

CHAPTER 4

Transportation: Water, Road and Air

AIR LINE MECHANICS ASSOCIATION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 155 N. Clark St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1936 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
ann. 1936-1939
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1937-1941+ : *Air Line Mechanic*

AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 3145 W. 63rd St., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

1931 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1931; ann. 1934-1936; 1938; 1940
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Apr 5, 1932-1941+ : *Air Line Pilot*

ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL MARINE

Address: 815 Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1875 Organized as National Marine Engineers' Association of the United States of America.
- 1883 Adopted present name.
- 1916 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1923 Withdrew from AFL.
- 1937 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: E1)

1. Proceedings.
1st-31st ann., 1875-1906; [32nd, 1907]; 33rd-65th ann., 1908-1941
2. Constitutions.
1891; 1893; 1899; trien. 1901-1907; 1912; 1918; 1919; 1920; 1923; 1930; 1935; 1937; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago; Washington)
1906-1941+: *The American Marine Engineer* (Suspended Nov 1920-Apr 1921; Jun-Sep 1921; Mar 1933-Oct 1935)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The National Marine Engineers' Association was formed in 1875 at a meeting of representatives from several Great Lakes ports and the port of Baltimore. Its first constitution established a beneficial society, designed for skilled workmen. The conventions of 1875 to 1880, whose discussions were not reported, apparently did little more than revise the constitution and consider the status of the benefit funds.

After 1880, reports of officers and reports from locals appearing in the proceedings indicate the broadening interests of the Association, starting with a campaign to lower the federal license tax imposed annually on marine officers. This tax was reduced in 1884 and eliminated a few years later. In 1885 the Association further increased its prestige by securing legislation prohibiting aliens from holding American licenses as marine engineers. For many years after this the Association's program was principally one of

legislative activity to restrict the issuance of licenses and to "raise the professional level and enhance the prestige of marine engineers." In 1896 it pushed a bill through Congress granting the status of officers to marine engineers and reaffirming the exclusion from the profession of non-citizens.

Use of the Association to improve the wages and working conditions of its members was first proposed in 1883. The convention voted down the proposals by a large majority and, to emphasize its decision, inserted the word "Beneficial" in the union's name. In 1887, however, the constitutional prohibition against the setting of wage standards by locals was removed and the locals began to engage in a form of collective bargaining. The death benefit system had gradually died out by this time. Growing concern with wages and the need for concerted action to forestall wage cuts led to a provision for a full-time, salaried president in 1890. An attempt at regional collective bargaining with all employers in the Great Lakes region culminated in a widespread but unsuccessful strike in 1902. For several years after 1909 the MEBA was engaged, along with other organized maritime groups, in a fight against the open shop drive initiated by the Lake Carriers' Association. The MEBA lost much of its membership in this unsuccessful struggle and turned once more primarily to legislative activities. The conventions of 1910, 1911, and 1912 voted down proposals to affiliate with the AFL and emphasized the professional character of the Association.

From 1910 to 1918 the convention proceedings were filled with correspondence between MEBA officers and governmental agencies over such issues as the fraudulent issuance of engineers' licenses, hours and working conditions aboard ships, and hazards to the safety of the crews—notably the dangerous practice of excessive steam in engine-room boilers. During the World War period much space was devoted to relations with the United States Shipping Board; the recruiting of engineers for the War Shipping Fleet; hearings on wages and working conditions; cases, awards, and appeals taken to the National Adjustment Commission; and efforts to prevent unauthorized strikes during the war.

The major issues in the immediate post-war years were the re-establishment of rules and working conditions which had been sacrificed during the war, the problem of the disposition of the government-owned merchant fleet, and the probable effects of the return of the railroads to private control. Railroad ownership and operation of tugboat lines provided a basis for joint action with the railroad brotherhoods, and in 1921 a permanent alliance

was formed providing for cooperation in cases coming before the Railroad Labor Board.

In 1921 depressed economic conditions in the shipping industry brought great pressure for wage reductions. A protracted strike was fought by the maritime unions in the New York harbor area to retain the eight-hour day achieved during the war, but the strike was lost. Later in the year negotiations of the maritime unions with the United States Shipping Board and the American Steamship Owners' Association over proposed wage reductions broke down. The result was a general maritime strike, which failed completely and almost ruined the unions involved. As a result of the strike the MEBA suffered a great loss in membership, became involved in a heated factional conflict over the conduct and termination of the strike, ceased to be recognized by the private steamship corporations, and retained collective bargaining relations only with the United States Shipping Board.

After some slight recovery in 1922 and 1923, the union underwent a gradual decline in membership and influence which lasted until 1933. This period was, in general, one of wage cuts, unemployment, and growing strength of company unionism in San Francisco and dual unionism in New York. Indicative of the union's weakness is the fact that verbatim convention proceedings, which had been introduced in 1919, were eliminated in 1924 as an economy measure and, except for one year, did not reappear until 1940. The exception was 1930, when an involved factional conflict was reported in full in the proceedings.

