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Chad Taniguchi 5/5/81

History 495U Hawaiian Labor History

Longshoring in Hawaii

The purpose of this summary is to review information found during the spring semester which could contribute to understanding the social conditions of work in Hawaii before bulkloading of sugar (1949) drastically changed the quantity and nature of such work.

The original time period envisioned was 1900-1946, however, most of the Hawaii-related information looked at thus far has been comentrated between 1935-1950, the period which coincides with the development of the ILWU in Hawaii. It is possible that by researching older newspapers, government documents and employer records more information on the earlier period could be found. There seems to be abundant materials after 1950.

The summary is divided into three parts:

- A. Background Readings. These readings describe longshore operations on the East and West coasts and provide a general background for understanding Hawaii's situation.
- B. Relevant Hawaii Materials. I have abstracted information related to working conditions in Hawaii from each source. I was not able to integrate the information from various sources under the following headings created at the beginning of the semester:

size, composition of crews (have draft)

types of cargo (listed in contracts)

safety conditions (not found)

amount of work available (qualitative estimates only)

hiring hall system (not applicable)

relationships on docks (not found)

comparison with similar work on mainland, foreign countries (requires much more study)

Information on the "kind of living longshoring provided (food, housing, clothing, medical care, family life, education of children)" was not pursued after consultation with the instructor and in any case was not found in existing materials on Hawaii (although Pilcher covered these topics in his study of Portland longshoremen).

C. Other sources that need to be investigated. This list shows that much more reading and research would be necessary in order to gain a total view of longshoring in Hawaii.

A complementary paper for History 493 (Oral History) will list types of information that might be gotten through oral history interviews on the subject.

Background Reading

- Barnes, Charles B., The Longshoremen describes longshore work in detail in New York up to 1915. Through charts, photographs and text he describes the dangers and difficulties involved, showing why longshoring should be considered a skilled occupation.

 Barnes is critical of the irregularity of employment and the method of hiring (the shape up) that breeds corruption and dangerous working conditions. He also describes the problems encountered in developing a strong union of longshoremen. His book provided excellent background for someone unfamiliar with conventional longshoring practices.
- Larrowe, Charles P., Shape-Up and Hiring Hall. Using the Seattle waterfront as an example, Larrowe (in 1955) describes the tremendous
 advantages for labor and management in the hiring hall system
 developed on the West Coast by the ILWU and the Pacific Maritime
 Association. He contrasts that with a negative view of the exploitative shape-up in New York where the employers and ILA labor bosses
 benefit to the detriment of rank and file workers.
- Men and Machines, (1964) a joint photo/text publication of the ILWU and PMA provides graphic illustrations of longshore work done "the old way" and shows how mechanization is able to make work much more efficient and alleviate some of the backbreaking labor involved.

 The book suggests that the mechanization and modernization (M & M) agreement between employer and union can moderate the potential negative effects of modernization upon the work force.

Herb Mills, a longshoreman himself since 1963, in a series of four articles takes a reflective look at "The San Francisco Waterfront" before and after the M & M agreements and concludes that much of the cherished community spirit and interaction among longshoremen has been eroded due to the compartmentalization of individual tasks and a relatively isolated work environment. He laments the decline of conventional longshore work by gangs and the deterioration of one hiring hall which gave longshoring such a special character and which contributed to group ties and a strong union.

Mills' treatment is special for he is able to give specific examples from his own experience, and by quoting the language a longshoreman might use in a situation, conveys the feelings and attitudes of people he worked with.

Mills' description of the work itself, the role of the union, and the power of the employer is contrasted in two major time periods. He calls the period from 1940-1965 a golden age of longshoring, when the work was challenging and the union was strong because the employer depended on workers' initiative and cooperation to get work done. He characterizes the period from roughly 1965 on as a period of decline since mechanization routinizes work and does not need the traditional skills of a good longshoremen. He criticizes the M & M agreements and the union's international leadership's shorsightedness for allowing the employers to essentially do away with the hiring hall system by hiring steady men. He charges that the employers came to gain the upper hand since they now do not really need the longshoremen's initiative and cooperation to get work done. He shows that the shift from a labor intensive

operation to a capital intensive one actually makes it more profitable for the employer to violate the contract at times and pay the penalty (if any at all) because more money is saved in getting the ship loaded or unloaded than by observing the contract.

