

# **1934 San Francisco Dock Strike: Introduction and Activities of the California National Guard**

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STATIONS AND LOCATIONSDURING THE EMERGENCY IN SAN FRANCISCOJULY 5 TO JULY 26, 1934

The following pages are a list of the stations and locations of the San Francisco Bay District local of the International Longshoremen's Association, and the International Longshoremen's Association voted practically unanimously for a strike unless a compromise could be agreed upon.

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Federal and State officials made desperate efforts to avert the apparently inevitable waterfront workers strike which threatened to interrupt business on the Pacific Coast.

"We have heard nothing further from the Waterfront Employees Union and are going ahead with our plans for the strike," said William J. Lewis, District President of the Longshoremen's Association. "We are supported by our American Federation of Labor and strike funds will be forthcoming from the International Longshoremen's Association with seventy thousand members."

Thomas C. Plant, President of the Waterfront Employees Union declared that it was not legally possible for his organization to meet the demands of the Longshoremen, demands for a "closed shop" agreement, and recognition of the workers organization, on behalf of the entire Pacific Coast. "If the Longshoremen strike we will do everything in our power to keep the port moving," said Plant. "We are perfectly prepared to meet the demands of the

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ASSISTANCE IN PREPARATION OF THESE MATERIALS  
WAS FURNISHED BY THE PERSONNEL OF WORK PROJECTS  
ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL PROJECT NO. 665-08-3-128.

THE CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD

AND THE

EMERGENCY IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1934

INTRODUCTION

The following pages are an attempt to give a clear and instructive description of the San Francisco Maritime Strike in chronological order, and the important part played therein by the California National Guard.

Early in 1934, the labor unions of San Francisco were interspersed with a strong radical and communistic element which first made itself felt on March 17 of that year, when the San Francisco Bay District local of the International Longshoremen's Association voted practically unanimously for a strike unless a compromise could be agreed upon.

The Longshoremen were demanding an increase in wages from eighty-five cents per hour for straight time and one dollar and twenty-five cents per hour for overtime, to one dollar and one dollar and fifty cents per hour respectively, and a thirty hour week. They also asked recognition of the International Longshoremen's Association and an agreement to employ only members of that union.\*

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\*San Francisco Chronicle March 18, 1934, page 3, column 1.

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Longshoremen, but our attorneys have advised us that it would not be in keeping with section 7 A of the National Recovery Act to accede to their present demand."

Plant and Lewis held separate conferences with Doctor Henry F. Grady, Dean of the College of Commerce of the University of California who succeeded George Creel as Chairman of the San Francisco Regional Labor Board. Creel was present at the conferences. He retained his position as State Director of Compliance for the N.R.A., and co-operated with Doctor Grady to compromise the differences between the employers and waterfront workers.

"We are as far apart as we were when we started", said Creel after the conference ended. "The deadlock is on recognition of the Association and on the demand for a closed shop." Governor James Rolph, meanwhile, from his sick bed at the St. Francis Hospital moved to intercede in the controversy. Rolph telephoned Timothy A. Reardon to arrange conferences between the opposing factions, in his capacity as State Director of Public Relations.\*

All conferences failed to bring about an agreement and on May 9, 1934, twelve thousand unionized Longshoremen on the Pacific Coast went on strike. A grim state of siege prevailed in all Pacific ports north of Los Angeles. For a fortnight Seattle and Portland Shipping men loaded and unloaded a few ships at a couple of docks under the menacing eyes of resentful strikers. In their ports nearly seventy-five ocean going ships lay helpless. At Los Angeles's well-defended port, shippers were masters of the situation and kept cargoes moving about as usual, but in San Francisco hardly a vessel could load or unload. Scores of freighters had dumped their cargoes on the docks and sailed away in water ballast. Out on the Bay, eighty-nine deep water vessels swung idly at anchor.

The Dollar Line had diverted all its trans-Pacific passenger traffic to Los Angeles and the Grace Line had eliminated sailings north to Seattle. The steel doors of the ninety docks on San Francisco's five mile Embarcadero had not opened to let a bale of silk, a bag of sugar or anything of the fifty-million dollars worth of goods they held, pass into commerce.