The union's membership revived after 1933 and by 1937 it had regained much of the ground previously lost. In 1937, after a three-months dispute, the union secured a collective agreement with sixty-one private companies employing more than half of the marine engineers on the Pacific Coast. In 1937 also, Congress enacted the Three Watch (eight hour) bill which the MEBA had sought for many years. The union also had extensive dealings during these years with the United States Maritime Commission, the United States Steamboat Inspection Service, the Bureau of Navigation, the Bureau of Fisheries, the United States Public Health Service, the Maritime Labor Board, and the National Mediation Board. The correspondence of union officials with these agencies was usually included in the convention proceedings.

Jurisdictional disputes and dual unionism were a major problem for the union throughout most of its history. Outstanding among the jurisdictional disputes were those with the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, a branch of the Longshoremen's Union, from 1902 to 1907; with the Steam Operating Engineers,

the Machinists, the Boiler Makers, and the Electrical Workers over repair work in the engine-room of a ship while in port, which reached a peak between 1918 and 1922; and with the Operating Engineers, the Longshoremen, and the National Maritime Union from the thirties to date. The MEBA also fought company unions and dual unions in New York, San Francisco, and New Orleans during the twenties and early thirties.

These rivalries made it difficult for the MEBA to maintain a firm allegiance to any federation of trade unions. It affiliated with the AFL in 1918 but withdrew again in 1922 as a result of the constant controversy with AFL crafts over repair work. The AFL then gave jurisdiction over marine engineers to the Operating Engineers, and when the MEBA once more sought AFL affiliation after 1933, the Operating Engineers refused to relinquish their jurisdiction. Rebuffed by the Federation, the MEBA turned to the CIO and received a charter in 1937. As interpreted by CIO officials, however, this charter gave jurisdiction only over unorganized marine engineers and not over engineers already members of other CIO unions, such as the National Maritime Union. The MEBA therefore found itself in continual conflict with CIO as well as AFL unions, and discussions of withdrawal from the CIO were frequent from 1939 onward.

Information on the union's problems and activities appeared mainly in the officers' reports to union conventions, which over most of the period were very detailed and contained all the significant correspondence between international officers and government agencies. The convention discussions were summarized, except for the year 1919-1924, 1930, 1940, and 1941, which were reported verbatim. The union journal was essentially a technical magazine throughout the period and provided relatively little information on union affairs.

LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 265 W. 14th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as Lumber Handlers of the Great Lakes.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL as National Longshoremen's Association of the United States. Changed name to International Longshoremen's Association.
- 1901 Changed name to International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association. Pacific Coast locals seceded.

- 1905 Affiliated with International Transportworkers' Federation.
- 1908 Resumed name of International Longshoremen's Association.
- 1909 Absorbed seceded Pacific Coast locals.
- 1927 Withdrew from International Transportworkers' Federation.
- 1937 Seceding faction of Pacific Coast locals organized International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: L1)

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1892]; 2nd-14th ann. 1893-1905; 15th-23rd ann., 1907-1915; 24th-29th bien., 1917-1927; 30th-32nd quad., 1931-1939
2. Reports.
Executive Council: 1903
3. Constitutions.
1896; 1899; ann. 1900-1905; ann. 1908-1910; ann. 1912-1915; bien. 1917-1921; 1925; 1927; 1931; 1935; 1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Erie, Pa.; Buffalo; New York)
Nov 1909-Jul 1919: *The Longshoreman* (Ceased publication)
Jul 1926-Jul 1932?: *Longshoremen's Journal*
(Single issue published in 1926; next issue Jul 1928; published semi-annually thereafter. Apparently suspended Jul 1932.)
Editor:
Nov 1909-Jul 1919: T. V. O'Connor

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Since *The Longshoreman* was published over a relatively brief span of years, the most important publication of the International Longshoremen's Association has been its convention proceedings. By 1899, the first year for which published proceedings are available, this union was fairly well entrenched on the Great Lakes and had extended a few outposts to the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts. Until 1911 the proceedings did not report the verbatim discussions of the delegates, but only the resolutions presented and the action taken on them. Consequently, the reports of the officers were the only source of factual data and opinion during the early period.

These early reports were lengthy and detailed. They included an account of all strikes, the settlements with employers by the international president, the full text of all collective bargaining agreements negotiated from 1899 to 1905, the need for organization in various areas, organizing trips by the president and other

officers, written reports of organizers in the field, lists of locals chartered, comments on conditions facing individual locals and their achievements, as well as the problems facing the international organization as a whole each year.

