

The March to Ballantyne Pier

by Janet Mary Nicol

“Those who do not move, do not notice their chains.”

-Rosa Luxemburg

The Shipping Federation locked out 900 Vancouver longshoremen on June 4, 1935 after they refused to move ‘hot cargo’ during a Powell River longshore dispute. The employer formed the “Citizen’s League” with other company owners, intent on breaking the union. Strikebreakers arrived in boats under police protection to Ballantyne Pier from the Vancouver Yacht Club to continue moving cargo. Hundreds of union members gathered at the entrance to the pier on June 13 to protest the heavy-handed use of police at the docks. They came together again the following Sunday night at the Vancouver arena to set out a plan. At ‘zero hour’ — 1pm, Tuesday, June 18— longshoremen would confront strikebreakers at Ballantyne Pier.

The March: 18 June 1935

Clouds lay low in the sky, hinting at a possible early summer storm. Hundreds of longshoremen, some wearing overcoats, took up their position on the road alongside union headquarters at 633 East Hastings Street in downtown Vancouver. Almost all were white—although diverse races of men had worked on the waterfront since the city’s earliest years.(1) Supporters in the parade included other shoreline workers and unemployed men, frustrated and angry with an economic depression now six years long.

They stood four across and several rows deep, wearing fedoras or soft caps and their best shirts, ties, and pants. Many wore jackets adorned with medals received for acts of valour in the First World War.

Leading the parade was James “Mickey” O’Rourke, aged 61, recipient of the Victoria Cross and Military Medal. He held the Union Jack, Canada’s flag at the time. O’Rourke had a reputation as a hard-drinking and hard-playing man. He had been working on and off at the waterfront since the end of the war. Now he was out to support the longshoremen’s demands for union recognition, better pay and a fair hiring process.(2)

Oscar Salonen, a longshoreman for ten years and business agent for the Vancouver Dock and Waterfront Workers Association (VDWWA), walked with him, ready to speak for the union when they reached the pier. Salonen was among the many Finnish-Canadians supporting the ideals of Communism, ideals which included 'equality for all.' He joined the Workers' Unity League (WUL), established as an arm of the Communist Party of Canada in 1930. His involvement effectively connected the longshoremen with committed and determined members of the WUL. Salonen was married with two children and had worked all over the Pacific Northwest, participating in his share of workers' struggles.(3)

Ted Hovi went with his father, a longshoreman, and Gil Tiveron, his friend and neighbour. "No one had work," Hovi later recalled about growing up in nearby Strathcona. "I think my dad was about the only one. Being a longshoreman, he did work steady and made big money. But in those days, the single men could get relief...."(4)

Most of the 900 dockers that joined them were family men, owning or renting houses in east and south Vancouver.(5) They socialized—and talked union—on the job, over drinks in the waterfront pubs, legion halls and employer-sponsored picnics and in the company of their wives. By the time of the strike, longshoreman Fred McDonald could name every man on the waterfront. "I could call them by name and know them," he'd later reminisce.(6) These names included George H. Brown, William H. Ward, Alex McLeod, Jack Hughes, George Raggertt and Alex Will. All were experienced dockers and union activists.(7) Rank and file members such as Fred Lester, Sam Engler, Jimmy Greer, Vic Martin, Bill Chestnut and Harry Jones were marching for a better deal too.(8)

Paraders were feeling united and ready for a confrontation. Not since the 1923 strike, which resulted in 600 strikers blacklisted from working the docks, had relations between union and management become this strained. "There was quite a bit of friction," Paddy McDonagh remembered. "This was evident at every membership meeting. It revolved around working conditions and the men were dissatisfied. I felt that there was going to be a strike on the waterfront because the men were getting so fed up with conditions and dispatch rules."(9)

Vancouver dockers were ultimately fighting for "the right to organize under their own control and end the control of a puppet union," longshoreman Milton Reid

explained to a Vancouver Sun news reporter prior to the march. “Does it make us a bunch of Reds simply because we are asking for what every other longshoremen on the Pacific Coast has got?” Ivan Emery, union president, asked the same news reporter.(10) He was making reference to the employer’s Communist-baiting accusation but also to the win by American longshoremen along the Pacific coast in 1934. Dockers gained control of hiring, after a strike that saw six members killed by police and private security guards.

