

Repression of the I.W.W.in Coos County, Oregon: The Role of the Press in the Extralegal
Deportations, Conflicting Views of Constitutional Rights, and a Demand for Justice

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In early August 1913, Oregon Governor Oswald West received a series of letters urging him to take action to ensure that local officials were enforcing the law in Coos County, Oregon. "To the Hon. Oswald West, governor... Sir, I have the honor to ask your Excellency whether or not you intend to act in regard to the outlawry and desecration of the American flag? By a mob in the Co of Coos. I am Respectfully Chas J. Gilroy An old Soldier."ⁱ That same day a letter arrived from D.W. Carpenter who stated, "That the Federal laws have been broken and men have been illegally interfered with in the exercise of their Constitutional rights and privileges is apparent to the dullest mind."ⁱⁱ The previous day West had received a letter from Myrtle Point blacksmith W.T. Ramsey entreating the governor for help: "Now if the state law and the U.S. law is stronger than mob law. Please help the law abiding citizens of the County of Coos state of Oregon to in force the law and Prosecute sed mob to the full extent of the law."ⁱⁱⁱ These Coos County citizens were referring to the extralegal deportations of I.W.W. officials and the same treatment of a publisher sympathetic to their plight.

On June 24th several hundred business men and citizens of Marshfield forced four members of the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) to leave town. This mob took I.W.W. Organizer Wesley Everest and Secretary W. J. Edgeworth from the city jail where they had been placed after being arrested for vagrancy.^{iv} Humiliated and beaten they were deposited at Jarvis Landing, across Coos Bay, north of Marshfield.^v On July 11th the Bandon Commercial Club instigated the deportation of Dr. Bailey K. Leach, the editor of *Justice* a socialist journal, who mounted an editorial protest to the activities that occurred in Marshfield. Numerous eyewitnesses testified that Coos County Sheriff Gage, Bandon Marshall Charley Hubbard, Marshfield Mayor Straw, and the Mayor of Coquille witnessed the extralegal deportations and refused to act in an effort to uphold the rule of law.^{vi}

The proclamation, by Mayor Straw of Marshfield, of an edict that prohibited street speaking led to the arrest of nine people on May 6, 1913. This number included socialists and members of the I.W.W., and the arrests precipitated a strike where the I.W.W. attempted to gain improvements of working conditions in the logging industry.^{vii} The strike failed to grow due to efforts led by business interests who opposed the I.W.W. due to their advocacy for the overthrow of capitalism and who had the power of local officials and news outlets squarely behind them. The isolation of this region contributed to the failure of the strike as other I.W.W. members could not easily travel to the area. Despite this reality, and the small nature of the strike, local businessmen feared the possibility of a convergence of I.W.W. members due to the continued organizational efforts of the remaining officials and, in response to the editorial encouragement of the local press, seized illegitimate authority and deported four I.W.W. members. The agitation of Leach led to his deportation by citizens in the nearby town of Bandon. Despite the efforts of Governor West the victims of these crimes found no justice. The radical nature of the I.W.W., and its advocacy of direct action methods, set the stage for these events and provided the only justification needed by the men who controlled the community at the time.

On June 24, 1913 a group of around 500-600 citizens forcibly deported Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) organizer Wesley Everest and regional secretary W. J. Edgeworth from the town of Marshfield, in Coos County, and transported them across the bay before releasing them at Jarvis Landing on the north side of Coos Bay.^{viii} Later in the day Fred A. Roberts and another man protested the treatment of the Edgeworth and Everest and were hastened out of town in the same manner.^{ix} These men were accused of belonging to the I.W.W., a charge which Roberts later denied.^x The group of citizens, which included most of the business community in this isolated town, purported to be defending American values threatened by the

activities and ideology of the I.W.W. members, popularly known as Wobblies. A man carrying a large American flag led the procession, which all of the Wobblies were forced to kneel and kiss in a symbolic gesture of submission to these American values.^{xi}

Slightly more than two weeks after the Marshfield event, on July 11th, over 200 citizens in nearby Bandon forced town resident Dr. Bailey Kay Leach to leave town because of his negative editorial coverage of the Marshfield deportation in his socialist journal *Justice*.^{xii} Concern over plans announced by Edgeworth to open an I.W.W. headquarters in Bandon contributed to this action.^{xiii} The Bandon Commercial Club orchestrated the eviction and the group included workers summoned from the Moore Lumber Company and the Lyons-Johnson Lumber Co.^{xiv} Around 1:30 PM Leach boarded the Dora and the boat left Bandon. Leach later asserted that he was willingly traveling to Coquille to request protection from Sheriff Gage whom he was unable to reach in three telephone attempts that morning.^{xv} Leach was accompanied by "a body of citizens" that intended to ensure his compliance in leaving the area.^{xvi} The Dora carried him to Coquille, along the way the men onboard forcibly restrained Leach when he attempted to leave the boat when it was stopped at the Railroad Dock.^{xvii}