In these early years, under the presidency of D. J. Keefe (1892-1909), certain policies were evolved which were zealously followed by the successive administrations of the union under T. V. O'Connor (1909-1921), A. J. Chlopek (1921-1927), and J. P. Ryan (1927 to the present). These policies included adherence to the principles of "business unionism," efforts to enhance the prestige of the union among employers by maintaining a strict responsibility in contractual relations, a resulting necessity to subordinate local autonomy to the supervision of the international, and consequently an abhorrence of sympathetic strikes and strikes in violation of collective agreements. A great deal of comment on these policies appeared in the proceedings; and in 1911 and subsequently, more than one view was expressed, for beginning then the published proceedings reported the convention sessions verbatim.

As a result of these policies considerable time was devoted in every convention to questions of the relations of the locals with the international and district officers, and to questions of the disciplining of locals for violation of the international's laws. In 1919 and 1935, in particular, major factional conflicts within the union were revealed in the proceedings. These arose out of the policy and acts of the international officers in connection with strikes, which raised the issue of local or district autonomy to prominence. The 1919 case grew out of a general harbor strike in New York and vicinity, and the 1935 dispute resulted from the 1934 general maritime strike on the Pacific Coast. As a result of the intra-union controversy, these two strikes were more fully discussed than any others in the union's history.

The work jurisdiction of competing locals presented another perennial problem. This problem was particularly difficult in many of the Gulf ports where separate locals existed for white and Negro workers and anti-union employers played on race prejudice. Many proposals for the amalgamation of competing locals were discussed in the proceedings.

Both jurisdictional disputes with other internationals and dual unionism plagued the ILA from its inception. By far the most serious jurisdictional dispute grew out of President Keefe's efforts to make the ILA an industrial union covering the entire marine transport industry. The resulting conflict with the International Seamen's Union extended from 1899 to 1908, and was fully dis-

cussed in the proceedings of this period. The same policy which had led to the dispute with the Seamen, *viz.*, that of trying to consolidate the forces of all organized labor engaged in the marine transport industry, led also to the ILA's affiliation with the International Transportworkers' Federation in 1905. The proceedings from 1903 on consequently contained a great deal of material on foreign labor movements and the need for international labor cooperation.

Dual unionism appeared periodically as a major issue in the conventions. In the early years dualism was represented by local remnants of the Knights of Labor; from 1910 to 1920, by strong IWW movements in the Northern Atlantic and Pacific Coast districts; during the twenties, by the One Big Union movement in Canada and "company unionism" on the Gulf and Pacific coasts, where unsuccessful strikes and lockouts in the post-war period had nearly eliminated the ILA; and, finally, following the resurgence of unionism on the West Coast in the 1934 maritime strike, by the secessionist movement of the Pacific Coast locals and the formation of a rival CIO union there which also challenged the ILA on the Gulf Coast.

A few other highlights of the union's history which were fully covered in the proceedings must be noted. From 1908 to 1910 the ILA was subjected to an intensive "open shop" campaign on the Great Lakes by the Lake Carriers' Association, from which this district of the union never fully recovered. This weakening of the Lakes district was further intensified over the years by the gradual decline of the lumber industry in this section of the country and by revolutionary technological changes in the handling of ore and grain, which greatly reduced employment opportunities.

During the first World War, the issue of strike control was of paramount importance to the international because of its pledge to support the war effort, and a great deal of attention was given to methods of settling disputes with employers by mediation and voluntary arbitration. This policy resulted finally in the creation of the National Adjustment Commission, along with supplementary local commissions in every port, to deal with all disputes with employers for the duration of the war. The president's report for 1919 contained a complete collection of the cases and awards handled by the commissions during the war.

The principal legislative aim and accomplishment of the ILA was the passage of accident compensation laws. The agitation for the enactment of such laws was pushed vigorously by the ILA early in the nineteen-hundreds. The longshoremen were repeatedly excluded from the protection of state laws because of the nature

of their industry. The union therefore redoubled its agitation for a federal law, and the campaign reached a successful conclusion in 1927 when the federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act was passed. The ILA was also active in pushing much of the labor legislation enacted during the New Deal period, but later became extremely critical of the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. The outstanding item of the 1939 convention was criticism of the National Labor Relations Board's personnel and policies, primarily because of the Board's decision in 1938 granting exclusive bargaining rights for the entire Pacific Coast area to the rival CIO union, despite the existence of four ILA longshore locals on Puget Sound.

Another issue of considerable importance in the 1935 and 1939 conventions was that of "communism" and the activities of alleged communistic elements within the ILA who were leading an opposition movement to the administration of J. P. Ryan. Much of this in 1935 took the form of a protracted verbal duel between President Ryan and Harry Bridges, leader of the Pacific Coast district, who subsequently carried most of the Pacific Coast locals into a rival CIO longshore union.