The San Francisco Industrial Association warned it would open the port. The spot chosen for the attempt was Norton Lillies Pier 38, opposite the warehouse district which was known to oldsters as "South of the Slot." Freight cars on the Belt Line Railroad, which ran the entire length of the broad brick and cobblestoned Embarcadero and was owned and operated by the State, were spotted to screen the pier, while police cars lined up to keep an open driveway.

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\*San Francisco Examiner March 20, 1934, page 1, column 6.



To the accompaniment of cracking revolvers, exploding gas shells and grenades, widespread rioting and injuries to scores of persons, the Industrial Association of San Francisco, on July 3, 1934, fulfilled its promise to "open the port."

The following are the developments on July 3, a day replete with sensations:

Nine policemen were injured, two civilians were shot and thirteen others given hospital treatment as the result of the rioting, and scores of others were injured, in a lesser degree by rocks and policemen's clubs. Five trucks of the Industrial Association made eighteen round trips between Pier 38 and the Garcia and Maggini warehouse at 128-136 King Street without injury to a truck driver or damage to a truck cargo. Five trucks driven by Union men and having no connection with the strike were attacked by strikers, two of the trucks were overturned and wrecked, one was wrecked and two were burned. President Roosevelt's National Longshoremen's Board renewed its plea that warring factions submit their differences to arbitration. The Industrial Association announced that no attempt would be made to work trucks on July 4, a National Holiday, but that trucking would be resumed on July fifth.

The disorder broke out shortly after the first of the Industrial Association's trucks left Pier 38. The five trucks were decrepit old affairs, only one of which had license plate. Before the first truck left the Pier the police had pushed back a crowd of two thousand strikers across the Embarcadero and the trucks drove through a line of closely spaced radio patrol cars across the Embarcadero, and down King Street, a short street leading to the vicinity of Third and Townsend Streets.

A group of twelve hundre strikers gathered near Third and King Streets. Eight radio patrol cars preceded the first two trucks. As they approached the King Street warehouse, Police Captain Thomas Hoertkorn, in command of the Southern Station, drove up in a car and standing on the running board shouted: "the port is open." His shout was a signal for an attack by the twelve hundred strikers. They surged back against fifty policemen assigned to keep them in line and made for the trucks. Big doors opened in the warehouse and the trucks barely made safety. The crowd appeared to have pockets well filled with rocks, for a hail of stones sailed after the trucks, rattled on the closing doors, and some of them struck policemen.. Just then Police Chief William J. Quinn arrived on the scene in a big automobile drive by Sergeant William Bennett. A hail of rocks greeted the Chief, one of them passing through the windshield of his car and landing in Bennetts lap. Captain Hoertkorn then headed his fifty men who had been reinforced by another fifty, and with swinging clubs, slowly forced the strikers back to Third and Townsend Streets from where they scattered in every direction.

During the retreat of the strikers, came the first casualty. A truck owned by the Seaboard Transportation Company of Los Angeles, was proceeding up Third Street with a load of empty paper cartons, when, although the truck had no



connections with the strike it was surrounded by a mob, overturned, its windshield and radiator smashed and its tires punctured. The driver, a Union man, escaped injury by mingling with the crowd. Traffic was halted on Third Street for more than an hour by the riots which ensued.

After the first riot the strikers gathered slowly at Second and Townsend Streets and from that distance shouted vile epithets at police and truck drivers. Suddenly Captain Hoertkorn drove up and behind him were several loads of policemen. "Let em have it boys" Shouted Hoertkorn. The Captain pulled his revolver, fired several shots in the air and advanced with drawn club. The policemen followed him and waded into the crowd with swinging clubs and fists. The crowd retreated slowly, many with heads bleeding from police clubs. At short range the police discharged gas shells from their revolvers into the crowd. The police then began to fall back and as they did so they threw hand grenades of gas and shot other grenades from gas guns. The mob halted at Second and Brannon Streets. There, several strikers picked up gas grenades before they could explode and hurled them back at the police. Dense crowds lined every rooftop and leaned from every window in the neighborhood. The gas seeped into these buildings, and the tearful spectators wiped their eyes. A shift in the wind carried the gas toward the Embarcadero, and watchers at Pier 38 could smell it.

