to Haskell, October 9, 1883.
34. IWA Records, unmarked folder.
35. Ibid.
37. In an analysis of 147 IWA members in San Francisco, Bruce Dancis concluded that the organization was unsuccessful in attracting unskilled and semiskilled workers. Bruce Dancis, "Social Mobility and Class Consciousness: San Francisco's International Workingmen's Association in the 1880s," *Journal of Social History* 1 (Fall 1977): 75–98.
38. IWA Records, unmarked folder, Keller to Haskell, October 9, 1883.
41. Ibid.
42. Keller Autobiography, p. 3.
43. For an account of the Kaweah Cooperative Colony and the respective roles of Keller and Haskell, see Robert V. Hine, *California's Utopian Colonies* (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1953).
44. *Truth*, January 12, 1884.
45. IWA Records, unmarked folder, August Glat to Haskell, April 16, 1885.
46. Diary of Burnette Haskell, California Historical Society Library, Ms. 952, January 2, 1885.
47. *Times-Telephone*, February 3, 1884.
50. *Industrial Worker*, December 7, 1911.
52. *Humboldt Standard*, May 12, 1884.
55. *Industrial Worker*, December 7, 1911.
60. As noted, Sweasey joined Robert Owen in New Harmony, Indiana, in the 1840s. Speed, like Keller, was a founding member of the Kaweah Cooperative Colony. Cronin, after a colorful career in the labor movement in Oregon
Notes to Chapter 5


5. *Humboldt Standard*, April 15, 1885.
6. Times-Telephone, April 24, 1885.
7. San Francisco Chronicle, May 1, 1885.
8. Humboldt Standard, April 27, 1885.

11. According to the Labor Enquirer of Denver, the paper began as “a six column folio, all home print.” Labor Enquirer, November 8, 1884. Unfortunately, no issues of the Western Watchman are extant before September 18, 1886.
13. Ibid., vol. 8, p. 11, July 18, 1886.
15. Western Watchman, October 9, 1886.
16. Ibid., October 2, 1886.
17. Ibid., September 25, 1886.
18. Labor Enquirer, April 18, 1886.
19. Ferndale Enterprise, September 2, 1887.

20. The Knights of Labor records, although they contain an abundance of correspondence and records of proceedings, do not contain membership lists. Because of the fear of blacklisting and reprisals, Knights in Humboldt County and elsewhere often did not sign their names to correspondence. Most of the names of the leading Knights in Humboldt were obtained from their correspondence with Powderly and the recollections of Gardner and Speed; some came from the county press. Furthermore, in the mid-1880s, an increasing proportion of the local assemblies were designated as “mixed,” even if they were composed primarily of one occupational group.
21. Labor Enquirer, January 24, 1885.

23. Thus Point 7 of the Declaration of Principles stated that the Knights sought “the recognition by incorporation of trades’ unions . . . to improve their condition and protect their rights.” Point 21 asserted that it was the goal of the Knights “to shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours.”

24. The first two planks of the Knights’ Declaration of Principles stated that the aim was “to make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and National greatness” and to “secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create, sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties.” And the last point stated that the Order sought “to persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them, in order that the bonds of sympathy may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.”

25. Mrs. W. S. Johnson to Powderly, March 25, 1886, Powderly Papers, Catholic University of America, Washington D.C.

26. Industrial Worker, June 21, 1924. McClaurin, Knights of Labor in the South, stresses the pervasiveness of factionalism within the Knights and the extent to which the Order attracted people of different occupational back-
grounds (pp. 40–42). Fink, Workingmen's Democracy, agrees that the Knights were often very inclusive in terms of their composition, but does not see this as a source of weakness or of ideological confusion.

27. Charles Devlin to Powderly, September 26, 1886, Powderly Papers.
29. Industrial Worker, June 21, 1924. Cronin played an active role among the Knights in Oregon after leaving Humboldt. Powderly received a stream of letters from Oregon Knights complaining that he was a socialist and an anarchist using the Knights as a vehicle to expand the influence of the IWA. Powderly wrote a succession of letters to Cronin in mid-1886 asking him to respond to the charges. Cronin was a leading figure in fermenting anti-Chinese riots in Oregon and Washington. See Schwantes, "Protest in a Promised Land."