The financial reports included in the proceedings increased greatly in completeness and detail from the early statements of total annual revenue and disbursements to a completely itemized and functional breakdown of all financial transactions from 1912 on, including a notarized report of a professional auditor in 1921 and subsequent years.

The Longshoreman, official organ of the ILA, was published regularly as an eight page monthly for the ten-year period 1909-1919. From the first issue it contained a monthly financial report of the international secretary, presenting an itemized account of every receipt and disbursement. This report normally covered two of the eight pages. In general, most of the remaining material was taken from other sources; the feature articles were usually reprints from the *American Federationist* or other labor journals. Exceptions to this were the published letters from member correspondents in various sections of the country, with detailed comments on local conditions and local union activities. Moreover, following the creation from 1908 to 1910 of four districts of the international (Atlantic, Gulf, Great Lakes, and Pacific) as administrative subdivisions, the journal began to publish the annual reports of the district officers and other highlights of the district conventions. These reports provided a comprehensive summary view of the state of the organization and its achievements and of the special problems of the various districts, and thus supple-

mented the convention proceedings of the international. The journal also reprinted the officers' reports and the most important resolutions adopted at the international conventions, a duplication of the material in the proceedings.

From 1909 to 1912 the journal contained numerous articles on foreign maritime unions and published all correspondence of the ILA with the International Transportworkers' Federation. After 1913 this news of foreign affiliates virtually disappeared. The construction of the Panama Canal prompted a series of articles on the probable effects of the opening of the Canal on foreign commerce and shipping, and hence on longshore work. The hostility of the ILA towards immigration, especially Oriental immigration, was accentuated by the fear that the opening of the Canal would bring a new influx of immigrants to American shores.

During the first World War the journal was filled with the cases and decisions of the National Adjustment Commission. Usually the journal merely reprinted the text of the decisions without comment. The journal lent its weight during this period to the agitation for passage of workmen's compensation laws for longshoremen. During the same period, from 1915 to the suspension of the journal in 1919, there appeared an increasing number of factual articles dealing with business conditions in the shipping industry, the growth of American foreign trade, and similar matters.

Throughout the period of publication of *The Longshoreman*, President T. V. O'Connor appeared as the nominal editor. With the exception of an occasional critical letter from some member, the policies reflected in the paper were strictly those advocated by the administration of the union. From February 1912 to March 1917, D. H. Corcoran, a member of the union, was listed as assistant editor of the journal and author of all the editorials. Although occasionally directed at concrete issues, such as workmen's compensation, the editorials were usually very short and dealt with such general topics as union responsibility, the duties and obligations of members, the evils of radicalism, the need for organization, and the advantages of collective bargaining.

LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937 Organized by seceding faction of International Longshoremen's Association (*q. v.*). Affiliated with CIO and Maritime Federation of the Pacific (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: L3)

1. Proceedings.

1st-4th ann., 1938-1941

2. Constitutions.

1938; 1940; 1941

3. Journal.

Published as: (San Francisco)

1938?-1940?: *Voice of the Federation*

(*Voice of the Federation*, official organ of Maritime Federation of the Pacific (*q. v.*), was also official organ of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union from 1938 to 1940.)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In 1937 most of the Pacific Coast locals of the International Longshoremen's Association, after a special referendum vote, seceded from the ILA, sought admission to the CIO, and were chartered by it as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The Atlantic and Gulf Coast locals in the main continued their membership in the ILA. The new union at once launched an organizing campaign in these areas with CIO support, but encountered bitter opposition from the ILA and made only slight headway. On the Pacific Coast, however, it consolidated itself rapidly and in 1938 was designated by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining representative of all longshoremen in Pacific ports.

Having won recognition, the ILWU next faced the task of negotiating satisfactory contract terms with employers. The collective bargaining objectives of the union were crystallized in a two-year coast-wide agreement signed in 1940. The agreement provided for wage increases, a six-hour day, hiring through union

hiring halls, uniform dispatching and working rules for the whole coast, skilled rates of pay for skilled work, restrictions on the use of labor-saving devices, treatment of indirect handling of cargo as longshore work, and provision for arbitration of any issues arising under the contract.

The other major problem of the union's early years was jurisdictional conflict with other unions. Rivalry with the ILA was intense and disputes arose also with other AFL unions, notably the Teamsters and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. A jurisdictional dispute occurred in 1941 with another CIO union, the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees. The decision of the Jurisdiction Committee of the CIO did not satisfy either party; the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees refused to accept it and the issue remained unsettled. On the whole, however, relations with the national CIO office were good and convention discussion of CIO policies was laudatory.