Another encounter between police and strikers came at Second and King Streets, and again police used clubs and tear gas to disperse the mobs. No arrests were made. Another riot occurred at Second and Townsend Streets, when one thousand strikers were fought off by police, and clubs flew freely. In this riot the police complained that tear gas proved ineffective, and they threatened at the next demonstration to use vomit gas, which would disable its victims for several hours. There were no disturbances around Pier 38 which was too closely guarded by police to permit the strikers to approach the trucks.

Another truck loaded with empty cartons was attacked by the mob as it was passing Third and Townsend Streets and Captain Hoertkorn dispersed this mob single handed. He fired several shots from his revolver over the heads of the crowd and then laid about him with a club. Before he was reinforced by other policemen the crowd was in full flight. Later, police reported that two flasks of phosphorus were found in the overturned truck indicating incendiary attempts by attackers. The driver of the truck, returning later with another automobile to pick up the empty containers, was stopped at Ninth and Division Streets, the truck taken from him and set on fire.

At Fourth and Townsend Streets the mob seized two trucks and overturned them, breaking the windshield and slashing the tires. At Fifth and Bloxome Streets a small truck was seized and fired. It was destroyed before the fire department arrived.\*

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 4, 1934, page 1, column 8, page 2, column 1.



On July five, the Industrial Association again resumed trucking operations which resulted in widespread rioting. The results of the day were: Two men shot to death. One near death from bullets. Twenty-seven suffering from gunshot wounds, forty-five beaten, clubbed and gassed. A woman and two men, passengers on a street car, were shot. The riots raged from early morning until after dark. They ranged from the Third and Townsend Streets Station to Fishermans Wharf, and from the Embarcadero, several blocks up town. One thousand San Francisco police were engaged in the struggle with five thousand infuriated, slugging, rock-throwing, club-wielding strikers.\* On the fifth of July Governor Merriam issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas there exists in the city of San Francisco, State of California, a state of tumult, riot and other emergencies, or imminent danger thereof, and there are present therein tumultuous, riotous and unlawful assemblies with intent to do violence to persons and property therein, and to resist the laws of the State of California and the United States of America; now, therefore, I, Frank F. Merriam, Governor of the State of California and by virtue thereof commander-in-Chief of the Militia of the State of California, do hereby call and order, and authorize the Adjutant General of the State of California to forthwith call, and order into active service such portion of the active Militia of the State of California as may be necessary to protect life and property and to maintain peace and order in said city and county, and said Adjutant General is hereby authorized and ordered to forthwith take such action or actions as may be necessary for the protection and preservation of life and property and maintenance of peace and order in said city and county of San Francisco.

The Adjutant General of the State of California will provide all transportation and services and furnish all rations and other supplies necessary for the proper performance of the duties hereby authorized and ordered; and for each, and all of said purposes I do hereby suspend all provisions of the laws of the State of California which require advertisement for bids for purchases of supplies or employment of services.

This proclamation to be and continuing forth uninterruptedly until revoked by me as Governor of the State of California."\*\*

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 6, 1934, page 1, columns 4 and 5.

\*\*California Guardsman August 1934, page 27.



The following is the text of a resolution which was introduced by Edward G. Vanderleur, President and John O'SConnell, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council and was unanimously adopted by that body at a meeting held on the night of July six. The resolution severely censured Governor Frank F. Merriam for calling out the National Guard of the State, and reads as follows:

"Whereas, the Governor of California, Frank F. Merriam, has taken the unprecedented and ill considered action of calling out the State militia for strike duty along the San Francisco waterfront and thus subjected the striking marine workers and this port and community to the ignominy of being ruled by the military and the threat of martial law; and "Whereas, no inordinate danger to life and property justifying such action existed during the entire course of nearly two months strike that could not be handled by the city government and its police force with the bounds of law and reason, while the Governor's action in a single day has caused more rioting and bloodshed than the course of the strike up to that moment, showing the deep resentment and just indignation existing in the breast of every laboring man and woman in this community, by reason of such signal partiality in favor of one side without any attempt at peaceful settlement, and the unwarranted display of force and compulsion in the settlement of an industrial dispute; and "Whereas, under the present inflamed condition of the people of all shades of feeling, the strike situation called for temperate statesmanship, patience and fair consideration of accumulated grievances and practical remedies therefore with a view of working out justice to all concerned, a course of action now needed to bring about industrial peace to this community; therefore, be it "Resolved by the San Francisco Labor Council, in regular session assembled, that we deeply deplore and condemn the calling out of the State Militia by Governor Merriam and urge on the Federal Government and the National Longshoremen's Board to renew the negotiations with the representatives of the shipping interests and the striking marine unions, to the end that a just and honorable industrial peace may be established, so that all labor in this community may be assured that simple justice and not military force is going to prevail in the adjustment of the intolerable grievances of the striking marine workers."\*