30. Arcata Union, September 25, 1886.
33. Millard Gardner to Powderly, July 20, 1886, Powderly Papers.
34. Western Watchman, December 18, 1886.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., March 19, 1887.
37. Ibid., June 4, 1887.
38. Ferndale Enterprise, June 17, 1887.
39. Western Watchman, June 18, 1887.
40. Ibid., June 4, 1887.
42. Western Watchman, June 4, 1887.
43. Garlock, Guide to the Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, p. 23.
44. Western Watchman, October 1, 1887.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., December 18, 1887.
47. Ibid., March 19, 1887.
48. Ibid., November 27, 1886.
49. Times-Telephone, January 23, 1887.
50. Western Watchman, January 8, 1887.
51. Ibid., November 20, 1886, and March 5 and April 30, 1887.
52. In a letter to the Times-Telephone, "Citizen" ridiculed the idea and stated that an initial capital of $50,000 would be required. Times-Telephone, January 27, 1887.
54. Western Watchman, December 11, 1886.
55. Ibid., February 19, 1887.
56. Ibid., March 19, 1887.
58. Ferndale Enterprise, August 7, 1886.
59. Western Watchman, July 9, 1887.


62. Times-Telephone, September 14, 1886.

66. Industrial Worker, September 16, 1922, and June 25, 1924.
67. Humboldt Standard, September 2, 1886.
68. Arcata Union, October 2, 1886.
69. Labor Enquirer, November 20, 1886.
70. Arcata Union, September 25, 1886.
71. Labor Enquirer, November 20, 1886.
72. Industrial Worker, June 25, 1924.
73. Western Watchman, June 25, 1887.

74. Labor Enquirer, March 6, 1886. Cridge was not opposed to electoral participation per se by the labor movement, but he did believe that for it to be effective and meaningful, a more representative electoral system should be devised. Animated by the failure of the California Workingmen’s party to secure better representation in the late 1870s, he became an influential advocate of electoral reform. His ideas were discussed quite often by the western labor press. His original work, Voting Not Representation: A Demand for Definite Democracy and Political Evolution (San Francisco: published by author, 1880) went through several editions. Cridge was born in Newton, England, in 1824, and emigrated with his family to Canada in 1836. By the 1840s, he was active in the Abolitionist movement in Ohio and continued to be throughout the 1850s. During the Civil War, he worked for the U.S. Secret Service, but later became chief clerk of the Inspection Division of the Quartermaster-General’s office. He refused to become an American citizen until the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1877, he came to San Francisco, where he spent most of the remainder of his life as a journalist. Before his death in 1902, he spent stints in Eureka, Stockton, and San Jose as a journalist and editor. The Star (San Francisco), January 16, 1902.

75. Humboldt Times, June 15, 1886.
76. Arcata Union, August 14, 1886.
Chapter 6


3. Ibid.
6. *Humboldt Standard*, September 2, 1890; *Humboldt Times*, September 2, 1890.
8. *Industrial Worker*, June 25, 1924.
11. Ibid., September 2, 1890.
12. *Western Watchman*, September 6, 1890.
13. Ibid.
21. Ibid., June 23, 1899.
22. Ibid., August 6, 1907.
23. Ibid., September 2, 1899.
25. Roy Rosenzweig concludes that in Worcester, Massachusetts, although Independence Day was an occasion for the working class to affirm the values of mutuality, reciprocity, collectivity, and community, it was also an event at which workers affirmed their ethnic and religious autonomy and behaved in a boisterous and unruly fashion. Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1983). There is no evidence that this was the case in Humboldt County.
27. *Humboldt Times*, May 2, 1881.
28. *Western Watchman*, June 1, 1889.
29. Ibid., July 5, 1890.
Chapter 7

1. There is relatively little published work on California Populism in spite of the fact that the Populists attained considerable support in the state, electing several congressmen and more than 20 representatives to the state legislature between 1892 and 1896. The two major works are unpublished: Harold Francis Taggart, "The Free Silver Movement in California," doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1936; and Donald E. Walters, "Populism in California," doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952. Two books on California history and politics contain useful chapters on California..."


2. California contained between one-third and one-half of the Nationalist Clubs in America. In May 1889, 48 of the 113 Nationalist Clubs in the nation were in California. See Walters, “Populism in California,” p. 20.

3. *Arcata Union*, January 11, 1890.


5. *Coast Seamen's Journal*, December 4, 1889, and February 12, 1890.


7. Ibid., November 29, 1890.

8. Ibid., January 10, 1891.


13. In 1880, however, in a similar journey through the county, Ayres regaled his readers with tales of the farmers' hardships.