All were ready to move down Hastings Street soon after 1pm. Family and friends supporting the strikers crowded the sidewalks. Residents along the parade route watched from porches and rooftops. A few young men shimmied up telephone poles for a better view. The procession began moving east along Hastings, the marchers’ feet stomping on the grey cobble stones, making a sound like drums. Spectators cheered as the paraders turned on to Heatley Street, many singing old army songs. The men crossed Cordova Street and a block later, Powell, as they headed down the sloping road to the docks at Burrard Inlet.

“Zero hour of the break through is set for 1pm on Tuesday,” Emery had told members two days previously, on Sunday evening at the Vancouver arena.(11)

Emery said they would elect a delegation to meet with the Police Chief and request permission to peacefully talk to strikebreakers working at Ballantyne Pier.

“If we are refused, well we are going through anyhow,” he said.

It appeared to be a tried and true plan. A year earlier, the union refused to handle “black cargo” from the S.S. Kingsley, sailing in to Burrard Inlet from the United States. When the employer countered by hiring strikebreakers, more than 600 union members went down to the Vancouver dock at the foot of Campbell Street. They set an oil car on the tracks in motion, crashing through an employer barricade. The men surrounded the strikebreakers and ordered them off the wharf. Vancouver police rushed to the scene—but there was no violence.(12)

That was a year ago—with a different mayor, a different police chief and an unprepared employer.

“We have heard the rattle of machine guns,” Emery, a war veteran himself, reminded union members in his speech Sunday night at the arena. “I believe we

have enough ex-servicemen on the waterfront who are prepared to listen to them again.”

“It is not bravado,” he said. “It is not a challenge. It’s simply a chance to see if the workers in this country have got any rights.”

“If they will turn their guns on us, if they will shoot us down, then you will know that fascism in Canada has taken off the mask and we are up against stark reality.”

Emery said longshoremen couldn’t rely on Prime Minister Bennett to help them, nor BC Premier Pattullo or Vancouver Mayor McGeer.

“It will be won by going down on ships and taking off strikebreakers.”(13)

But now that “zero hour” had arrived, Emery was not among the dockers marching to the pier. That’s because he was arrested at the office of the union’s lawyer, Gordon M. Grant, about a half hour before the march began—on the charge of inciting a riot.(14)

Meantime, it was lunch hour at the Vancouver Club, several blocks west of the marchers’ route. Within its ornate walls, James E. Hall, President of the Shipping Federation, had organized other employers to support his plan to dismember the longshoremen’s union. He also gained the support of government police—unlike in the 1923 strike, when the Shipping Federation paid a small fortune for private security. Hall set up a new company union, the Canadian Waterfront Workers’ Union (CWWU), and hired Joseph Sigmund to sign up strikebreakers. New regulations were written in to the CWWU charter. Strikes, demonstrations and affiliations to other groups were forbidden. Nominations to the union executive had to be approved by the employer. Membership was restricted to white men who had lived in Vancouver for at least one year.(15)

The Battle

At approximately 1:20, the lead marchers arrived on the dirt road leading to Ballantyne Pier. Some of the union men’s wives, children and other supporters had been waiting for them, milling in small groups, along with newspaper reporters and photographers. A silence fell as the entire column of marchers on Heatley Street, reaching as far back as Powell, came to a halt.

Twenty mounted city police and 50 more on foot stood in line formation guarding the covered cargo entrance. Alongside them were three-dozen mounted RCMP, some in sniper positions with machine guns and 40 provincial police with billy clubs.

In front of the armed force, on the south side of the tracks, stood Police Chief William Foster, wearing a fawn raincoat and old fedora. He was flanked by three RCMP officers.

“Just a minute boys,” Chief Foster said as the lead marchers reached the first set of tracks.

As Ted Hovi remembered, the Police Chief then called out: “You can’t possibly make it, Oscar, don’t come beyond these tracks.”