The ILWU published no journal of its own, but for about two years after 1938 used as its official organ the *Voice of the Federation*, published by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. Convention proceedings were published but were not verbatim except for occasional nominating speeches or questions asked by the delegates after a speech by a visitor. The bulk of the proceedings consisted of officers' reports and reports of local delegates.

The president's report as a rule commented at length on the organizing program and its effectiveness, and on the course of the struggle with the ILA. It also included a section on contracts negotiated and the technique of successful negotiation, and a section on current political issues, such as the Presidential campaign, foreign affairs, labor legislation, and the effects of war on labor standards. The secretary's report dealt in greater detail with the important events of the year—major negotiations, organizing campaigns, the condition of the locals, strikes and lockouts, activities of the ILA, working conditions on the East and Gulf Coasts, National Labor Relations Board decisions affecting the union, the current political situation and its significance for labor, relations with other unions, Maritime Commission activities, and legislation affecting maritime workers or labor in general. It included also membership statistics and a summary of the financial condition of the union.

The reports of vice-presidents and organizers were brief discussions of their activities during the year, and particularly of working conditions and organizing problems in the places visited, organizing campaigns conducted, and negotiations, strikes and

jurisdictional disputes in which they participated. About sixty pages of the proceedings were usually devoted to reports of local delegates, which presented a succinct picture of the activities of each local over the past year and of its current strength and prospects. In addition, miscellaneous reports occasionally appeared, such as legal reports (in 1939 and 1941) which discussed all the litigation and National Labor Relations Board hearings in which the union had participated.

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1935 Organized by West Coast locals of maritime labor organizations as a federation with member unions retaining autonomy.
 1941 Dissolved.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd-6th ann., 1936-1940
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1938; 1940
3. Journal.
Published as: (San Francisco)
1937?-Aug 2, 1941: *Voice of the Federation*
(Merged with *Pilot*, organ of National Maritime Union of America (*q. v.*).

MARITIME UNION OF AMERICAN, NATIONAL

Address: 346 W. 17th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as result of "rank and file" revolt in International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*), which disbanded the following year. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-3rd bien., 1937-1941
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1939

3. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

1935-May 1937: *ISU Pilot*

Jun 1937-1941+: *The Pilot*

(Prior to May 1937 this journal was the organ of the revolting group within the International Seamen's Union of America. When this group organized the National Maritime Union of America in 1937, the journal was continued as the organ of that union. v. 3, nos. 35-52 marked v. 2; v. 3 repeated in numbering. Absorbed *Voice of the Federation*, organ of Maritime Federation of the Pacific (q.v.) Aug 1941.)

MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS OF AMERICA, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Address: International Commerce Bldg., 15 Moore St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1887 Organized as American Brotherhood of Steamboat Pilots.
- 1891 Changed name to American Association of Masters and Pilots of Steam Vessels.
- 1905 Changed name to American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the United States of America.
- 1916 Affiliated with AFL under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
[23rd, 1908; 27th, 1914]; 39th, 1929; [1936]; 43rd-44th bien., 1938-1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1893; 1898; 1908; 1909; bien. 1910-1914; 1917; 1926; 1929; 1936; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
1908-1941+: *The Master, Mate and Pilot* (Suspended Mar 1916-1937)

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC

Address: Lumbermen's Bldg., San Francisco

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1885 Organized as Coast Seamen's Union.
- 1891 Merged with Steamship Sailors' Union to form Sailors' Union of the Pacific.
- 1892 Participated in organization of International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1935 Affiliated with Maritime Federation of the Pacific (*q. v.*).
- 1936 Expelled by International Seamen's Union of America.
- 1938 Formed nucleus of Seafarers' International Union of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1891; 1892; 1896; 1900; 1902; 1903; 1906; 1907; 1913; 1937
- 2. Journal.

Published as: (San Francisco)

Nov 2, 1887-Apr 3, 1918: *Coast Seamen's Journal*

Apr 10, 1918-Jan 1936: *Seamen's Journal*

1937-1941+: *West Coast Sailors*

(After 1892, the *Seamen's Journal* was also the official organ of International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*); a critique of the journal will be found under the name of that union. Although this journal was published until Jun 1937, it ceased to be the official journal of Sailors' Union of the Pacific after Jan 1936.)

SEAFARERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 110 Market St., San Francisco

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1938 Organized by West Coast remnants of International Seamen's Union of America (*q. v.*), most important of which was Sailors' Union of the Pacific (*q. v.*), which retained autonomy in Seafarers' International Union. Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (New York)
1939-1941+ : *Seafarers' Log*

SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized under name of National Seamen's Union as a federation of four district sailors' unions, Sailors' Union of the Pacific (*q. v.*); Lake Seamen's Union; Gulf Coast Seamen's and Firemen's Union; and Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1895 Changed name to International Seamen's Union of America.
- 1936 Expelled Sailors' Union of the Pacific.
- 1937 Seceding faction organized National Maritime Union of America (*q. v.*).
- 1938 Charter revoked by AFL in order to charter Seafarers' International Union of North America (*q. v.*). Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: S1)

1. Proceedings.

[1st, 1892]; 2nd, 1893; [3rd, 1895]; 4th-16th ann., 1899-1911; 17th-21st ann., 1913-1917; 22nd-30th ann., 1919-1927; 31st, 1929; 32nd, 1930; 33rd, 1936 (31st-33rd *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1899; 1909; 1911; 1916; 1917; 1919; 1924; 1926; 1930; 1936

3. Journal.

Published as: (San Francisco)

1892-Apr 3, 1918: *Coast Seamen's Journal*

Apr 10, 1918-Sep 1921: *Seamen's Journal*

Oct 1921-Jan 1922: *The Seaman*

Feb 1922-Jun 1937: *Seamen's Journal* (Ceased publication)

(The *Coast Seamen's Journal* and the *Seamen's Journal* which were the official organs of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (*q. v.*) from 1887 to 1937 were also the organs of the International Seamen's Union of America, except for the period Oct 1921-Jan 1922 during which the International Seamen's Union published its own organ, *The Seaman*.)

Editors:

1892-Jan 9, 1895: W. J. B. Mackay

Jan 16, 1895-Mar 14, 1900: W. MacArthur
 Mar 21-Mar 28, 1900: H. O. Beckley
 Apr 4-Jul 4, 1900: M. Jostall
 Jul 25-Sep 26, 1900: J. Vance Thompson
 Oct 3, 1900-Jan 16, 1901: E. Forrest
 Jan 23, 1901-May 28, 1913: W. MacArthur
 Jun 4, 1913-Jan 12, 1921: Paul Scharrenberg
 Jan 19-Sep 1921: J. Vance Thompson
 Oct 1921-Jan 1922: Thomas Hansen
 Feb-Apr 5, 1922: Selim A. Silver
 May 1922-Jun 1937: Paul Scharrenberg

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *Coast Seamen's Journal* was founded in 1887 as the official organ of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Primarily through the efforts of this union the National Seamen's Union was formed in 1892 to bring together the seamen's organizations of the Atlantic, Pacific, Gulf, and Great Lakes districts. The *Coast Seamen's Journal* then became the official organ of the new organization and, with the exception of a brief period in 1921-1922, continued as such until the disintegration of the International Seamen's Union in 1938.

Although the journal was the official organ of the international, it was published by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in San Francisco until 1922, when its publication was taken over by the international. Most of the articles and news items included during those years concerned the activities and interests of the Pacific Coast unions, and the political activities of labor in San Francisco. There were, however, departments devoted to the Atlantic and Great Lakes districts, which dealt with the working conditions and organizing activities of the unions in these districts as well as the agreements obtained.

Most of the material which appeared in the journal was reprinted from other sources, and original material was confined largely to the editorial pages. Columns of brief paragraphs on such subjects as "Home News," "Marine News," "Labor Doings of Today," and "News from Abroad" occupied a considerable amount of space. The journal contained little discussion by members of the issues facing the union, nor did it contain much discussion of intra-union difficulties until the last few years of its publication when the international was torn apart by factional conflict.

One of the main objectives of the journal throughout its history was to publicize the working conditions of the seamen, em-

phasize the cruelties and indignities to which they were subjected, and secure laws to ameliorate these conditions. The campaign for seamen's legislation was led by Andrew Furuseth, president of the Seamen's Union from 1908 to 1938, and the journal contained many articles from his pen. This campaign to elevate the social position of seamen, eliminate the boarding house system and allotments, abolish imprisonment for desertion, improve working conditions, and provide for the safety of seamen formed the most important set of issues in the journal. This agitation resulted in the passage of the Maguire Act in 1895, the White Act in 1898, and the Seamen's Act in 1915. After the passage of the Seaman's Act the journal devoted much space to defending the legislation against attacks by the shipowners.

Considerable space was also devoted in the journal to the jurisdictional disputes, factional struggles, and major strikes in which the union was engaged.

Beginning in 1899, the Seamen's Union was involved in a jurisdictional dispute with the Longshoremens which lasted until 1907 and was adjusted only by Samuel Gompers' intervention. The union's most important strike, judged by volume of discussion in the journal, was called in the Great Lakes district in 1909 and abandoned in 1912. In this strike the union attempted unsuccessfully to force the Lake Carriers' Association to abandon its open shop policy and its "welfare plan." In 1921 the Great Lakes district was again involved in a dispute with the Lake Carriers' Association because of the Association's policy of wage reductions, maintenance of the open shop, and use of the blacklist in the form of a so-called "discharge book."