Note: The statement that the Governor's action had caused the worst rioting of the strike was not clear, in view of the fact that the bloody riots of July 5, all came before the Governor made public his order calling out the National Guard.

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 7, 1934, page 3, column 6.



ACTIVITIES OF  
THE CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD  
DURING  
THE EMERGENCY IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1934

At 1:00 P.M. July 5, Major-General David P. Barrows, Commander of the 40th Division received a telephone message from General Seth E. Howard, the Adjutant General, saying that the Governor had decided to call out a portion of the National Guard to preserve order and protect State-owned property along the San Francisco waterfront, where the Belt Line Railroad and all piers, wharves, buildings and other waterfront facilities were owned and operated by the State of California. The Adjutant General advised that he would order mobilization of the 250th Coast Artillery, the 159th Infantry, the 40th Division Signal Company, Company D, 184th Infantry, and a detachment of Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment, 40th Division. At the same time he authorized the Division Commander to direct the mobilization of Companies K, L and M of the 184th Infantry stationed in Sonoma and Napa Counties, and to order them to Berkeley and Oakland in reserve and to protect armories and installations left unguarded on the departure of the 159th Infantry. The Division Commander was also authorized to assemble Oakland units of the 143rd Field Artillery at a called drill during the evening of July 5 in anticipation of orders for mobilization. Company D, 184th Infantry, Gilroy, was to proceed to San Jose, join units of the 159th Infantry there and then proceed to Oakland. Company D was ordered into service at the time in order to furnish a machine gun company for the 250th Coast Artillery which had no such unit.

Headquarters of troops ordered into service was established in the Berkeley Armory within a few minutes after receipt of the Adjutant General's instructions. Orders covering mobilization of the units of the Third Battalion, 184th Infantry mentioned above, were immediately issued. Additional telephone service was immediately installed, offices and facilities assigned, guards established and a staff improvised from early arrivals of officers and men.

Mobilization of troops was carried out in splendid order and with great celerity. At 2:55 P.M. July 5, the Division Commander telegraphed the Adjutant General that his preliminary instructions regarding mobilization had been carried out and that mobilization was progressing satisfactorily. By 6:00 P.M., the Berkeley, Alameda and Oakland units of the 159th Infantry had completed mobilization and reported at the Oakland Armory. A short time later, the San Jose units and Company D, 184th Infantry reported at the Oakland Armory. At 7:30 P.M. the 159th Regiment, less the Third Battalion which was in San Francisco, was ready to move with full field equipment. Evening mess had already been served in the Oakland Armory. At 8:10 P.M. Companies L and M, 184th Infantry, Napa and Petaluma, respectively, reported at Berkeley and took over guard of Armory. Company K, 184th Infantry, Santa Rosa, reported



at 10:00 P.M. At 9:00 P.M. the Adjutant General telephoned, authorizing mobilization of units of the 143rd Field Artillery stationed in Oakland. This mobilization was reported as completed ten minutes later, the units having previously assembled in response to an ordered drill. In the meantime the 159th Infantry in Oakland had perfected arrangements for the movement to San Francisco. The regiment, less the Third Battalion, with Company D, 184th Infantry, and with one officer, sixteen enlisted men and eight trucks of the 143rd Field Artillery moved out at 9:30 P.M. Secret arrangements had been made to operate the ferry boat across San Francisco Bay in case the regular crews should refuse to do so. A special Chemical Warfare Riot Detachment of trained men had been organized earlier in the evening to assist in covering debarkation of troops in San Francisco. This detachment was equipped with riot shotguns and chemical munitions. Upon arrival in San Francisco the ferry boat tied up at a central pier at the Ferry Building and the riot detachment guarded all avenues of approach while troops disembarked. The riot detachment then moved to the auto ferries south of the Ferry Building and furnished protection during the unloading of trucks and baggage. The First Battalion, 159th Infantry was assigned to the area from Piers Three to thirty-one, inclusive, and immediately went into position. The last sentry was posted at 10:55 P.M. The Second Battalion and special units were stationed at Pier 1 in reserve. The Third Battalion, San Francisco, which arrived about 11:00 P.M. was assigned to, and took over the area from Piers 33 to 45B inclusive. The last sentry was posted before midnight.