Salonen replied, “This strike has been going on long enough, and we’re going in there and we’re going to take these scabs off the boats.”(16)

The marchers advanced. A skirmish broke out between John McKay, a longshoreman and RCMP constable Frances Charles Sullivan. The constable was knocked to the ground. The duo engaged in hand-to-hand combat until two other officers rushed to Sullivan’s assistance, dragging McKay off the constable and pulling him behind a box car. Paraders began volleying rocks and shouting at the police. A second marcher pushed the Police Chief aside and the whole body of men advanced toward the second set of tracks.(17)

Moments later, Foster raised his gloved hand, then lowered it.

A high-pitched whistling sound followed as a plainclothes officer holding a tear gas gun about six feet behind the Police Chief pulled the trigger.(18) A canister hurled over the heads of the marchers. Within seconds another canister was hurled, and another. As the marchers began to flee, police rushed forward, swinging wooden sticks and leather covered clubs, weighted with lead. Additional provincial police and RCMP, hidden between freight cars, joined the attack.

The thunder of horse hooves and the swish of riding crops cut through the air as people scattered in every direction. Police continued to take aim with their clubs.

Men cursed and shouted and women screamed. Tears streamed from peoples' eyes as the tear gas took effect.

Some fled to the Heatley Avenue station railway platform and over the high picket fence.

A policeman on horseback pursued two men as they ran east along the tracks toward a six-storey brick sugar factory.

Three other men ran along the tracks in the opposite direction. They turned on to Princess Street with the cops rights behind them. They got to the Drake Hotel, ran out a back exit, over a few back fences and from there, disappeared on to Hastings Street.(19)

One man was whacked in the seat of the pants and escaped into a box car. Another man was trampled by a horse. Others stuffed newspapers into their hat to ward off blows.

Several marchers fought back, throwing rocks and other projectiles. O'Rourke later said, "They opened them tear gas bombs. I got first shot of it and beat it up the railway track."(20) He also said, "I heaved a brick at a mounted policeman's head though."(21)

Alex McLeod fell forward. He had taken hold of the Union Jack during the march and had dropped it when the attack started.(22) Another man—possibly a strikebreaker—picked up the flag and waved it, taunting the paraders. They responded by pelting him with roadbed ballast along the tracks.

A man pulled a handkerchief to his face, coughing and red-eyed. A constable dabbed his eyes. He had charged through a gas-filled area. Several horses within range of the smoke, ran wild. Syd Williamson, a Vancouver Sun photographer, held his large box camera steady, taking shot after shot of photographs, while tears ran down his face.

Police positioned at the back of the parade also swept down on the retreating crowd.(23)

A newspaper reporter spotted a pair of horned-rimmed glasses on the tracks and picked them up.

Many police were knocked off their horse by protestors who jeered and hooted. When one officer fell, a striker grabbed his club and beat him.

More police reinforcements came careening down to the pier in automobiles while police at the Hastings Street station ran down Heatley Street on foot.

In less than twenty minutes, paraders had been pushed back up from the tracks and on to the city streets. Security forces returned to line formation in front of the cargo entrance.

Fedoras and caps lay scattered along the tracks. Stones covered in blood littered the entrance to Ballantyne Pier. Yet the battle was far from over.

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Street fighting fanned out east and west of Heatley Street and as far south as Hastings Street as police pursued paraders on to porches of houses and in to yards. Some men were pinned by mounted police against white picket fences. When Charles Brunt, a striking longshoreman, was trapped going under a house on a lane, Sergeant John Scanlon of the city police rushed over and hit him four times, leaving black welts across his back.(24)

A few RCMP on horseback and provincial police chased rock throwing spectators over a backyard fence and vacant lot near Heatley and Powell and in to a thick underbrush, causing several horses to be badly cut.

A lone Japanese-Canadian man, who owned a corner store on Heatley Street, locked his door and peered out the window.

The shrill of the police whistle could be heard as more protestors were pursued along Powell Street by police riding at full gallop.