Before the Dora landed at Coquille, a dozen automobiles arrived from Marshfield full of business and professional men, which provided the first indication for Coquille citizens that something was happening. Soon a procession of around 200 people made their way to the dock preceded by an old soldier carrying an American flag.^{xviii} Dixie Anderson of Marshfield announced to the Bandon contingent on the Dora that "everything was ready." Upon arrival the Bandon men seized Leach's bag and pushed him ashore, where two unknown men grasped him. He was decorated with a small American flag, advised by the mayor of Coquille that he was not welcome and must leave, and then forced into an automobile and driven to Marshfield in a

procession of vehicles. Once in Marshfield he was quickly placed on a boat and carried to Jarvis Landing in the same manner as Edgeworth and Everest.^{xix}

In its coverage of the incident, *Coquille Herald* newspaper praised the actions of all involved. "No secrecy was attempted and the people taking part in the demonstration included many of the most prominent in the county. It was sim[p]ly an uprising of good citizens to rid the county of a character who has no place in any American community."^{xx} The editor of that publication, P.C. Lever, had recently taken that position after previously occupying the same position at the Marshfield newspaper the *Coast Mail*.^{xxi} Lever did not describe where he felt Leach belonged if not in an American community or explain how it was possible for obvious lawbreakers, who illegally restricted Leach's Constitutional rights remain "good citizens."

Events that led to Leach's deportation began on the evening of July 10, 1913 when the Bandon Commercial Club, a group of prominent local businessmen organized to promote economic growth, met to discuss the organization of the Port of Bandon. This was the proposed expansion and consolidation of the port facilities as a collaborative venture by the Bandon Commercial Club, and one of many of their plans ridiculed by Dr. Leach.^{xxii} After one speech on the topic of the Port, however, the focus of the meeting came to rest on the "vile actions" of Dr. Leach. Members of the group read excerpts from Leach's socialist journal, *Justice*, in which Leach castigated the behavior of the Marshfield citizens. They also read from a letter written by Edgeworth indicating he was planning to come to Bandon with the intent of organizing.^{xxiii}

According to testimony provided by Mile Breuer, a Bandon resident, to Attorney General Crawford this letter had been obtained through an inadvertent mistake. The letter was addressed to a man named Goodman, but someone named Goodrum had opened it by mistake. According to Breuer, the letter contained the statement that, "the I.W.W. will come to Bandon, and establish

headquarters there.” In spite of the mistake made in opening the letter, the man copied and disseminated the information. Breuer suggested in his testimony that Leach’s role as editor of *Justice* provided the impetus for the deportation.^{xxiv}

The Commercial Club promptly appointed a “Citizens” committee of ten men to summon Leach to appear before the meeting.^{xxv} This group arrived at Leach’s residence around 10:00 PM and according to J.A. Kabourek, who lived with Leach and was present at the time, consisted of around thirty men. Kabourek testified that, “they wanted him [Leach] at the Commercial Club and that he had to go.”^{xxvi} When Leach arrived the Commercial Club members informed him that *Justice* was a menace to the community and they would not allow it to be published any longer. The members of the Commercial Club charged Leach with insulting the American flag, based on an article he had published. Furthermore, the group told Leach that they considered him an undesirable citizen and, as such, he would be required to leave town. Leach claimed that he was misunderstood and that the Bandon citizens did not comprehend the humor in his writing. E. H. Smith, a bookkeeper for a Bandon lumber company and one of the leaders of the group, then said, “The humor of it is that you will have to leave here before 2 o’clock tomorrow” and the meeting ended.^{xxvii}

Leach wrote and edited *Justice*, a journal devoted to socialism which often had the subtitle *A Demand for Equal Rights and Opportunities*. This journal castigated what Leach perceived as detrimental to the public interest and included titles and content of a provocative nature intended to spur the reforms he deemed necessary in American society. The article titled “Immorality of Boy Scouting” detailed Leach’s opposition to the boy scouts, “The boy scout movement was organized by a military monster who looks on the body of human society as an organism the sole function of which is to turn out killers of men.”^{xxviii} Leach began the article