If there is any weakness to Mills' excellent coverage, it is that he may have idealized and romanticized "the good old days" in his effort to show the evils of the present situation.

William M. Pilcher, The Portland Longshoremen, A Dispersed Urban Community.

A longshoreman himself, Pilcher uses an anthropological approach in his book. He uses his family's background and membership in the longshoring community to describe the community of 1200 longshoremen which revolves around the union as a central institution. His description is not as complete as Mills' regarding the nature of work, but his coverage of race relations, the family, extra-work activities and joking behavior go beyond Mills to Provide an all-around view of life as a longshreman. Because it is descriptive he is able to present the problems and negative aspects of conventional longshoring and longshoremen in the mid to late 1960s. Possibly because of the timing of his study (1972) his analysis of the negative effects of mechanization is not as well developed as Mills'.

in the United States. Upon attending the International ILWU convention
April 27-May 1, I began to read Larrowes' book. I have only read
the first 75 pages and skimmed the chapter on Hawaii, which deals
largely with WWII, the 1949 strike and the Smith Act period.

Relevant Hawaii Materials

Reinecke, John E., Labor Disturbances in Hawaii, 1890-1925: A Summary, compiled in 1966. I studied 23 strikes related to shipping, longshoring and transportation from his listing. Notable things to be learned from this listing were: a) the ethnic nature of the strikes and replacement by scabs of other ethnic groups, b) Longshroemen's hourly wages were higher than those of plantation workers during the same periods, c) in 1904 Hawaiian longshoremen struck against the employment of Japanese to handle sugar,d) with a few exceptions workers' unions were consistently unrecognized during the strikes, e) plantation labor was used to break longshoremen's strikes, f) first mention of Filipino longshoremen in 1919.

Aside from strikes for wage increases, mention of working conditions included: a) (1912) 45 Hawaiian longshoremen strike over a dispute on hours to be worked the night before and hot meal for night work.

- b) (1912) 30 masters and mates strike for back pay for overtime on Sunday and holiday work while in port.
- c) (1913) Hawaiian Longshoremen unloading the <u>SS Honolulu</u> are tired from working all night and day and demand a 50¢ advance.

I also picked out related unions listed in Reinecke's <u>Labor</u>
<u>Unions of Hawaii</u>, A <u>Chronological Checklist</u>, compiled in 1966.

- 1900 Sailor's Union of the Pacific (AFL)
- 1901 International Longshoremen's Association (AFL)

 Masters and Pilots of Steam Vessels (AFL)
- 1902 Marine Engineers, Local 100 (AFL)
- 1903 Longshoremen (Local unknown) (AFL)
- 1908 American Citizens' Labor Union, Hilo (independent)
- 1909 Longshoremen (local unknown) (AFL)

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Hui o na Limahana Poola (General Union of Mechanic Day
           Laborers) (Independent)
           Longshoremen, Local 38-44, Hilo & E. Hawaii (AFL)
          Longshoremen, Local 38-44, Kauai. (AFL)
                                             (AFL)
           Longshoremen, Local 38-44, Kona.
          Longshoremen, Local 38-44, Maui.
           Longshoremen, Local 38-49, Honolulu (AFL).
    1915 International Labor Association (Independent)
           Longshoremen's Union (Independent)
    1916 Longshoremen, Local 38-26, Honolulu.
    1918 Central Labor Council (AFL)
    1918 Freight handlers, Oahu Railway & Land Co., Ltd. (independent)
          United Workers of Hawaii (Independent)
Other related unions or federations mentioned in various readings
(alphabetically):
    Chinese Seamen's Institute
    Hawaii Stevedores Association
    Hawaiian Island Boatmen
    Hawaiian Islands Federation of Labor
    Hilo Longshoremen's Association
    Honolulu Waterfront Workers Association (AFL)
    Honolulu Longshoremen's Association
    International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,
       (Local 1-35 Kauai, Local 1-36 Hilo, Local 1-37 Honolulu)
     Marine Firemen, oilers, Water Tenders Union
    Maritime Federation of the Pacific
    Metal Trades Council-machinists, carpenters, boilermakers, molders,
      plumbers.
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National Maritime Union