Gil Tiveron later recounted: "A policeman had this great big whip and he was just giving it left and right and I could see him coming straight for me, so I took a big dive in the bush, you know, and that saved me, right there."(25)

One man was hit in the abdomen, another had his arms twisted and his legs kicked.

A. Gonzales, a longshoreman, had a laceration on his right eye, which he suffered while running and bumping against the edge of a door. Alfred Russell was beaten on the head and ribs. J. Ryan had his scalp split open and required 15 stitches.

Further up Heatley at Hastings Bakery, a crowd gathered in the doorway and would not leave. Police sent a tear gas canister crashing through the shop window, the white smoke dispersing the crowd and causing retail clerks to run out the back door.

A gun was accidentally dropped on the road by a constable.

Mrs. W.W. Gray was struck by a police club and suffered a head wound. Mrs. A. Archibald, the wife of a longshoreman, was also seriously wounded.

Jack Rogers, a striker, missed the street march but was at the pier when the attack began. "Police on horses came after me," he remembered. "I went through a house that had the front door open and didn't get hurt. I guess I was one of the lucky ones."(26)

People hurled missiles at police from back lanes, behind sign boards and on balconies.

Mrs. Emily Gristenthwaite, a 40 year-old widow raising eight children, used profane and abusive language at the police officers and firemen. When Inspector Mortimer approached her, she cursed him and urged the crowd to attack. She then seized a stick and threw it at the inspector, the crowd following her lead with a barrage of rocks and sticks. Gristenthwaite was arrested and later released with a warning.(27)

A horse, cut and bruised by the stone-throwing, galloped riderless back to the police stables.

A woman stuck her head out of the window of a house and yelled at an officer on horseback, trampling over her back garden.

As word spread of the waterfront outbreak, curious spectators arrived to the area by automobile. Their cars provided barriers as protesters were hunted down.

Police were driving around in cars too—some with riot guns loaded with shot ammunition—which they used in an attempt to clear the streets.

Albert Stock, a longshoreman, ran in to a store at Dunlevy and Alexander. “I didn’t like to see people get hurt,” he later said as he watched the fighting from the store’s roof. A few hours later Stock made his way to the entrance of the nearby Hadden Beer Parlour. “...two little guys standing beside me asked if I had hit anybody yet and I said no. So I stooped down and picked up a rock and let it fly and as soon as I let it fly, they both grabbed me. That’s where I got the nine months (in prison).”(28)

Marchers and spectators re-gathered again and again. They booed with glee when someone hit an officer from a crammed tenement window or rooming house rooftop. Police rushed in to a house near Heatley and Powell and cleared out sympathizers who were throwing rocks and shouting. Some of the occupants, mostly young men, dropped to the sidewalk from windows or slid down balcony uprights to escape.

Ambulance sirens rang out as injured strikers, sympathizers—and police—were taken to hospital. One man was seriously injured about the head and face. He was carried away with blood flowing from his head and colouring his white shirt a deep crimson.

An elderly woman was shopping for eggs when a policeman told her to get off the sidewalk. When she refused, he hit her with his crop. Injured, she made her way to a vegetable store and waited for an ambulance.

Leonard Binns, a 21 year old office worker on holiday, noticed a crowd at Hastings and Heatley Streets and parked his motorcycle two blocks away. He began walking to his friend’s home, when an officer in an unmarked police car pulled up, took aim at Binns’ leg with a gun and pulled the trigger. Binns turned away and the officer shot him again in the back, then sped away.(29)

One police on horseback was caught on his own by a large crowd. He was dragged off his horse and beaten with fists and had rocks thrown at him. Mounted men galloped over, throwing off his attackers.

David Quigley, a morgue attendant, administered first aid for six police and one citizen at the coroner’s building on Cordova Street.

Members of the women's auxiliary set up make-shift first aid stations at the union office on East Hastings and the nearby Ukrainian Labour Temple.

A young articling lawyer, John Stanton, was making an office delivery on foot that afternoon.