“Patriotism” with the statement “Ordinary Patriotism is bigotry”, which he explained by asserting that patriotism to any specific country entails the promotion of the interests of that state over all others. In the article “Graves of Marshfield” Leach mocked Robert Graves by saying “The hot air of your verbal orifice will compel all the socialists within reach to run to cover and seek instant fumigation.” This comment was made in response to Graves’ statement that “A man who stands on the street corner and speaks while holding in his hand the red flag of anarchy, is not fit to have the protection of a good government.”^{xxix}

“Salute the Flag!” is the article that proved most damning in the eyes of the business men, aside from the article about the deportation of Everest and Edgeworth that raised the hackles of *Coos Bay Times* editor Maloney, and it served as a convenient pretext for Leach’s deportation. In this article Leach evoked the “thirty million slaves toiling and suffering under the tyranny of their plutocratic masters” then made the statement that “the Stars and Stripes mean...that the ensign of liberty has become the emblem of oppression and tyranny. To these toilers it is no longer the flag of freedom;—it has become the rag of despotism.”^{xxx}

Clearly Leach was suggesting that the exploitation of labor by capitalists had made a mockery of the inalienable freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and led to a situation where the American flag represented the interests of the capitalists who, through political machination and violence, had gained an unfair advantage in their relationship with labor. This is why Leach, when accused of insulting the flag, had protested that the members of the Commercial Club failed to see the humor in his rhetoric. It is also clear why business men might take exception to such commentary.

The deportation of Leach occurred due to his support for the I.W.W., and the portrayal of him as an I.W.W. member was integral in the justification for this event, both before and after it

occurred. Without a doubt the agitation mounted by Leach against local businesses and organizations played a role in his deportation. His affiliation with the Socialist Party and leadership of the Coos County socialists alone did not provide reason for problems, as Coos County had a large population of socialists. In fact *Times* editor Maloney, a friend of local business and a co-conspirator in the deportations, had praised socialism in an editorial. That spring he said "The Times is surprised that the Socialists of Coos Bay sympathize or encourage the I.W.W." before declaring that "Socialism contains many beautiful theories that are appealing."^{xxxix} The *Times* reported that Leach's "vile attacks on the citizens of Marshfield and his upholding the I.W.W. movement" provided the impetus for his eviction. The day after this happened Maloney stated that "Leach was deported because he was an I.W.W. in sympathy in preaching and practice" and claimed he "professed Socialism hoping to secure immunity." This article contended that the perpetrators of Leach's deportation intended to send a message to surrounding communities that the I.W.W. was not welcome in Bandon.^{xxxii}

In the last issue of *Justice*, written the same evening as the Commercial Club meeting, Leach denounced mob activity in general and characterized the Bandon Commercial Club as "the mob." In the article, "The Mob" Leach declared, "The mob invariably justifies its infamous onset by declaring that it is vindicating something; that it is upholding the law; that it is defending virtue and honor; that it stands for justice." It also stated, "The mob demands obedience to the law. And the mob outrages all law. The mob howls for order. And the mob makes a mockery of order."^{xxxiii} This disregard for the law is illustrated in the statements attributed to Sheriff Gage, "the law be damned, while we have a man like West for Governor we have no law," and to a Mr. Cassidy and Mr. McDermott who said, "the law be damned." These men then insinuated that the will of the majority would serve as a substitute. A Mr. Sullivan told

Lesley Martin, the Bandon resident who provided the testimony, that if Martin opposed it he “would have to leave as well.”^{xxxiv} Some Bandon business men told Albert Christenson, who owned the house Leach lived in and protested against the treatment given to Leach, that if he did not like it he “would have the same treatment” and “the law was too slow for that kind of thing.” Christenson’s association with Leach led to another threat against his person when McDermott later asked if Christenson had any I.W.W. papers in his possession before saying he was only trying to prevent trouble as, “the Marshfield people were coming” for him.^{xxxv}

The issue being argued by these men involved the application of law. Leach and his supporters, along with the I.W.W. members, argued that constitutional rights to free speech and free assembly should be enforced regardless of the ideology being espoused. The business establishment, local officials, and the mainstream newspapers took the view that the ideas expressed by the I.W.W., the overthrow of the capitalist system, ownership of the means of production by the worker, along with an embrace of anarchism, removed the protection of the law from these men. The deprivation of the civil liberties of the Wobblies and Leach occurred in defense of sacred American values such as the right to own property, and in defense of the capitalistic economic system, in the eyes of the perpetrators of the deportations.