Port Allen Waterfront Workers Association

Sailor's Union Hall

West Coast Firemen's Union

- The U.S. House Committee on Immigration and naturalization in 1921
 while discussing "Labor Problems in Hawaii" listed 1920 statistics
 by the Bureau of the Census which showed there wer 1,572 longshoremen
 and stevedores in hawaii
- July 29, 1937, in letter from Fred Kamahoahoa and Levi Kealoha

 (Honolulu Longshoremen's Association) to Harry Bridges (ILA Pacific Coast), they state two-thirds of longshoremen are Japanese but they aren't joining the union, and ask for Bridges advice.
- Davianna McGregor-Alegado has excerpted news articles from the Honolulu Star bulletin between 1935 and 1941 relating to early organizing efforts of Hawaii's longshoremen. Of the 27 articles cited, most refer to union organizing or strikes and reactions to strikes by anti-union longshoremen or members of the Hawaiian community.

 One article described working conditions:

1/17/36 pp. 1,7. 60 longshoremen walked off the job when assigned to unload fertilizer on the Norwegian ship <u>Bronnoy</u>, which was not a part of their regular duties, and they were not to get paid extra.

George Pratt's 1937 intermediate report for the NLRB on charges brought by the Honolulu Longshoremen's Associanton against Castle & Cooke, Ltd. and Honolulu Stevedores, Ltd. provided information on the means by which the employers

sought to discourage labor organizaiton. Pratt found that Matson Terminals, Castle and Cooke, and Honolulu Stevedores were essentially the same employer servicing Matson ships using 800 regular longshoremen and other casuals. McCabe, Hamilton and Renny serviced other ships (Dollar Line, N.Y.K. Line, Canadian National Line) using about 300 longshoremen. Army transports were serviced by U.S. Quartermasters Corps of less than 100 men. Pratt found that men were hired according to fitness for work, adaptability, ability to work with others, and in part, loyalty to Castel & Cooke. There were 450 regular employees with steady numbers who made relatively high earnings. There were regular gangs with the same foremen. If a longshoreman was absent for one to several days there was no penalty; the company expected 10% to be absent per day. There was another group of regular transients who had steady numbers but did not belong to definite gangs; they were first picked to fill in for absent regulars. Transients became regulars according to no set scheme.

When more men were needed due to large absences or more work available casuals were hired by the hour, day, week or several weeks to do the same work at the same pay. Casuals are selected (at a sha up) where they yelled, shouted, kicked, punched or otherwise attracted attention.

In 1936 Longshoremen's earnings were:

Amt. earned (dollars)	1-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	500-1000	1000-2000	2000+
# of employees	1418	72	44	28	194	398	30

(Pratt, (ontinue).)

When longshoremen began to organize in 1935 in response to constant driving by foremen and bosses overloaded slings for cargo handling, the employers sought to prevent it by increasing wages by 10c an hour, picking gangs to work the night before and giving bonus Christmas turkeys.

Pratt also found there was an element of intimidation and coercion because the employer controlled the economic life of the islands (he was incorrect unless he menat that the Big 5 companies collectively dominated economic life).

Vergilio Felipe's paper entitled "The 1938 Inter Island Shipping Strike in Hawaii, A Lesson in Political Unionism" (1970) presents a chronology of the events leading up to the Hilo Massacre in 1938. Although no contract was signed as a result of the strike there were a number of concessions: an 8 hr. day for deckhands, paid vacation, regular meal hours, a port arbitration committee for grievances and disputes, improved working conditions and lockers, and minor wage adjustments.

Another account of the Hilo Massacre appeared in the <u>Honolulu Record</u>, August 5, 1948 under the headline "Bloody Monday Recalled."

James Shoemaker's report, <u>Labor in the Territory of Hawaii, 1939</u>, provides several statistics related to longshoring, (page 171). Of the longshore workers in Honolulu and Hilo, which he estimated to be 70% of all longshoremen,

Japanese were 35.4%

Hawaiians & Part Hawaiians 33.8%

Caucasians 13.6%

filipinos 10.3%

and all others 6.9%

Of salaried workers, 33.3% were Caucasian and 25.9% Japanese.

There were only a small number of salaried Filipinos.

Of workers directly engaged in loading and unloading, 42.5% were Japanese and 34.3% were Hawaiian/part Hawaiian.