“Dozens of men were bleeding, retching and vomiting in a small garden beside the Ukrainian Labour Temple,” he remembers. “I was chased by a mounted policeman and only escaped by ducking in to a doorway.”(30)

At 3 pm, as the street fighting raged on, Frederick E. Harrison, a federal fair wage officer, met with a representative of the Shipping Federation and the longshoremen's union — with no meaningful results.

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Twelve people were in the union office, including three marchers having their wounds dressed, when a squad of police came to the back door and tossed in a tear gas canister. Those inside rushed out the front door as more police volleyed canisters through a window, smashing the glass.

Police attacked the Workers' Unity League office at 19 East Hastings in the same way.(31)

Ted Hovi remembered: “They'd hit you over the head, they'd hit you anywhere. The people ran all over, sure to get away from them. From the CPR tracks to Hastings Street was approximately 2 1/2 blocks. Well, that riot extended right up to Hastings Street. When there's a riot like that, you know, you're going to go and hide anywhere. There were small businesses there, such as a steam bath, a bakery, a bicycle shop and there was a couple of small grocery stores. They had motorcycle policemen throwing tear gas into those small business outlets. They had no business doing that.”(32)

Constable Len Cuthbert was dragged from his automobile in a lane near Heatley by eleven men. They used an axe to smash his car. He was kicked, pounded and stoned and was left unconscious when police arrived to help.

Corporal Ed Williamson of the provincial police was hit in the face with a bottle and on his shoulder with a rock.

A saddle stirrup was lost by an RCMP officer—and flung around by the crowd.

Motorcycle police rode through the streets, ferreting out hiding men and women. One man was apprehended by police in possession of a gun. He was a strikebreaker and was released.

The police made a second raid on the longshoremen's union office an hour later. They used so much tear gas, those inside had trouble breathing. Someone called the fire department, though the inhalator—a first aid device used to assist victims suffering from smoke inhalation—turned out not to be necessary.(33)

At 4 pm, a heavy rain came down and hundreds of protestors and spectators ran for cover.

A group of police rode in formation along Powell Street, their riot sticks over their shoulder as if on parade, taking back the streets.

A crowd reappeared later and the police once again used tear gas to disperse them.

And then at about 5 pm, a stillness fell on the waterfront district.

After The Battle

Twelve citizens and 16 police were treated at St. Paul's and Vancouver General hospital. Many more strikers and others injured were unable to afford hospital costs. For the first time the city's first aid responders dealt with victims of tear gas. Chief Foster had ordered officers not to use guns, believing on the deployment of this 'new' weapon would be effective. It is still remarkable there were no deaths. Leonard Binns and another bystander, Frank O'Bey, recovered from gun shot wounds by police. Constable Len Cuthbert also recovered from a severe beating.

Twenty-five strikers and sympathizers were arrested with additional arrests conducted over three days after the 'battle'.(34) Police Chief Foster declared a ban on picketing and Mayor McGeer cut off relief payments to strikers. Speaking on behalf of the longshoremen to the Vancouver and New Westminster District Labour Council, George Brown called the events of June 18, "one of the most vicious attacks on trade unionism ever made in Vancouver." Jack Price, Member of the Legislative Assembly, denounced the mayor using taxpayer money on police "to protect scabs and private interests." Two female supporters who had been at

the Ballantyne pier conflict, one with bandages around her head, asked to speak, but were denied by the chair. Council members voted by a slim margin to remain neutral in the dispute.(35)

Still the striking longshoremen protested, strategized, and held out until winter.

Salonen was arrested the day after the confrontation and while out on \$3,000 bail (paid by the union movement), organized sons and daughters of longshoremen in to the fold of supporters.(36) Emery was also active while awaiting trial. He delivered vigorous testimony on behalf of the union at a federal inquiry into the dispute, begun September 10. When Mr. Justice Henry Hague Davis, who headed the investigation, gave his report a month later, he condemned the union and ignored the events at Ballantyne Pier.(37)

Women in the longshoremen's auxiliary escalated their support by fundraising, marching in the streets with strike banners and joined picket lines in defiance of Police Chief Foster's edict. While a large group of women were picketing near the waterfront on one occasion in September, they were confronted by police threats, rough handling and even the appearance of Chief Foster. They refused to move.(38)