The final issue of *Justice* contained the article, “Mob Law in Bandon” which opened with Leach’s description of the activities on the night of July 10, 1913: “The mob has arrived, growled, shown its wolfish teeth—and with an eager wistful expression of blood-lust, ordered me to cease production of JUSTICE—and to leave town by 2 o’clock Friday.” Leach plaintively observed that, “Their word is law...But where is the law for me?” Leach claimed that the Constitution was the law that would vindicate him and pledged to, “institute proceedings against every individual member of that disgraceful bunch.”^{xxxvi}

Leach's threat was not an empty one. After being deposited on Jarvis Landing, he traveled to Salem, Oregon and met with Governor Oswald West. Governor West, a Progressive and active reformer soon issued a statement which condemned mob rule, along with the radical element of the I.W.W. West opposed both as inimical to law and order. The Governor seized on news reports which depicted lumber boss Al Powers of the Smith-Powers Lumber Company as an organizer of the group of citizens and insisted that if he was the inspiration of the mob, "he has proved himself an enemy to society and an outlaw."

West declared that the activities of the I.W.W. in Marshfield, the publication of certain articles in *Justice*, and mob rule were the propositions to be considered in an investigation of the deportations. The governor stated that, "acts of the radical element of the I.W.W. are indefensible. These men have shown that they are without regard for law and order, and should therefore be dealt with without gloves." West acknowledged that although certain articles written by Leach were in his opinion, "vicious, harmful. Even this, however, would not justify the mob." The only justification for the mob, in West's opinion, "would be the failure of local officials to enforce the law." Indeed this was the angle West took in his statement when he said that local officials were responsible for not acting to stop the deportation and, "any failure on the part of local officials to act also will subject them to removal from office."^{xxxvii}

In spite of obvious incongruities this style of suppressing the I.W.W. was prevalent in the American West during the early part of the twentieth century. The *Coos Bay Times* newspaper reported several contemporaneous examples in the period preceding the Marshfield deportation, including deportations in Port Angeles, Washington, Salt Lake City, Utah, and San Diego, California. These extra-legal episodes were orchestrated by the businessmen in those communities based on their opposition to the ideology of the I.W.W., which opposed the

capitalist system.^{xxxviii} In practice the Wobs, as the Wobblies were also known, led strikes that sought to redress objectionable working conditions.^{xxxix}

An editorial campaign against the I.W.W. set the stage for the deportations, beginning in May the newspaper mounted an editorial campaign against the I.W.W. under the headline "Let us Talk it Over." The editor, Michael Maloney, vilified the actions, ideas, and members of the I.W.W. and glorified the extra-legal measures taken by other communities against the organization. The newspaper used this section to attack the I.W.W. on June 18, 1913, when it included an excerpt from the *Bandon Surf* newspaper, published in Bandon, Oregon. This piece contained a threat to a John M. Foss of Marshfield. Foss had written an article in the Wobbly organ, *The Industrial Worker*, which provided coverage of the Coos Bay strike. The *Bandon Surf* excerpt concluded by stating, "A good, tough bed slat alongside his cabezza with about 191 pounds pressure to the square inch might have some effect on Foss' capacity for telling the truth — common sense argument would be an utter failure." The editor of the *Times* accepted the portrayal and violent intent of the *Surf* in spite of a lack of evidence of any lies told by Foss. The *Times* editorial then reported that I.W.W. Secretary Edgeworth had sent out a report similar to the one made by Foss and mentioned that, "every self-respecting and law-abiding community on the Pacific Coast" had driven out the I.W.W. because they were, "breeders of trouble, and so far as they could influence, of terror and strife."^{xi}

Michael Maloney served as the editor/publisher of the *Times* and his brother Dan managed the paper from 1907-1927. Michael had previously worked as an editor for the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York World*, and evidently believed that an editor should play an active role in shaping public opinion.^{xli} He viewed events through a narrow focus and had confidence in his ability to ascertain not only the truth, but also the "ideals, principles, and

policies" which should be pursued. His habit of making extreme statements resulted in numerous libel suits being filed against him in his twenty years at the *Times* and is clearly manifested, along with his penchant for openly biased editorializing, in the *Times'* coverage of events involving the I.W.W. and Dr. Leach.^{xliii}

Subsequent issues of the *Times* continued the editorial campaign against the I.W.W. On the June 19th Wobbly leader Bill Heywood was the focus and Maloney contended that Heywood's advocacy of "direct action" which is well understood to be the doctrine of destruction and rebellion" was the reason he was ejected from the Socialist Party.^{xliiii} The editor stated that, "The greatest enemy to the American laborer today is the I.W.W." and for proof he offered the statement of an American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.) member that characterized Heywood as a cheat. This piece concluded with the statement, "Destruction and devilry follow the I.W.W. with the same certitude that day follows dawn. Does Coos county desire to harbor such anarchist agitators?"^{xliv} The following day the *Times* declared that the I.W.W. represented, "In a general way – Syndicalism, which is a species of anarchy. War on trade unionism. The general strike. More specifically – destruction of business. Destruction of prosperity. Destruction of all established government. Denial of any common interest or possible good understanding between employers and employees. Desecration of the American flag. Dynamiting. Sabotage. Arson. Murder. The I.W.W. is anti-American and anti-social."^{xlv} This description of the I.W.W. drew on the Wobbly penchant for inflammatory rhetoric and their desire to overthrow the capitalist system in America, as well as their reputation for practicing sabotage.^{xlvi}