14. *Western Watchman*, August 13, 1892; February 23 and May 18, 1895.


17. *Humboldt Times*, January 3, 1895.


21. *Western Watchman*, June 20, 1891.

22. Ibid., July 16, 1891.

23. Ibid., January 2 and May 7, 1892.

24. Ibid., December 19, 1891.

25. Ibid., January 16, 1892.

26. Ibid., February 16, 1895.

27. Ibid., June 20, 1891.

28. Ibid., April 22, 1893.

29. All four essays were reprinted in the *Western Watchman*, February 13, 1892.

30. *Western Watchman*, April 16, 1892.

31. Ibid., June 2, 1894.

32. Ibid., July 21, 1894.


34. *Pacific Rural Press*, October 24, 1891.

35. *Western Watchman*, July 23, 1892.

36. Besides Willsie and Ayres, several Greenbackers occupied leadership positions in the county Alliance and People’s party.

37. A biographical sketch of all Populist candidates appeared in the *Western Watchman*, August 20, 1892.

38. *Western Watchman*, July 30, 1892; *Nerve*, October 29, 1892.

39. The official election results were published in the *Western Watchman*, November 19, 1892. Voting statistics for other California counties were calculated from data in Walter Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836–1892* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955).


41. Ibid., January 11, 1890.

42. *Nerve*, October 29, 1892.

43. *Humboldt Times*, December 28, 1893.

44. *Nerve*, July 9, 1892.

45. *Western Watchman*, April 30, 1892.

46. Ibid., August 5, 1893.

47. *Humboldt Standard*, August 2, 1893.


50. *Western Watchman*, November 28, 1896, and June 16, 1897; *Humboldt Times*, July 1, 1896.

51. *Western Watchman*, May 12, 1894.

52. Ibid., August 19, 1893.


54. Ibid., December 21, 1894.
55. *Western Watchman*, July 14, 1894.
56. *Humboldt Times*, July 13, 1894; *Humboldt Standard*, July 12, 1894.
57. *Western Watchman*, July 14, 1894.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., November 10, 1894.
60. Ibid., January 27, 1894.
61. Ibid., August 18, 1894.
62. Ibid., September 1, 1894.
63. Ibid., April 1, 1893.
64. Delmatier et al., *Rumble of California Politics*, p. 115.
67. Ibid., February 22, 1896.
68. Ibid., January 21, 1896.
69. *Humboldt Times*, October 7, 1892.
71. Ibid., April 4, 1888.
72. Ibid., September 1, 1888.
73. Ibid., October 13, 1888.
74. *Humboldt Times*, December 31, 1893 and November 2, 1894.
75. Ibid., August 28, 29; October 1, 19, 11, and 17, 1896.
76. Ibid., September 24, 1896.
77. Ibid., October 15, 1896.
78. The Humboldt County Republicans broke with the California Republican party by opposing free silver. All three parties in California favored free silver. See Harold F. Taggart, “California and the Silver Question in 1895,” *Pacific Historical Review* 6 (September 1937): 249–269.
80. Ibid., October 31, 1896.
84. Ibid., September 24, 1896.
85. Ibid., October 15, 1896.
86. Ibid., September 1, 1896.
89. Ibid., February 27, 1897.

**Chapter 8**

1. Between 1897 and 1904, membership in American trade unions increased from 440,000 to 2,067,000. The growth of the California labor move-

3. Ibid., table 34, pp. 738–739.
6. Eureka City Census, 1904.
8. Eureka City Census, 1904; Humboldt Standard, January 1, 1907.
11. Humboldt Standard, October 6, 1902. Seventeen unions were founded by early October 1902. At least three more unions formed by the end of 1902.
12. Humboldt Times, August 24, 1902.
15. *Humboldt Times*, February 20, 1903.
16. Ibid., July 28, 1901, and July 31, 1902.
17. Ibid., October 11, 1902.
18. The reports of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics during the early twentieth century are a good source for comparing wage rates by occupation in different California localities.
22. Ibid., January 16, 1903; *Humboldt Times*, April 2, 1903; January 26 and October 25, 1904. Knight, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area*, provides examples of similar practices.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., October 7, 1905.
32. Ibid., July 7, 1906.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., December 15, 1906.
35. Ibid., December 1, 1906.
36. Ibid., January 20, 1906.
39. Ibid., December 29, 1906.
40. Ibid., December 23, 1905.
41. Ibid., October 28, 1905.
43. *Labor News*, May 6, 1905. *Labor News* reported that by May 1905, 1,500 lumber workers were union members “with 1,102 obligated.” In 1906, there is little doubt that the IBWSW increased its membership.
44. A good example of such a contract was reprinted in *Labor News*, June 9, 1906.
Chapter 9

1. This does not include the narrow-based International Shingle Weavers Union of America, which was chartered on March 3, 1903.