Despite Mayor McGeer's public denunciation and red-baiting of the strikers, Emery was found not guilty on the charge of inciting a riot. He was however, found guilty of unlawful assembly with the jury recommending mercy, and sentenced to three months at Oakalla prison.(39) Sometime after his release, Emery and his family moved to Washington state, where he worked on the docks.(40) Salonen also served three months and was blacklisted, eventually finding work as a logger and then an outside worker at Vancouver city hall.(41) Brown did not longshore again either, though he was eventually employed as editor of the *Lumber Worker*.(42)

John McKay, Alex McLeod, and Albert Stock were among 15 people, including one woman, found guilty of various charges at the battle of Ballantyne Pier. They received prison sentences ranging from six to twelve months.(43) Over the course of the entire strike, more than 150 union members were arrested on numerous charges, such as dynamiting, cutting ships' lines, and stoning cars, indicating the existence of an unsanctioned "dirty war," which escalated as legal options for the union closed off.(44) The union's culpability is documented in police records—but what about their opposition? For example, was World War I veteran William Squires falsely accused on the charge of committing a robbery

with violence and assault? Squires was found guilty and sentenced to three years and five lashes.(45)

The union—undermined from all sides, increasingly demoralized and financially drained—called off the strike on December 9. An employer blacklist meant hundreds of union members, along with Emery, Salonen and Brown, did not work the docks again. Charles Brunt, after suffering wounds from police at the Ballantyne battle, was one such member.(46) Strikers who did get their jobs back had to endure working alongside strikebreakers.

There would be ten more years of company unionism before the arrival of the International Longshore Workers' Union (ILWU) in 1945.

As Gary Sefarini, a current ILWU member, sees it: “The Battle of Ballantyne dealt a harsh setback to the Vancouver and district longshoremen—but they resiliently managed to re-build a militant, representative union out of this lost strike.”

“The Shipping Federation failed to realize that the intermittent nature of longshore work, the injustice of the dispatch and the threat of capricious dismissal, combined with the skill needed to perform the job, left the longshoremen no choice but to look to each other in militant solidarity.”(47)

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The ILWU has placed a cairn at New Brighton Park, situated on the Vancouver waterfront, in remembrance of the Battle at Ballantyne Pier and holds anniversary events.