The union was greatly interested in post-war attempts to rehabilitate the American merchant marine. The discussions of this problem provided information on union attitudes toward employment of Asiatic and other alien labor, ship subsidies, qualifications for seamen, and government ownership and regulation of the merchant marine.

The *Seamen's Journal* also devoted much space to discussion of foreign labor movements, especially among Australian seamen. Through the International Seafarers' Federation, the union maintained a close connection with seamen's organizations in all parts of the world. Accounts of international meetings of seamen's organizations were given much prominence.

Shortly before the disastrous strike of 1921, IWW sympathizers in the Sailors' Union of the Pacific ousted Paul Scharrenberg from the editorship of the journal and elected J. Vance Thompson

to succeed him. The new editor voiced the criticisms of the IWW against the leadership of the union. As a result, in its 1921 conventions the international withdrew from the *Seamen's Journal* the power to speak for the international union. In October 1921, the international established a separate publication, *The Seamen*, which was its official journal until it ceased publication in January 1922. Thompson was expelled from the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in November 1921 and Selim A. Silver was elected to the editorship of the *Seamen's Journal*. In April 1922 the Sailors' Union of the Pacific turned the journal over to the international.

In 1936 factional conflict again flared up in the union and resulted in its disintegration in 1938. The disintegration began when the International Seamen's Union revoked the charter of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. A seceding faction on the Atlantic Coast then set up a dual organization under the leadership of Joseph Curran which later became the National Maritime Union. In 1938, the AFL revoked the charter of the International Seamen's Union and chartered a new organization, the Seafarers' International Union. The Sailors' Union of the Pacific formed the nucleus of the new international. The course of the factional struggle was reflected in the content of the journal during this period.

The published proceedings of the early ISU conventions were short, because they were summaries rather than verbatim reports and because the conventions themselves were brief. After 1910, however, the reports of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and legislative committee were published and provided considerable information on such matters as the condition of the district unions and legislation affecting seamen. Beginning in 1911 each year's report of proceedings was supplemented by voluminous appendixes, containing documents bearing on the major subjects discussed in the convention.

**STREET, ELECTRIC RAILWAY AND MOTOR COACH
EMPLOYES OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED
ASSOCIATION OF**

Address: 260 Vernor Highway, E., Detroit

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1892 Organized as Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees.
- 1893 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Changed name to Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.
- 1934 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1894; 5th-27th bien., 1897-1941; (5th-27th *with journal*)
- 2. Constitutions.
bien. 1895-1929; 1934; bien. 1937-1941
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Detroit)
1895-1927: *Motorman and Conductor*
1928-1941⁺: *Motorman, Conductor, and Motor Coach Operator*

**TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, WAREHOUSEMEN AND
HELPERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL
BROTHERHOOD OF**

Address: 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1898 Organized by group of team drivers' locals.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL as Team Drivers' International Union.
- 1901 Seceding faction organized Teamsters' National Union (*q. v.*).
- 1903 Merged with Teamsters' National Union to form International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
- 1906 Seceding faction organized United Teamsters of America, which was in existence in Chicago area as late as 1925.

- 1910 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.
 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T1)

1. Proceedings.
 [1st, 1898; 2nd, 1899]; 3rd, 1900; [4th, 1901]; 5th, 1902; 6th, 1903 (5th, 6th *with* journal). After merger: 1st-6th ann., 1903-1908; 7th, 1908; 8th, 1910; 9th-12th quin., 1915-1930
2. Constitutions.
 ann. 1899-1908; 1910; 1912; quin. 1915-1940
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Detroit; Indianapolis)
 1901-Aug 1903: *Team Drivers' Journal*
 Nov 1903-Oct 1905: *Magazine of the . . .*
 Nov 1905-Oct 1910: *The Teamsters*
 Nov 1910-1941+: *Official Magazine of the . . .*
 (NS, Nov 1903.)
 Editors:
 1901-Aug 1903: N. W. Evans
 Nov 1903-Aug 1904: James J. Dwyer
 Sep 1904-Sep 1907: Cornelius P. Shea
 Oct 1907-1941+: Daniel J. Tobin

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters was formed in 1903 by a merger of the Team Drivers' International Union and the Teamsters' National Union. Each of these groups had previously published its own journal, and the journal of the new union combined the main features of both publications. From the Team Drivers it took over a correspondence section devoted mainly to reports from local unions. These reports summarized the conditions of trade in each locality, pictured the organizing difficulties and achievements of the union, and described most of the important strikes. From the Teamsters' National Union it took over a section devoted to general news items, drawn largely from other publications. Editorials were few and were concerned mainly with organizing problems, methods of handling strikes, and union constitutional problems.