The 250th Coast Artillery received orders for mobilization at 12:55 P.M. The advance detachment of the regiment which was at Capitola preparing the field training camp for occupancy was recalled with the exception of one officer and nine enlisted men who were left in camp as guard. Colonel R. E. Mittelstaedt was designated to take command of all troops concentrated on the San Francisco waterfront, these troops to be designated the San Francisco Port Command. Colonel Mittelstaedt established his advance command post in the Ferry Building at 3:30 P.M. Mobilization of the 250th Coast Artillery proceeded rapidly and by 4:30 P.M. was practically complete. At 4:40 P.M. the regiment furnished trucks and drivers to transport the Third Battalion, 159th Infantry to the waterfront. On their return the 250th Coast Artillery proceeded to the waterfront, taking over piers in the sector south of the Ferry Building. Command Post of the regiment was established in the Ferry Building, the First Battalion on Pier 22, Second Battalion on Pier 32 and the Third Battalion on Pier 44. By 3:30 A.M. July 6 all sentries had been posted. A rear detachment of two officers and forty-five men and the 40th Signal Company remained in the San Francisco Armory to guard the building and material stored there. Proper liaison was maintained at all times between Headquarters of the command in Berkeley, troops in process of mobilization and during the occupation of the San Francisco waterfront.



On July six, positions were consolidated. The two regiments, 159th Infantry and 250th Coast Artillery, practically ceased to function as separate regiments and were constituted a combined command consisting of six battalions to which were attached units of the 184th Infantry. A Port Command Staff was organized from the combined staffs of the two regiments and two officers from the 40th Division Staff who had been detailed to duty with the command. The principal staff officers included the following:

Colonel Wayne R. Allen, 159th Infantry, Chief of Staff;  
Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene D. Bennett, 40th Division, G-1;  
Lieutenant Colonel Curtis D. O'Sullivan, 40th Division, G-2;  
Captain B. W. Boyes, 250th Coast Artillery, G-3;  
Captain R. H. Devereux, 250th Coast Artillery, G-4;  
Major F. B. Delano, 159th Infantry, Machine Gun Officer;  
Captain E. W. Rideout, 159th Infantry, Chemical Warfare Officer.

Installation of headquarters in the Ferry Building and battalion command posts on various piers was completed, positions were inspected and minor adjustments made. Arrangements were made for mess and supply of troops. Company D, 184th Infantry was attached to the 250th Coast Artillery to supply the deficiency of that regiment with respect to machine gun units. One section of the Company was attached to each of the artillery battalions.

Foreseeing a probable need for strong motorized patrols which could be immediately dispatched to any threatened point along approximately five miles of waterfront, as well as to convoy movements of troops and supplies, a provisional mobile machine gun detachment was organized under the command of Major Frank B. Delano, 159th Infantry. The detachment operated in units of two trucks. On one was mounted a machine gun manned by a gunner, an assistant gunner and a squad of riflemen. The other truck carried a squad of riflemen only. These highly mobile units proved of exceptional value during the remainder of the period troops were on duty. They protected every important movement of troops, convoyed all supply trucks, reconnoitered outside the area of actual occupation, made demonstrations at sensitive points, and were generally indispensable.