2. The historical literature on American lumber unionism and workers is comparatively limited in view of the industry's importance, and much of it is


4. Estimates of the size of the lumber workforce in Humboldt County during the early twentieth century vary from 4,000 to 5,000. An article in the *Portland Oregonian*, reprinted in the *Humboldt Times*, October 10, 1903, put the figure at 5,000, as did the *Oakland Enquirer*, September 23, 1902. The *Humboldt Standard*, in a major feature edition on the county’s lumber industry, put the number at closer to 4,000. *Humboldt Standard*, January 1, 1907.


9. The most comprehensive work on Hammond and the Hammond Lum-


14. For general descriptions of the operations of the Northern Redwood Lumber Company and the town of Korbel, see *Humboldt Times*, February 3 and November 26, 1903; *American Lumberman* 73 (March 5, 1904): 16; *Pacific Coast Wood and Iron* 48 (August 1907): 11: "Korbel: The Way It Was in 1912," *Humboldt Historian* 24 (September–October 1976): 1, 4.

15. *Humboldt Times*, September 16, 17, 19, 23, and 30, 1902; *Humboldt Standard*, September 22 and October 20, 1902.


19. Ibid., October 24, 1903.

20. Ibid., January 14, 1904.

21. Ibid., February 16, 1904.


23. Ibid., February 25, 1905.


31. Ibid., April 22, 1905.

32. Ibid., March 25, 1905.

33. Ibid., April 29, 1905.

34. Ibid.


37. Ibid., December 30, 1905.

38. Ibid., April 29, 1905.


41. Ibid., June 2, 1906.

42. Ibid., December 5, 1905; February 3 and August 4, 1906.

43. Ibid., September 15, 1906.


46. Ibid., September 2, 1905.

47. Ibid., May 16, 1906.

48. Ibid., June 16, 1906.

49. Ibid., March 9, 1907.

50. Ibid., April 13, 1907.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., April 27, 1907.

53. Ibid., August 4, 1906.

54. Ibid., September 22 and 29, 1906.

55. Ibid., November 3, 1906.


58. Ibid., December 15, 1906.


63. Hammond resided in San Francisco and was a leading member of the city's antiunion San Francisco Citizens' Alliance.


65. Ibid., November 17, 1906.

66. Ibid., November 10, 1906.

68. *Humboldt Times*, February 28 and April 28, 1907; *Labor News*, March 9, 1907.


73. Ibid.


75. Ibid., vol. 26, p. 299, letter of Irving Harpster, April 22, 1907.

76. *Humboldt Standard*, April 29, 1907.

77. *Labor News*, May 4, 1907. The failure of the union movement to take root at the pioneer lumbering concerns was noted as early as 1905. *Labor News*, April 17, 1905.

78. *Humboldt Times*, May 2, 1907; *Arcata Union*, May 4, 1907.

79. *Humboldt Times*, May 2, 1907.


83. *Humboldt Times*, May 23, 1907.

84. On the IWW in Humboldt County, see Jerry Willis, "The Story of the IWW in Humboldt County, 1905–1924" (unpublished ms., 1969, Humboldt State University Library).


86. *Industrial Union Bulletin*, May 25, 1907.


91. *Humboldt Times*, May 23, 30, 1907; *Humboldt Standard*, May 23, 1907; *Labor News*, May 25 and June 1, 1907.

92. *Humboldt Times*, May 23, 1907.


94. Ibid., June 15, 1907.

95. *Labor News*, June 1, 1907.

97. Humboldt Times, May 9, 1907; Labor News, May 25, 1907.
98. Labor News, June 1, 1907.
100. Labor News, June 8, 1907.
101. Humboldt Times, June 5, 1907.
102. Ibid.
103. Labor News, June 29, 1907.
104. Ibid., July 20, 1907.
105. Ibid., September 7, 1907.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., September 16, 1909.