Contracts

I have looked through a number of contracts which are similar except for minor changes from year to year. The earliest located so far are a contract between C. Brewer and ILWU 1-36 (Hilo) dated 6/10/41 and one between Castle & Cooke and ILWU 1-37 (Honolulu) dated 6/12/41. Sections which concern working conditions follow:

C. BREWER & ILWU 1-36

CASTLE & COOKE & ILWU 1 37

If changes in operations cause dangerous working conditions union may file complaint with Port Superintendent, which may go to the adjustment board or arbitrator if necessary.

Will establish Safety Code based on Castle & Cooke 1939 Code.

Distribute work equally among steady numbers/steady gangs.

Will try to distribute work equally among casuals too but recognized as more difficult.

Senority in lay offs: last man hired is first fired. Given 2 weeks notice or 2 weeks pay.

8 hr. day, 40 hr. week, OT after either. 7 am - 4 pm straight time for any 8 hr. period M-F and before noon on Sat., OT otherwise.

1.5 x going rate if no meal after 5 hours.

until 1/1/42 70¢/hr. straight time 1.05/hr. OT after 1/1/42 75¢/hr. straight time 1.125/hr. OT Safety Code of Feb. 1939 in effect

Regular gang permit employees have "X" permit, other permit employee not belonging to regular gangs have "Y" permit. Equal distribution of work to gangs.

same

same except OT all day Sat.

same

same

CASTLE & COOKE & ILWU 1-37

C. BREWER & ILWU 1-36

Company may pay merit increases or bonuses as they wish.

Employer allowed to pay Incentive Plan Premium at own discretion.

Special rates: Additional 10¢/hr. straight time, 15¢/hr. OT for:

damaged cargo, sulphuric & muriatic acid in glass containers, cement in bags, coal in bulk, creosoted wood/lumber unboxed, bulk fertilizer, green hides, (freezer, ordinary chill, special chill, refrigerator cargo-working in boxes), scrap metal in bulk over 500#, scrap tin (panini) in bales, live ammunition, dynamite, blasting powder, caps.

Same rate for following if not double-bagged.

Gang must handle 25 tons or more for period rate claimed:

alfalfa meal, coal, reosoted wood products, lime, plaster, bone meal, ammonium phosphate from E. Coast only, tr ble super phosphate, dried blood, fish meal, phosphate rock, soda ash, tankage, paddy rice, empty cement bags, bitumen-type cast iron pipe while handled in un edded areas.

\$1/hr. straight,1.50 OT for bulk cement. \$1.05 /hr. straight, 1.55 OT for smoldering, burning cargo.

OT for working 9 holidays + T.H. general election.

No more than 14 hr. work without 8 hr. rest period, except in emergency can work 2 hr. longer at 1.5 x going rate.

2 hr. minimum pay if called

(does not apply to Kukuihaele)

Company agrees to either rig or prepare gear for Kukuihaele operation at Hilo or en route, as at present, and to continue present wage practices (no details given)

Detention time rate = going rate

1 yr. work = 7 days paid vacation
(40 hrs. pay)

Same

Travel time from Pier 19 to Pearl Harbor, Ford Island & Hickam Field paid at straight time.

Stand by due to rain, gear breakdown, shifting of vessels, rerigging of sugar chutes, etc. at going rate.

Same except for 3 yrs. work get 10 days paid (60 hrs.).

Vacation normally to be taken between Oct. 1 and May 31 of year.

Same

Same

same

C. BREWER & ILWU 1-36

CASTLE & COOKE & ILWU 1-37

1 unpaid stop work meeting/month after 5 pm and less than 3 hr. if must return to work.

Same

Adjustment Board (no details)

Same

Greivance Committee

Same

President of union may investigate grievance at work site.

Same

President/Sec.-Tres. may take 1 yr. leave of absence and get old job back; up to 3 years can get job back.

Same

Bulletin boards for union

Can be Discharged for:

Same

a. coming to work drunk

b. being drunk at work

c. starting fight

d. committing U.S. or T.H. crime

e. inefficiency

f. abuse of cargo

g. smoking in hold

h. violation of safety rule

i. pilferage

j. broaching of cargo

k. insubordination

1. failure to perform work

m. 15 days unexcused absence within any 4 month period.