Prior to the taking over of the waterfront by the National Guard, small launches manned by strike pickets had caused considerable trouble on the Bay by attempting to intimidate strike breakers quartered on "Mother" ships in the harbor. In at least one case a boat bearing strike breakers was pursued by a picket boat and fired upon. To prevent repetition of such acts, as well as to protect the piers and troops from attack from the water side, the State Fish and Game Commission patrol boat "Albacore" was requisitioned by the troops and fitted out as the Port Command's "Navy". Thirty-seven MM Guns were mounted fore and aft. The Howitzer Company, 159th Infantry, with detachments of automatic riflemen and riflemen attached, manned the boat in regular crew



shifts of one officer and fourteen men including gunners and assistant gunners for the thirty-seven MM guns, automatic riflemen and riflemen. The boat made regular patrols along the five miles of waterfront every night, challenging suspicious crafts and playing a searchlight around all piers. It was probably due to operation of this boat that no trouble whatever was experienced on the Bay during the period of operations.

The military control on the waterfront July six, was complete. Not long after daybreak on that date the one thousand seven hundred soldiers who had moved onto the Embarcadero, were quartered on piers, "took over" from the police. At the Ferry Building, headquarters of Colonel R. E. Mittelstaedt, who commanded the troops on the waterfront, Police Chief W. J. Quinn and Captain Arthur De Quire of the Harbor Station called at 8:00 A.M., conferred briefly with Colonel Mittelstaedt and turned the Embarcadero patrol over to the men in khaki.

From Fisherman's Wharf on the one end down past the long line of piers, past the Ferry Building and to the southern end of the three and one-half mile stretch of waterfront, sentries began their patrols. They wore full action equipment with steel helmets, bayonets and loaded guns. They wore grim faces too. Many were youths, but they looked determined. On pier roofs, behind barricades at strategic points, machine guns were mounted and manned. "Keep the strike pickets moving," was one of their orders. As a result, the scene of days before when the city police lined the piers and the pickets stood across the Embarcadero in ominous knots and crowds, had changed. The soldiers marched briskly up and down the pier line. Across the street the pickets kept on the move, walking, walking, walking. Bayonets were ready to enforce that. One man was arrested because he wouldn't "move on."

But there was no serious trouble. The bayonets looked too sharp, the National Guardsmen too determined. It was "martial law" as that term is understood by the general public. There is no such phrase in the statutes but it is a popular term. But on the waterfront during this emergency military law prevailed in the district controlled by the State troops in compliance with the Governor's order. The area controlled by the troops included all the territory within the effective range of their weapons. As far as they could shoot effectively, their control was maintained.

Within that area, maintenance of peace, law and order was entirely within the discretion of the officers in command of the troops. Civil laws were superseded by military necessity. All limits of penalties provided in civil laws, all constitutional guarantees as to trial, were replaced by martial dictum. Military commanders could arrest all violators of regulations; they could establish military courts and try prisoners therein; they could impose such penalties as they saw fit, even death by shooting, if necessary. They could confine prisoners in their own stockades or guard houses, or they could arrange to turn them over to the regular constituted civil authorities and have them held as long as the military directed.



Such was the situation prevailing in San Francisco, under Governor Merriam's order sending the troops to the waterfront, according to an opinion rendered by State Attorney-General U. S. Webb.

Under the effective maintenance of law and order by the soldiers, those activities which had been halted by the strike and the rioting, were resumed July six. The Belt Line Railway moved cars on and off the piers, and the great stores of cargoes which had accumulated during the fifty-nine days of the strike began moving to warehouses. Trucks, too, rolled with cargoes, always under the guard of soldiers at the piers, and police elsewhere, for the police released from waterfront guard by the troops, doubled their guards elsewhere in the strike zone.

Work on the San Francisco—Oakland Bay Bridge was halted July five when tear gas, bullets and bricks jeopardized the workers on the San Francisco end of the structure. To the commanders of the militia went a request from Chief Engineer C. H. Purcell, asking that the troop lines be extended to include every part of the bridge work on the San Francisco side of the Bay.\*

On the afternoon of July six, Companies B and C, 184th Infantry, Woodland and Chico, respectively, were ordered to mobilize and proceed to Berkeley. The two units arrived early July seven, Company B at 1:00 A.M. and Company C at 4:00 A.M. Companies K and L, 184th Infantry were relieved from duty at the Berkeley Armory and reported to the San Francisco Port Command at 12:40 P.M. A sixth sector consisting of units of the 184th Infantry was organized and placed under command of Major James R. McFarland, 184th Infantry, with command post at Pier 50 B.