Chapter 10

1. Labor News, June 8, 1907.
2. Ibid., September 7, 1907.
3. Ibid., November 9, 1907.
4. Ibid., September 28, 1907.
6. Ibid.
9. Ibid., May 2 and June 13, 1908.
11. Ibid., vol. 25, p. 228, letter of William Carson, March 5, 1908.
12. Labor News, August 31 and September 7, 1907.
13. Ibid., August 28, 1909.
14. The Pacific Lumber Company announced it would build its own hospital, while the Hammond and Northern Redwood companies offered an insurance plan using the county’s existing hospital facilities.
16. Humboldt Times, May 1, 1908; Labor News, November 19, 1910. In spite of the decision, the Union Labor Hospital flourished for many years.
20. Ibid., September 30, 1911.
22. Ibid., September 17, 1910; July 20, 1911; and December 26, 1912.
24. Ibid., March 12, 1910.
25. Ibid., January 8, 1910, and July 12, 1913; *Arcata Union*, April 22, 1910.
27. *Industrial Worker*, November 16, 1911; January 4 and August 11, 1912; May 1 and 15, 1913.
28. Ibid., January 4, 1912.
30. Ibid., July 12, 1913.
31. Ibid., March 19, 1910. Unfortunately, there are no data on money wage rates in the Humboldt County lumber industry in the twentieth century. Wage increases and cuts were sometimes reported in the local press. There are no reports of general increases in lumber workers' wages before 1917. Given the steady rate of inflation in the Progressive era, it seems almost certain that real wages declined.
33. Ibid., May 30, 1908.
34. Ibid., July 29, 1911.
35. Ibid., May 2 and 16, 1908; July 10, 1909; August 20 and October 1, 1910; January 7 and April 15, 1911.
36. Eureka's population grew from 7,327 in 1900 to 11,111 in 1904, and to 12,147 by 1908. The population of Eureka in 1904 and 1908 was determined by city censuses. The results were published in the *Humboldt Times*, January 13, 1904, and January 15, 1908.
38. Ibid., May 22, 1909.
40. *Humboldt Times*, June 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1909.
41. Ibid., June 2, 1909.
47. *Humboldt Times*, October 5, 1909.
50. Ibid., July 23, 1910.
53. Ibid., September 11, 1909.
54. Ibid., December 18, 1909.
55. Humboldt Times, January 5, 1911.
56. Ibid., January 6, 1911.
57. Ibid., January 8, 1911.
60. Labor News, September 12, 1908.
61. Ibid., October 31, 1908.
62. Ibid., October 29 and November 5, 1910.
63. In tabulating the Socialists by occupation, more than 100 occupational categories were listed in the Register of Voters, most of them working-class occupations. The table, therefore, understates the number of working-class people who registered as Socialists.
64. Besides strong branches of the Socialist party in Eureka, Arcata, and Fortuna, reference was found to branches in the rural townships of Loleta, Falk, Petrolia, and Shower's Pass.
66. Industrial Worker, September 28, 1911.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., November 2, 1910.
70. Labor News, September 23, October 28, and December 2, 1911.
71. Humboldt Times, December 5, 1911.
73. Humboldt Times, June 21, 1911.
74. Labor News, April 20, 1912.
75. Ibid., May 18, 1912.
76. Ibid., March 4, 1911.
77. Ibid., December 17, 1910.
78. Ibid., June 15 and July 27, 1912.
79. Ibid., January 6, 1912.
80. Humboldt Times, April 4, 1912.
81. Ibid., August 7, 1912.
82. Ibid., October 16, 1912.
83. Ibid., July 10, 1912.
84. Humboldt Beacon, June 28, 1912.
85. Labor News, October 5, 1912.
86. Ibid., November 30, 1912.
87. For a biographical sketch of Elijah Falk, see Irvine, History of Humboldt County, pp. 339–340.
89. Ibid.
91. Ibid., April 15, 1915.