In 1907, Daniel Tobin became president of the union and editor of the journal, and has continued in both capacities to the present day. Over this period there has been no substantial change in the composition of the journal. From 1908 onward, the

main portion of the magazine was given over to editorials. Correspondence progressively decreased in length and prominence until it virtually disappeared. Those letters that did appear were brief reports on strikes, local conditions, new members admitted to locals, and social news; they did not discuss general issues. The remainder of the magazine consisted of general news stories and reprinted articles.

By 1941, editorials occupied between one-half and three-quarters of the space in each issue, and very little material except that written by the editor appeared in the journal. The views on union affairs contained in the journal were therefore almost exclusively those of the editor. The subjects of President Tobin's editorials varied all the way from accounts of local happenings to broad discussions of national and international affairs. Some of the topics most frequently discussed are indicated below.

One of the earliest issues confronting the union was whether team owners should be admitted as members. The original Team Drivers' Union admitted owners if the owner actually drove a team himself. The Teamsters' National Union did not and had, indeed, seceded from the Team Drivers on this issue. After the merger of the two groups and after much discussion in the conventions of 1906 and 1907, the issue was decided by restricting membership to non-owners.

This reconciliation, however, did not solve the union's problems. The Teamsters' union continued to be plagued by frequent secessionist movements. The largest and most serious secession was in 1906 when the United Teamsters of America was formed in Chicago. Many important members of the Brotherhood, including several executive board members, joined the seceding faction. From 1906 to 1911 this union made a strong bid to supplant the Brotherhood but was finally restricted to the Chicago area, where it survived until about 1925. Frequent references in the journal show this dual organization to have been a constant thorn in the side of the Brotherhood. There were eight other secessionist movements between 1907 and 1941, but these were local in character and never proved a serious threat to the security of the Teamsters. In each instance President Tobin's explanation of the reasons for the secession was set forth in the journal.

The Brotherhood was also involved continually in jurisdictional disputes. From the first year of its existence through 1941 there were frequent disputes with the Brewers, Retail Clerks, Operating Engineers, Bridge and Structural Workers, Street and Electric Railway Workers, Railway Clerks, and Railroad Trainmen.

Scarcely a year passed without much space being devoted to this problem in the journal and convention proceedings. The dispute with the Brewers was especially troublesome and long-lived.

The union early became interested in politics. President Tobin supported a candidate in every presidential election from 1908 to 1940, and was especially active in 1916, 1936, and 1940. In the last two years, he campaigned actively for Franklin Roosevelt and headed the AFL committee for Roosevelt for President. The Democratic and Republican parties, presidents, cabinet members, and congressmen were criticized frequently and vigorously in journal editorials.

Because of Tobin's position, first as treasurer and then as vice-president of the AFL, and because the Teamsters' union was one of the AFL's largest affiliates, the formation of the CIO was of major interest to the union. Tobin headed most of the AFL delegations to the peace conferences which attempted to find a basis for reunion of the two groups. His account of the reasons for the failure of each conference was invariably presented in the journal. The journal also reflected the concern of the union administration over communist activities among the union's membership. The climax of the anti-communist feeling expressed in the journal came with the expulsion in 1941 of a Minneapolis local connected with the Socialist Workers party.

The proceedings of the Teamsters' conventions were reported verbatim until 1910, and contained much discussion of resolutions, constitutional amendments, and appeals from locals and members. After 1910, though the texts of resolutions, and summaries of appeal cases were printed, very little of the discussion pertaining to them was published. Officers' reports were included in the proceedings from 1903 on. The president's report dealt with his organizing and administrative activities, and included comment on current problems and controversies in the union. The secretary-treasurer's report contained a detailed account of receipts and expenditures, as well as strike and membership statistics, and comments on the bonding of officers, administrative relations between locals and the international, and publication of the journal. Reports of the auditor described the condition of locals' treasuries, reasons for dues delinquency on the part of locals, and discussed cases of graft or theft on the part of local officers. The report of the executive board consisted of minutes of meetings held during the year.

TEAMSTERS' NATIONAL UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized by seceding faction of Team Drivers' International Union (*q. v.*).
 1903 Merged with Team Drivers' International Union to form International Brotherhood of Teamsters (*q. v.*).

 II. PUBLICATIONS
 (Code Number: T1a)

1. Proceedings.
1903
2. Constitutions.
1902
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
Oct 1902-Sep 1903- ? : *Teamsters' National Journal*

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

See Critique of Publications of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 153 W. 64th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized.
 1936 Merged with International Association of Machinists (*q. v.*).
 1937 Withdrew from International Association of Machinists.
 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1937; 3rd, 1941
2. Constitutions.
1937; 1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (New York)
Dec 1933- ? : *Transport Bulletin*
? 1934-Jun 1937: *Transport Workers Bulletin*
Jul 1937-1940: *Transport Bulletin*
(Volume enumeration irregular; Dec 1933-May 1934 without volume enumeration.)