The *Times* editorial on the 23rd of June included clippings from an *Industrial Worker* article written by Secretary Edgeworth, in which he wrote that the strike was unchanged and said

that, "Business men are sore at the I.W.W. here. If we can keep them that way it's just the way we want. Some will go out of business in a short while as they are not taking in any nickles."

Editor Maloney illustrated the positive aspects of the Port Angeles deportation for his readers, including the threats of violence made by the Port Angeles Commercial Club which had spearheaded the event. This editorial ended with a challenge to the citizens of Marshfield: "Here is a situation. What are you going to do about it? Crime and its promoters, anarchists and I.W.W. agitators must not be tolerated."^{xlvii}

On the morning of the Marshfield deportation readers of the *Times* were again offered an example of "expedient and righteous" behavior. In the editorial depiction of the San Diego deportation of Emma Goldman, who had achieved notoriety partially for her advocacy of anarchism and birth control, the *Times* advocated this style of political suppression^{xlviii} This piece ended with the exhortation, "If we do not propose to tolerate anarchistic acts, why should we tolerate incitement to anarchy in the name of free speech? Toleration is a virtue that can be carried to far."^{xlix} The following day the editorial section opened with the statement, "Coos Bay has cause today to be proud of the character of its citizenship" and continued with its complimentary assessment of the behavior of the Marshfield residents.¹

This acrimonious exchange of ideas was precipitated by a crack-down on street speaking that led to the arrest on May 7th, 1913 of seven prominent socialists and Wobblies including Everest and Edgeworth. This effort involved the deputation of a number of prominent Marshfield business men with plans to increase the number to 100 if possible to prevent the I.W.W. from continuing to make trouble.^{li} These business men intended to form an organization so that, "the first indications of I.W.W. activity will be severely dealt with."^{lii} Leach presented a vigorous opposition to the actions of the Marshfield government in *Justice*. He observed that

“Oratory on the part of the proletariat is a crime” and sarcastically stated “Never mind the Constitution and this free speech talk” and speculated that these only applied to those who had money. He castigated the complicity of the Marshfield City Council with the statement “Hogs eat from the troughs supplied by their masters” which suggests that he believed commercial interests influenced the decision to ban street speaking.^{liii}

The charges of violating the ban on street speaking were eventually dismissed in exchange for an agreement made by the socialists to stop holding street meetings. Several socialists, including C.B. Ellis one of those arrested, attempted to distance themselves from the I.W.W. and according to the *Times* their willingness to “do what was necessary to disprove any connection with the I.W.W.”^{liv}

Shortly after the arrests were made Al Powers, the lumber boss for the Smith Powers Lumber Company, discharged the foreman of one of his logging camps for allowing Wobbly organizers to operate in the camp and told I.W.W. affiliated loggers in Smith Powers Camp 2 to, “roll blankets and get out.” The Wobblies had intended to begin a strike on May 18th in order to obtain a 25% pay increase and an eight-hour work day.^{lv} The lockout induced Secretary Edgeworth to issue the call for a strike of I.W.W. loggers beginning on Saturday May 10th in protest.^{lvi} Powers proactive stance produced further unintended results when Local No. 435 of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers called a sympathy strike.^{lvii}

The business men deputized to prevent trouble in the wake of the street oratory confrontation remained vigilant amid reports that I.W.W. planned to import members to strengthen their presence in the area.^{lviii} The strike resulted in the Conlogue Camp being shut down after forty I.W.W. loggers walked out and rumors circulated that other camps had been slowed down.^{lix}

The Coos Bay region is located along the southern Oregon coast. The bay, from which the name is derived, is actually a number of connected sloughs and tidewater streams that together drain around 825 square miles of the Coast Range. The region is and was blessed with nature's products and chief among these in economic value is timber, which included Douglas fir, Port Orford white cedar, and Sitka spruce. The climatic conditions in this area allow for an extremely fast rate of forest growth. These factors, when combined with the labor of workers and investment of speculators in logging ventures, resulted in this region becoming one of the most productive forest-products manufacturing centers in the world by the 1940's.^{lx}