<u>Grievance Procedure:</u>
Port Superintendent

Terminal Superintendent or for utility (makule) gang or gear gang, Gear Inspector.

Manager

General Superintendent

Adjustment Board

Same

Arbitrator (binding) J. Frank McLaughlin

Same

If injured, see company doctor, if dissatisfied go to any of 13 doctolisted.

The 1946 ILWU proposed contract attempted Territorial wide bargaining, asked for 6 hour day, jointly operated hiring halls, and sling load limits.

1946 Proposed Contract by all ILWU Longshore locals in Hawaii with following employers:

Castle & Cooke Terminals, Ltd. (formerly Matson Terminals, Honolulu Stevedores, Inc.)

McCabe, Hamilton & Renny

American Stevedoring Co.

Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co.

C. Brewer (later Hilo Transportation & Terminal Co.)

Kukuihaele Terminals

Mahakona Terminals

Kahului Railroad

Hawaiian Pineapple Co.

Libby, McNeill & Libby

California Packing Corp.

Pacific Fruit Co.

Lihue Plantation Co.

Kauai Terminal Ltd.

Also asked for: 6 hr. day/30 hr. /wk.

jointly operated hiring halls

(similar to West Coa

Labor relations committee/dispatcher

Sling load limits for 5 separate categories of cargo and 63 specific sling loads, most with maximum of 2100

pounds per load. (See attached list).

(Other employers from various readings:)

Hawaii Consolidated Railway

Contractors Pacific Naval Air Base

Industrial Association of Hawaii (formed 1936)

4/23/1946 ILWU correspondence:

Number of ballots needed/ILWU local

Honolulu - 1800

Ahukini - 150

Hilo - 400

Port Allen- 230 (?)

Maui - 200

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	24-2 255										
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	Apples and Pears						30	boxes	to	aling	load
2.2										1	
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	Other sacks-maximum

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- (7) Number of loaded trailers (4 wheeler)—to be hauled by jitney as follows: Within the limits of the ordinary berthing space of the vessel—2 trailers.

Long houls to bulk head warehouse or to adjoining docks or borths--3 trailers.

(8) When enrgo is transported to or from the point of stowage by power eruipment, the following loads shall apply:

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"Hearing Regarding communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii,"

testimony by Jack H. Kawano 7/6/51 before the House Committee

on Un-American Activities. In testimony, mentioned working conditions
in 1934: gifts and bribes to foremen, discrimination, favoritism,
no job security, low wages, speed ups, dangerous work conditions
(but no examples). He mentioned that in 10/35, the early union
organizers did not permit orientals to join but they changed their
policy a month later.

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An article from the <u>Voice of the ILWU</u>, January 17, 1964 entitled "How We Built the ILWU in Hawaii," a speech by Jack Hall, gives a brief summary of how the waterfront was the original focus for the union's efforts.

Zalburg, Sanford, A Spark is Struck! Jack Hall and the ILWU in Hawaii

P. 15 -- John Rodrigues: "We were working down in the hold, 8 men, slinging loads of 21 bags of sugar to the sling, 3 slings at a time, and they require 8 men below; 1,600 to 1,700 bags in one hour and only 6 men handling sugar coming down at that speed." Calculation:

 $1600 \div 8 = 200 \text{ bags/mqn/hr.} = 3.33/min. = 1/18 \text{ seconds}$

 $1700 \div 6 = 283 \text{ bags/mqn/hr.} = 4.72/\text{minute} = 1/12 \text{ seconds}$

--Alexander Chang: sugar bags that came hurtling down the chutes weighed 110 pounds a piece.

--Levi Kealoha on speedup: "If the employers found the men did not perspire, they were told to check out, and most of these men were not employed for 2-3 weeks."

Interview of Joe Kelalio (Blur) by Ed Beechert 4/25/67. Covers Kelalio's work life, early organizing in Hilo and Honolulu waterfront, organizing of plantation workers, 1949 longshore strike, Izuka/ Kawano, ways of developing union leadership.

He spoke of ethnic composition of longshoremen before the war

as being Japanese, Hawaiian, and Portuguese, with very few Filipinos. He stated that McCabe had many Hawaiians loyal to the company working so the ILWU lost the first representational election there. He mentioned "slap head" as a cash advance from the employer.