Chapter 11

1. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 82.
4. Ibid., March 6, 1915.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., October 16, 1915.
7. Industrial Worker, August 27, 1910.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., October 8 and November 2, 1910.
10. Ibid., January 5, 1911.
11. Ibid., February 2, 1911.
12. Ibid., July 6, 1911.
13. Ibid., December 26, 1912.
15. According to the Industrial Worker, the largest response to the strike call came from 1,000 paper mill workers in Oregon. Elsewhere, isolated groups of a few hundred lumber workers struck. The strike was called off on July 3, 1913. See Industrial Worker, July 10, 1913. Philip Foner, who at one point describes the lumber industry as "an ideal field for the IWW" (p. 218), acknowledges that the strike was a failure. Philip S. Foner, The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905–1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1965), pp. 219–227.
18. Manuscript Census, Humboldt County Census of Population, 1910. Lumber workers residing in Hydesville and Cuddeback towns were excluded, as they almost certainly were outside the geographical orbit of the Pacific Lumber Company.
20. Humboldt Times, January 8, 1911.
22. Industrial Worker, June 15, 1911.
34. *Industrial Worker*, November 25, 1922.
35. Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, p. 63.
39. *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Session, Pacific Logging Congress, 1914*, p. 3. Labor historians have given relatively little attention to the introduction of incentive and piece-rate systems of wage payment in the 1910s and

41. Ibid., p. 31.
42. Labor News, July 20, 1918.
44. Labor News, July 20, 1918; Labor Clarion, August 16, 1918.
53. Industrial Worker, January 30, 1913.
55. Ibid.
58. Humboldt Beacon, September 8, 1916.
60. Humboldt Times, April 1, 1909.
62. *Humboldt Beacon*, December 8, 1911.
64. *American Lumberman* 73 (January 9, 1904); *Humboldt Times*, October 28, 1903, and January 7, 12, 16, 17, and 26, 1904.
65. Recollections of Elsie Miller, 1953, transcripts, Bancroft Library.
67. *Humboldt Beacon*, August 8, 1913.
68. *Humboldt Times*, July 6, 1914.
69. Ibid., November 23, 1917.
70. Ibid., March 13, 1918.
76. *Humboldt Beacon*, June 28, 1918.
78. *Industrial Worker*, November 25, 1922.
82. *Humboldt Times*, July 6, 1919.
83. Ibid., June 18, 1920.
84. Ibid., May 13, 1920.
85. Ibid., January 4, 1921.
87. The Camp Sanitation Act of 1913 stated that bunkhouses, tents, and other sleeping places were to be kept in a "cleanly state," free from vermin "and matter of an infectious and contagious nature." Every bunkhouse had to be well ventilated and the bunks made of iron or canvas.


89. Ibid., pp. 138–139.

90. Ibid., p. 140.

91. The records of the Commission are housed at Bancroft Library.


94. Letter from Director of Camp Sanitation (unsigned) to H. W. Cole, December 18, 1921, Records of the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, carton 18, folder 12.


96. Ibid.


Postscript

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., September 8, 1917.
5. Humboldt Times, April 30, 1917.
8. Industrial Worker, July 30, 1917.
10. American Federationist 25 (June 1918): 498.
12. Ibid., June 28, 1919.
16. In the early 1920s, eight Wobblies were convicted and sent to prison by the Humboldt County courts and others were arrested and tried. On the persecution of the IWW there, see Jerry Willis, "The Story of the IWW in Humboldt County, 1905-1924" (unpublished ms. at Humboldt State University Library, 1969).
17. Industrial Worker, July 29, 1922.
18. Ibid., October 6, 1923.
21. Industrial Worker, July 29, 1922.
22. Ibid., November 22, 1924.
24. Ibid., p. 95.
27. The fullest accounts of the IWA and the STWU’s organizing efforts


30. George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1980), p. 95. In a frequently cited article, Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, “The Interindustry Propensity to Strike—An International Comparison,” in *Industrial Conflict* ed. A. Kornhauser, R. Budn. and A. M. Ross (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), pp. 189–212, the authors put the U.S. lumber industry in the “medium-high” category for the propensity to strike in the period from 1927 to 1941 and 1942 to 1948. This assessment must be treated with some caution. The 1927 to 1941 time frame was broad and did not distinguish between the propensity to strike from 1927 to the mid-1930s and the later years when strike activity undoubtedly increased. Furthermore, Kerr and Siegel used man-days lost due to strikes as their statistical criterion. The potential for one or several major strikes to distort the picture using this criterion is obvious. It would be useful to know both the absolute number of strikes in an industry and especially the number of days lost in relation to the number of workers employed in the industry. Paul Edwards, in his book, *Strikes in the United States, 1881–1974* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1981), uses a variety of indices to measure the incidence of strikes between 1950 and 1972. With respect to the lumber industry, of the four indices established by Edwards, only in one, the number of days lost per worker involved in strikes, could the industry be described as ranking in the “medium-high” category. See pp. 192–193.