Marshfield, known as Coos Bay since 1944, has been the main municipality in the region since settlement by whites began in the 1850's.^{lxi} Outside capital, initially from California and later from the Great Lakes region as timber barons moved from an exhausted forest environment, dominated the timber industry of the region.^{lxii} This influx of capital, when combined with illegal actions by corrupt officials in the public land office, resulted in a large portion of the best timber land being concentrated in the hands of a few speculators from the Great Lakes region.^{lxiii} Between the years of 1900 and 1910 three lumber interests, Menasha, Weyerhaeuser, and C.A. Smith, obtained a total of 160,000 acres of timber land in the Coos Bay region. These holdings, obtained through secretive and illegal means, gave great power to the owners and resulted in "economic colonialism" in the region, as the decisions which affected the region's economy and its citizens were made far from Coos Bay.^{lxiv}

Al Powers, vice-president and general manager of the Smith-Powers Logging Company, moved to the region in 1907. He soon became one of the most powerful and influential citizens in Marshfield and lived there up to his death in 1930.^{lxv} In 1908, the Smith-Powers Lumber Company opened up the "Big Mill" which produced more timber products than all of the other

timber interests in the area, and vaulted the company to the position of being the most important business in the Coos Bay economic scene.^{lxvi}

The new mill had a prodigious capacity for milling lumber and this necessitated that the loggers in the logging camps furnish it with a nearly endless supply of wood. In 1906, the Smith-Powers mills produced 25,000,000 board feet of timber. By 1911, that figure had reached 150,000,000 board feet. This increased demand led to an emphasis on production in the logging camps and the Smith-Powers seven camps, which employed 350 loggers, had the reputation for being "highball" operations which had a production-at-all-costs mentality. This designation entailed that the camps had a high rate of turnover due to the heavy demands on the labor force and poor living conditions.^{lxvii} These factors included a 25% decrease in wages beginning in 1907, the blacklisting of people who spoke out against management, vermin infested camps, rotten meat served for food, charges for lodging, meals, and hospital fees, and work days that lasted from 11-12 hours.^{lxviii}

The editorial "Let us Talk it Over" appeared on the front page again on July 9, 1913. This piece expressed concern over the negative portrayal of the activities of Marshfield residents and the coverage of the *Times* published by Dr. Leach in his journal *Justice*. This journal called the residents who participated in the deportation of Edgefield and Everest, "a mob of six hundred grafters, saloon bums and pimps, calling themselves business men, but who to the last man-jackass of them, were only a bunch of guzzlegushers for \$mith-power\$." Leach continued, "The *Times* is therefore the logical mouthpiece of the lawless mob that glorified that seat of anarchy and \$mith-power\$ism last Wednesday."^{lxix}

The *Times* editor replied that, "The *Times*...is proud of any influence it may have exercised in expelling from this community agitators whose pernicious preachment of anarchy,

sabotage and syndicalism would destroy not only the prosperity of the community, but the very foundation of civilization itself." The editor continued his defense of the deportation, "Practically every line of labor, business and profession in Marshfield was part of that splendid demonstration of decency. The false and foul slanders which this Bandon degenerate seeks to spread abroad only emphasize the lying and unscrupulous methods of the I.W.W." The editor described Leach as a liar and an I.W.W. member, despite his lack of connection to that organization. He then said, "I think that the business men of that community will resent the actions of this scandal monger the same as the business men of Marshfield would not permit the promulgation in this city of wholesale slander of the business men of Bandon." The editor insisted that the community find any other I.W.W. agitators or sympathizers and "act accordingly" then extolled the *Times* as a defender of "good men," and "for patriotic public service."^{lxx}

The actions of the business men and citizens of Marshfield and Bandon and the activist position taken by the *Coos Bay Times* can be understood better in the context of the upsurge in Nativist sentiment found in American society at the time. The term nativism is flexible, referring to anti-Catholic, anti-radical, anti-immigrant and racist sentiments at various times in American history. These sentiments have been expressed in periodic outbursts in American society, where the self-proclaimed "natives" mount reactionary campaigns against people who support views and beliefs that these "natives" characterize as antithetical to the American way, at least in their formulation of that concept. Socio-economic crises often exacerbate these feelings and can produce efforts to suppress those deemed undesirable.^{lxxi}

Author David Bennett identifies the period immediately following 1910 as a time of ascendant Nativism in America. This author attributes the preceding lull in this expression of

societal turmoil to the optimism Americans felt for Progressive attempts to reform society through efforts to re-shape institutions made by individuals operating from within the system.^{lxxii} By 1914, The Junior Order of the United American Mechanics, an organization that was founded in the 1840's in opposition to immigration and had added anti-radicalism to its list of un-American attributes in the 1880's and 1890's, had registered a significant jump in membership.