The 143rd Field Artillery and 40th Signal Company were relieved from further duty at 9:30 P.M. July six, and on July seven these organizations departed for camp at San Luis Obispo, the 143rd Field Artillery by motor transport via Oakland, San Jose, and Gilroy, and the 40th Signal Company by train from San Francisco. The latter unit was convoyed at 9:30 P.M. by the 250th Coast Artillery from the Armory at Fourteenth and Mission Streets, San Francisco, to the Southern Pacific Depot at Third and Townsend Streets. The Eightieth Brigade, less the 160th Infantry, 40th Division Aviation, and Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment, 40th Division, less a detachment of officers and men on State duty, also proceeded to Camp at San Luis Obispo, for annual field training as scheduled.

Flatly contradicting what he termed "wholly untrue statements" in the resolutions adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council July six, Acting Governor Merriam on July seventh, again set forth his reasons for ordering troops to the waterfront, and pointed out that since their arrival peace and order had

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 7, 1934, page 2, columns 2, 3, 4.



existed along the previously riot-swept Embarcadero, The Governor's statement was as follows:

"It has become necessary for me to correct certain misleading and wholly untrue statements contained in a resolution adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council On July 6, 1934, with respect to the calling of the California National Guard to maintain law and order along the San Francisco waterfront. "The portion of the resolution as reported to me, and to which particular objection is made, follows: 'Whereas, no inordinate danger to life and property justifying such extraordinary action existed during the entire course of nearly two months strike, that could not be handled by the city government and its police force within the bounds of law and reason, while the Governor's action in a single day has caused more rioting and bloodshed in the course of the strike up to that moment, showing the deep resentment and just indignation arising in the breasts of every laboring man and woman in this community, by reason of such signal partiality in favor of one side without any attempt at peaceful adjustment, and the unwarranted display of force and compulsion in the settlement of an industrial dispute.'

"In view of the known and incontrovertible facts, I must assume that the resolution as adopted either failed to reflect the actual views and intent of those who drew it, or that it was prepared for the deliberate purpose of creating a false impression.

"As to the latter conclusion, I hesitate to accept it, for no action taken by me in connection with the Longshoremen's strike and no action to be taken by me, has or will be discriminatory or prejudicial to the lawful interests of any citizen or group of citizens.

"Every act of violence along the San Francisco waterfront, every case of bloodshed and every instance of conflict between the strikers and the forces of the law, occurred before I ordered the National Guard to take necessary steps to protect life and safeguard State property.

"With the arrival of the National Guard units called into service, rioting ceased and order was restored.

"Up to this hour not one shot has been fired by a National Guardsman; not one overt act, so far as I am informed, has been committed by the strikers.

"Thusfar, therefore, my purpose in calling upon the National Guard has been met. I realize that men's minds are inflamed and that balanced judgement is difficult under the stress and strain of angry feelings and clashing interests but I reiterate what I have already said, the California National Guard represents neither side nor any special interest in the situation.

"The Guardsmen are on duty in behalf of the people of California, under whose authority they are acting and in whose behalf they will continue to serve.



"I repeat also that I ordered the Guards to the strike area only as a last resort to protect the lives of citizens and to safeguard the property of the State. My action was taken after representatives of the strikers had definitely challenged the authority of the State and had announced a determination to prevent State authorities from carrying on the peaceful affairs of the State owned harbor facilities.

"Loyal representatives of labor, who, having at heart the just and basic interests of the working men and women of California, will not only refuse to mistake or misunderstand the Governor's attitude and intent in this situation, but will promptly and effectively repudiate any effort to misrepresent and falsify the facts relating to a situation which every patriotic Californian hopes to have adjusted with fairness to all and with prejudice to none.\*

Teamsters of San Francisco and Alameda Counties on July eight voted to go on strike Thursday morning July twelve, unless the walkout of marine workers had been settled by that time. The meetings were held at Dreamland Auditorium in San Francisco and at the Pacific Building in Oakland, and in each case the decision to go on strike was reached by secret ballot. The Unions decided to meet again Wednesday night, July eleven, to confirm their vote on a strike by acclamation if the marine strike had not been settled by that time. The meeting in San Francisco indicated its desire to strike by a vote of one thousand two hundred twenty to two hundred seventy-one. The strike would affect two thousand five hundred men in San Francisco, handling heavy drayage, but would not affect taxicabs, bakery wagons, ice wagons, retail deliveries or similar trades. Michael J. Casey, President of the San Francisco Teamsters local, warned the members that they were voting a sympathy strike, which was in violation of the rules of their international brotherhood and that they would probably lose strike benefits of ten dollars a week per man from the international organization.