Footnotes - The March to Ballantyne Pier

1. About 75 per cent of Vancouver dockers were of British origin, according to *Ship & Dock*, (“The official organ of the Longshoremen and Water Transport Workers of Vancouver”), June 20, 1935, 4. Racism and especially anti-Semitism was intensified during the depression years, influencing hiring practises at the docks. Most employees would have been of British/European heritage and exclusion included Chinese, Japanese and South-east Asian Canadians living in the city. See Gillian Creese, “Exclusion or Solidarity? Vancouver Workers Confront the ‘Oriental problem,’” *BC Studies*, 80 (1988), 24-51. First Nations dockers (such as members of the Squamish nation on Vancouver’s North Shore) were not re-hired by the Shipping Federation after the 1923 strike. For detailed history of First Nations peoples’ role on Vancouver docks, see Andrew Parnaby, *Citizen Docker: Making a New Deal on the Vancouver Waterfront, 1919-1939*, (University of Toronto Press, 2008).
2. Michael Kevin Dooley, “Our Mickey: The Story of Private James O’Rourke, VC, MM (CEF), 1879-1957,” *Labour/Le Travail* 47 (2001), 179.
3. Parnaby, *Citizen Docker*, 120-121. For more about the Workers’ Unity League, see Stephen L. Endicott, *Raising the Workers’ Flag: The Workers’ Unity League in Canada, 1930-1936*, (University of Toronto Press, 2012).
4. Daphne Marlatt and Carole Itter, *Opening Doors: Vancouver’s East End*. Sound Heritage Series, Volume VIII, Nos. 1 and 2, (Province of BC, 1979), 79. Two weeks previous to this march, hundreds of jobless men left Vancouver on railcars, in an “on to Ottawa trek,” taking their protest of unfair treatment to the country’s capita.
5. *Ship & Dock*, June 20, 1935, 4. Of the 940 Vancouver longshoremen, 800 were married or had dependants, 400 owned homes and 90% had worked for 5 years of more on the waterfront.
6. *Man Along the Shore!: The Story of the Vancouver Waterfront as Told by the Longshoremen Themselves, 1860s-1970s*,” (Vancouver, 1975)142.
7. See Parnaby, *Citizen Docker*, 121 and 128 for a description of Brown’s union leadership role. *Vancouver Sun*, September 26, 1935 provides trial coverage of arrested strikers and reveals Jack Hughes, Alex McLeod and George Raggett were at the head of the march. See Rolf Knight, *Along the No. 20 Line: Reminiscences of the Vancouver Waterfront*, New Star Books, (Vancouver, 1980), 134, for Alex Will’s account as an activist.
8. See David Lester, *The Battle of Ballantyne Pier*, Graphic History Collective, (Vancouver, 2015). The author/graphic artist is the grandson of Fred Lester. Also see “*ILWU Pensioners, ‘Man Along the Shore!’*”, 86-87.
9. *Man Along the Shore!*, 88.
10. *Vancouver Sun*, June 18, 1935, 11.
11. *Vancouver Sun*, June 17, 1935, 1.
12. Gregory S. Kealey, Reg Whitaker, eds. *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part 11, 1935*. St. John’s: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1995, 124-125.
13. *Vancouver Sun*, June 17, 1935, 1.
14. *Vancouver Daily Province*, June 18, 1935, 1. Emery was arrested on the charge of inciting a riot, based on his June 16 speech at the Vancouver Arena.
15. Parnaby, *Citizen Docker*, 144.
16. Marlatt and Itter, *Opening Doors*, 80.
17. *Vancouver Sun*, June 24, 1935, 16. This account comes from court testimony.

18. *Vancouver Sun*, June 19, 1935, 1. The newspaper reporter kept his eye on the plainclothesman about six feet behind Chief Foster, and witnessed him pull the trigger. *The details of the 'battle' at Ballantyne Pier, unless otherwise noted, are drawn from the Vancouver Sun, June 18 and 19, 1935 and Vancouver Daily Province, June 18 and 19, 1935. Most newspaper coverage did not include reporter by-lines, the exception being Torchy Anderson for the Vancouver Daily Province and Bob Bouchette for the Vancouver Sun.* Also see Fred Wilson, "The Bloody Road to Ballantyne" in Sean Griffin, ed., *Fighting Heritage: Highlights of the 1930s Struggle for Jobs and Militant Unionism in British Columbia*. Tribune Publishing, (Vancouver, 1985), 65-74.
For a detailed account of contract negotiations and company unionism see Roy Smith, *Vancouver Longshoremen, Resilient Solidarity and the 1935 Interruption: Company Unionism 1923-1945*, B.A., University of British Columbia, 1999.
19. Knight, *Along the No. 20 Line*, 208. This account was told to Knight by a family acquaintance.
20. *Vancouver Daily Province*, September 26, 1935, 1.
21. Dooley, "Our Mickey," 182. As the story goes, O'Rourke, a respected veteran with health issues, and an 'old-timer' at age 61, was pulled aside to safety by a police sergeant.
22. *Vancouver Daily Province*, September 26, 1.
23. City of Vancouver Archives (CVA), Vancouver Police Department (VPD) fonds, Sub-Series 5 - Waterfront Strike, File #4, Letter from Chief Foster to Mayor McGeer, June 19, 1935, 2. Foster informs Mayor McGeer city and provincial police had been positioned at the back of the parade prior to the confrontation.
24. *Man Along the Shore!* 88. This incident was described by Brunt's son, Jack.
25. *Opening Doors*, 80.
26. *Man Along the Shore!*, 88.
27. *Vancouver Sun*, June 25, 1935, 5. Mrs. Grisenthwaite's late husband James, a lithographer, was killed in a car accident in Vancouver in 1929. She lived with her children in the West End.
28. *Man Along the Shore!*, 85.
29. *BC Workers News*, June 21, 1935, 1. The reporter interviewed Binns in hospital and was given this account.
30. John Stanton, "Never Say Die: The Life and Times of a Pioneer Labour Lawyer," Steel Rail Publisher, (Ottawa 1987), 6.
31. *Ship & Dock*, June 30, 1935, 1.
32. Marlatt & Itter, *Opening Doors*, 80.
33. *Ship & Dock*, June 20, 1.
34. CVA, VPD fonds. Sub-Series 5 - Waterfront Strike, File #3, August 12, 1935, memo by Assistant Deputy-Sergeant, Intelligence Branch, p. 9. The police report lists 25 arrests related to the Ballantyne Pier conflict.
35. *Vancouver Sun*, June 19, 1935, 4.
36. Maurice Rush, *We Have a Glowing Dream: Recollections of Working-Class and People's Struggles in BC from 1935 to 1996*, (Canada: Centre for Socialist Education, 1996). Rush joined the CPC in 1934, and was elected secretary of the Young Communist League in 1935. He was impressed with the turn-out of young people who volunteered, in a similarly supportive manner as the women's auxiliary. See *Ship & Dock* for more information.
37. See *Labour Gazette* 35:11 (1935), 982-95 for the text of the final report.
38. *Ship & Dock*, September 16, 2.