This was only one manifestation of the anti-radical sentiment, which in time became focused on the I.W.W.^{lxxiii} In *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*, author John Higham depicts this period as the, "most obscure of all periods in the history of American nativism" and asserted that it was difficult to analyze.^{lxxiv} In the Pacific Northwest Albert Johnson, a newspaper editor at Grey's Harbor in Washington, gained prominence by associating the I.W.W. with anti-American ideology.

The proclivity of the Wobblies for welcoming all workers, regardless of ethnic background, and their advocacy of class war, along with their fiery rhetoric proved sufficient for Johnson and others to produce a nativist reaction to the organization.^{lxxv} In *WE SHALL BE ALL: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World*, author Melvyn Dubofsky concluded that the success of the Wobblies in achieving economic goals produced the violent reprisals that targeted these activists.^{lxxvi} This position has some credibility, however, it fails to explain the impetus behind episodes like the Coos Bay deportation where, despite the fact that the I.W.W. effort had largely dissipated after failing to achieve its objectives, the business community banded together and evicted the representatives of the I.W.W.

The I.W.W. burst onto the American labor scene in 1905. Responding to a situation in American labor where only one in twenty nonagricultural laborers were represented by unions, a group of around 200 labor activists representing a variety of labor bodies met in Chicago to form

an inclusive working-class union.^{lxxvii} This "Continental Congress of the Working Class," as termed by opening speaker Bill Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners (W.F.M.), had been organized at the twelfth annual convention of the W.F.M. in order to create an organization designed to draw together the entire working class and to address issues that arose out of a modern and industrial society.^{lxxviii} The concept of an inclusive union to organize all laborers had an antecedent in the Knights of Labor, an organization which was formed in 1869 and had attracted nearly a million members by 1886. The Knights excluded only lawyers, capitalists, gamblers, and drunks in their quest to establish solidarity of the working class under the motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all."^{lxxix} Dubofsky credits the W.F.M. for developing the distinctive traits of the I.W.W., including industrial unionism, labor solidarity, political non-partisanship, direct action tactics, and syndicalism.^{lxxx} According to Bertrand Russell's definition found in *PROPOSED ROADS TO FREEDOM: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism*, "The essential doctrine of Syndicalism is the class-war, to be conducted by industrial rather than political methods. The chief industrial methods advocated are the strike, the boycott, the label, and sabotage."^{lxxxii}

Governor West, who was an active reformer while in office, did not shy away from controversial involvement in community affairs. On August 3rd, the same day he released the statement previously mentioned, West promised to declare martial law in Oregon City to prevent a Sunday performance of a Wild West circus. This unusual action was prompted in response to a court injunction obtained by the performers to prevent the Sheriff from arresting them.^{lxxxii} This episode is illustrative of West's proclivity for using his political power in an effort to enforce his ideas of right and wrong.

Governor West also played an active role in opposing the I.W.W. when he believed that the organization was overstepping its bounds. On July 14, 1913 West confronted Tom Burns, a socialist speaker, who was speaking in favor of an I.W.W. led strike at the Oregon Packing Company in Portland. When Burns stated that the strikers were near victory and would close the plant the Governor responded, "You'll close no packing plants in Oregon while I'm Governor." After an exchange between the two in which Burns insisted on the rights of the strikers to picket and West advocated for the grievances to be rectified through conference and action inside the law, West ordered the police to clear the way and led the strikers to a closed meeting. West insisted that the matter be resolved within the law and vowed that if anyone resorted to tactics outside of the law they, "will be carried out on a shutter." West declared that State Health and Food authorities would monitor the sanitary conditions of the plant, unsanitary conditions being one of the reasons given for the strike, and stated, "I will take charge of that plant myself, if necessary, to get fair play, and I will take charge of this strike, too if I deem it necessary...if I deem it necessary to stop the picketing I shall do so." When a Mrs. Schwab responded, "Picketing is legal in Oregon. Can you go above the law?" West said, "I will stop the picketing if it necessary. I will take the responsibility on myself."^{lxxxiii}