Davianna McGregor-Alegado interviewed Hubert Kanaha, Business Agent for ILWU Longshore Unit on 4/19/74. Her interview notes focused on Hawaiians involvement as longshoremen and union organizers.

Some excerpts: "It was hard to get the men to sign up because they liked the company. They thought the company was good to them. A lot of the old timers believed that the company was good and the company used to encourage that image. They used to have Christmas parties every year..."

"Hawaiians would work hard just for the company. They liked Hawaiians. You know Hawaiians, if they trust you, they'll go all out for you. My father used to work on the anchor. They were so devoted to the company that when the anchor broke, they would dive down to go get it and fix the cable, under water - free dive. They would even work over time if the boss would ask. They would work an extra hour or two if the boss would ask and not get extra pay, just because they liked the boss and they thought he was a good guy."

Card File

I have a card file of:

- a) 300 names from the various readings of longshoremen, employers and others mentioned.
- b) 50 longshore job categories, some of which are similar terms for the same job and some of which are probably West Coast jobs

not necessarily found in Hawaii.

c) 200 dated entries of events and conditions form 1894-1959 for a chronology.

Other important materials from Ed Beechert's files not yet abstracted:

- a) 1/21/37 Petition from Honolulu Longshoremen to Joe Ryan of ILA. Contains description of working conditions and names of 50 signers.
- b) 7/31/52 Draft paper entitled "136 Marches On," a short history of longshore organizing in Hilo and Honolulu written by longshoremen.
- c) Fred Low interview 11/21/65 (notes). Has list of wages from 1935-49, description of shape up, discussion of ethnic composition, World War II, grandfather clause for relatives of longshoremen.
- d) Note: Eagen's 1937 confidential memo was insightful in outlining general Territory-wide conditions but not specific to longshoring.

Incomplete list of ports and outports (no regular harbor or dock facilities).

Oahu: Port of Honolulu, many piers

Kauai: Port Allen (at one time an outport where sugar was loaded by boat and launch)

Ahukini (unclear if port or not)

Nawiliwili (later, a port)

Maui: Port of Kahului

Hana (outport)

Lahaina (outport?)

Hawaii: Port of Hilo

Outports: Mahukona

Hongapo (Naalehu)

Kukuihaele Kailua & possibly other areas on the Hamakua coast.

- Kawaihae (later, a port)

Molokai: ?

Lanai: ?

Other sources that need to be investigated:

- a) Laws: There are a number of laws mentioned which I need to get a better understanding of:
 - 1927 Longshoremen & Harbor Workers's compensation Act.
 - 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act.
 - 1934 Jones-Costigan Act (eliminates foreign competition)
 - 1935 National Labor Realtions Act. (sets up procedures for union organizing and representation)
 - 1940 Fair Labor Standards Act. (affected Port Allen workers) & others

 Taft-Hartley part of NLRA, an amendment

 Juneau-Spruce a court decision

Landrum-Griffin -port of NLRA, on amendment 1949 Dock Seizure Act - Act 1+2
Possible sources are Harry Wellington's Labor and the Legal Process, and SanfordCohen's Labor Law.

- b) Racial breakdown by occupation for Hawaiian Kingdom and 1900, 1910, 1920 censuses.
- c) Reports of Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii

1901	1916
1902	1924
1905	1939
1911	1947
1915	

- d) Various Thrum's annuals to complete a listing of outports
- e) Honolulu Star Bulletin-Advertiser newspaper index for news articles on longshoremen, stevedores, ILWU, shipping and related topic:

- f) books which describe ships and docks, to get more information on size, shipboard terms, equipment; more photographs of ships and Longshore operations.
- g) more records at the ILWU library and Jackie Paul's slideshow.
- h) a visit to the waterfront and actual observation of a conventional longshore operation (if that's still possible).
- i) various employer records which may provide information as to types and volume of cargoes, frequency of loading and unloading, number of men reagained per operation, lists of accidents (or would these be government documents?). See list of employers in ILWU 1946 proposed contract.
- j) more information on bulk loading operations and effects on employment.
- k) interviews and papers:

 Jack Kawano in Burns Oral History Project

 Lou Goldbaltt-Ed Beechert interview

 Ichiro Izuka paper description of work
- 1) possible interviewees: Yoshiaki Ichinose

 Joseph Keawe

 John Elias, Jr.

 Bob McElrath