39. *Vancouver Daily Province*, November 7, 1935, 2. Extra police were positioned in the courtroom, according to the article, "in case of protest." The jury consisted of 10 men and two women. Emery's lawyer addressed the jury, stating in part, "I ask you to view the case in a free, bold, manly and generous manner." The news article noted Emery served overseas in the same battalion as Police Chief Foster, the Canadian Mounted Rifles, and was wounded twice.
40. By 1940, Ivan Avery Emery is living in Cowlitz, Washington State, occupation, longshoreman, with his wife Elizabeth, son and three daughters, ages 8 to 20. See: *United States Federal Census* (database on-line). Provo, UT, USA: ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.; Year: 1940; Census Place: Rainbow, Cowlitz, Washington; Roll: T627_4337; Page: 8B; Enumeration District: 8-40. Emery's 1942 Draft Registration Card lists him as a longshoreman and member of Local 1-21, ILWU. Emery died in Contra Costa, California in 1962, aged 78. See: California, *Death Index*, 1940-1997 (database on-line). Provo, UT, USA: ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2000. Date: 1962-03-17.
41. *Vancouver Daily Province*, June 20, 1935, p. 1. Salonen is listed in *Vancouver Henderson's Directory* from 1942-1945 as a logger. He began working as a labourer at Vancouver City Hall in 1946, eventually becoming foreman of the City Sewage Department. He died in 1952, aged 68. Oscar Salonen, *Death Certificate*, BC Archives, vital statistics, 52-09-007162.
42. *Vancouver Henderson Directory*, 1938.
43. Coverage of the 'rioters,' as those arrested at Ballantyne Pier were referred to, is available in *Vancouver Daily Province* and *Vancouver Sun*, June 24, June 25, September 26, October 2, October 3, 1935.
44. *Ship & Dock* kept a running tally of arrests. An article in the August 5, 1935 issue, page 1, for instance, notes more than 100 arrests of strikers with 39 cases dismissed. Also see CVA, VPD fonds, Sub-Series 5 - Waterfront Strike, File 5, November 2, 1935 which has a list of police record cases related to Longshore Strike - June 4 to October 26, 1935. The list notes 155 arrests.
45. *Man Along the Shore!*, 85. The alleged crime involved an assault of a strikebreaker and a robbery of \$2.50, occurring on August 10, 1935 and in Burnaby. Squires pleaded innocent but was found guilty in a Burnaby court and sentenced on October 9. A decorated war veteran, receiving a disability pension for bright's disease, Squires' case was vigorously fought by the labour movement.
46. *Man Along the Shore!*, 88.
47. Gary Sefarini, "The Battle at Ballantyne Pier: The Lost Strike that Built a Union," in *The Dispatcher*, (published by the ILWU), April/May, 2010, 6.