Tension between the I.W.W. and a progressive politician such as West is as understandable as it was predictable. The progressives sought to check the evils of monopoly capitalism by working inside the system, using the power of the government acting as the agent of change. The Wobblies identified many of the same abuses as the progressives and the groups possessed the potential for establishing common ground based on their shared interest in ameliorating these negative aspects of society. However, one Wobbly author, E.J. Higgins, wrote in 1912, "Political action leads to capitalism reformed. Direct action leads to socialism...All

aboard for the IWW. Death to politics."^{lxxxiv} This statement is indicative of the attitude held by I.W.W. members toward incremental reform. The opposition to the continued existence of capitalism, along with the irreverent attitude of many Wobs, placed them in opposition to progressives and elicited the anger and vitriol of these reformers, as well as the larger society.^{lxxxv}

On August 2nd Governor West answered the calls for action he received from Coos Bay citizens regarding the deportation of Leach by referring the case to his Attorney General Andrew Crawford.^{lxxxvi} The *Times* reported on August 20th that Attorney General Crawford was in the area investigating the deportations, as well as charges that the I.W.W. committed acts of sabotage. It then speculated that West had only assigned Crawford the case in an attempt to undermine his support from the area, where he had previously lived, in the upcoming gubernatorial race. West, the paper declared, was not running for re-election, but was supporting the candidacy of Judge Gates.^{lxxxvii} While investigating the case in Bandon, Crawford found little evidence against the public officials according to the *Times*. Charges made by J.M. Upton that he had advised Sheriff Gage of the mob action were mentioned in the paper, as were reports that the mayor had been sought in regards to the same incident.^{lxxxviii}

Crawford's report issued on September 2nd found that Sheriff Gage, and the other Coos County officials, had not been guilty of any wrongdoing in the deportations in June and July.^{lxxxix} This finding angered West who wrote that Crawford had "made a pleasant vacation out of his mission." West appointed a special prosecutor to investigate further and the next day Crawford charged West and members of his cabinet with fraud.^{xc} These maneuvers did result in financial embarrassment for West, but did not result in any criminal charges being filed against Coos County officials.^{xci}

The repression of the I.W.W. and its sympathizers in Coos County, Oregon occurred because the press, business interests, and local politicians banded together to suppress an ideology they perceived as contrary to established American values. These members of the local establishment amplified the fear of this ideology in the community to protect their interests, and in doing so revealed their hypocrisy by taking the law into their own hands to prevent anarchy. Perhaps their activity could be better described as tyranny, however, that does little to lessen the irony. In the end the hysteria of WWI and the first Red Scare led to the effective demise of the I.W.W. as a legitimate player in the labor game, although it still exists as an organization.

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- ⁱⁱⁱ W.T. Ramsey to Oswald West, August 1, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
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- ^v D.W. Holden to Oswald West, August 19, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon), C.H. McLaughlin to Oswald West, August 7-13, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
- ^{vi} W.C. Weaver to Andrew Crawford, August 25, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
- ^{vii} "Seven Arrested in Effort to Stop Street Orators," *Coos Bay Times*, May 7, 1913.
- ^{viii} "Citizens Oust I.W.W. From Marshfield and Vicinity," *Coos Bay Times*, June 25, 1913.
- ^{ix} "Move to Rid Coos of I.W.W. is On," *The Oregonian*, June 25, 1913.
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- ^{xi} "I.W.W. Deported," *Coos Bay News*, July 1, 1913.
- ^{xii} "Bandon Ousts Dr. B. J. Leach," *Coos Bay Times*, July 11, 1913.
- ^{xiii} Mile Breuer, interviewed by Andrew Crawford, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
- ^{xiv} Dr. Bailey K. Leach to H. A. Johnson, August 14, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon); "Bandon Citizens in Mass Meeting ask Dr. Leach to Leave the City," *Bandon Recorder*, July 11, 1913.
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- ^{xvii} Dr. Bailey K. Leach to H. A. Johnson, August 14, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
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- ^{xix} Dr. Bailey K. Leach to H. A. Johnson, August 14, 1913, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon); "I.W.W. Editor is Deported," *The Coquille Herald*, July 14, 1913.
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- ^{xxi} George S. Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers* (Portland, Oregon: Binford and Mort, Publishers, 1939), 365-366.
- ^{xxii} Dr. Bailey K. Leach, "A Port Commission," *Justice* 1, no. 12 (1913): 12, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
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- ^{xxiv} Mile Breuer, interviewed by Andrew Crawford, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
- ^{xxv} "Bandon Ousts Dr. B. J. Leach," *Coos Bay Times*, July 11, 1913.; Dr. Bailey Kay Leach, Mob Law in Bandon," *Justice* 1, no. 14 (1913): 15-16, Attorney General Case Files, No. 88A-34, Oregon Archives (Salem, Oregon).
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- xliii "Let us Talk it Over," *Coos Bay Times*, June 19, 1913.
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