The vote in Oakland was three hundred sixty-nine to fifty-four in favor of a strike. Charles W. Reed, Secretary of the Oakland teamsters union, stated that it was not a sympathy strike, but a strike against conditions under which the men were working and predicted that their benefits from the international body would not be affected. The meeting at Dreamland Auditorium was attended by one thousand five hundred of the two thousand members of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Auto Truck Drivers, local No. five, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers. Printed ballots requesting an answer of yes or no to the question, were distributed. The question was: "Are you willing to continue to work under present conditions?" Peter Williams of the local spoke and urged that the employers

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 8, 1934, page 2, columns 2 and 3.



be given three days to settle their differences with the marine workers, and that on Wednesday night the teamsters meet again to vote by acclamation on whether to go on strike Thursday morning.

Casey addressed the men and told them that it was a direct violation of the laws of the international organization for the teamsters to vote to go out on strike in sympathy with any other union. He said a strike could be voted only when the teamsters had differences with their own employers and pointed out that they had none at present. He repeated that if the men violated this law, the international body would undoubtedly withhold the usual strike benefits to the local. In this manner the men would sacrifice twenty-five thousand dollars a week.

In the midst of the argument one of the teamsters discovered wires and a microphone in the Auditorium. "They've got dictagraphs in here" he shouted. "They're listening in on everything we say." Excited teamsters tore out the microphones and wires and hurled them on the platform only to be informed by Dreamland attaches, that the wires were part of a remote control radio broadcasting device installed to broadcast the speech of a political candidate at a meeting scheduled that night.\*

On July eight, the National Guardsmen fired their first two shots on the Embarcadero. It turned out to be "all a mistake" but it proved that the Guardsmen meant business and the occurrence might well have proved much more serious than it was. Emil Onita, of 1459 Grant Avenue, a fisherman, drove his automobile down Harrison Street to the Embarcadero. With him was Thomas Brushera, a restaurant man of 1928 Mission Street. They were sightseeing. A sentry called on Onita to halt as he drove on to the Embarcadero, but Onita was deaf and failed to hear or understand the command. The sentry called again and this time Onita saw him and waved his hand. The sentry interpreted this as a threatening gesture and fired a shot from his rifle into the ground. Onita failed to hear the shot and drove on. The sentry fired at the car and the bullet crashed through a fender of the machine. Onita halted then, and was brought before guard officers. The situation was explained, and Onita enthusiastically promised to stay away from the Embarcadero.\*\*

Three men fighting to ward off the threat of a general strike, with all its implications of suffering and bloodshed, sat in the Federal Building in San Francisco July nine, and heard labor leaders present their side of the case and ask for settlement of the maritime strike by the surrender of the ship-owners to union recognition and the closed shop. Archbishop Edward J. Hanna, Attorney O. K. Cushing and Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor,

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 9, 1934, page 1, columns 7 and 8.

\*\*San Francisco Examiner July 9, 1934, page 1, columns 5 and 6.



appointed as a board of mediation by President Roosevelt, appealed for a truce at the opening of the public hearings. The members of the Board pleaded with the strikers to return to work at once and let the Board arbitrate their demands. Then they listened as labor leaders, and one avowed Communist, described the grievances that caused the paralyzing strike, and the threat to extend it to shut off the necessities of life from San Francisco and Oakland. One after another, the Union men, with occasional questions from the Board, made it known that they insisted upon the closed shop as the chief one of their demands. They divided their terms into two sections; (1), Union recognition for collective bargaining as provided by the N. R. A., and (2), the closed shop either directly or through control of the hiring halls.

They told why these demands were basic, and why they felt that they could not be arbitrated. They charged that "company unions" had frozen out the regular labor unions by coercion of the workers. They asserted that men could not secure employment unless they joined company unions, and that they were discharged if it became known that they were members of outside unions. They also declared that as a result of such employer control of the unions, wages and hours and working conditions had grown steadily worse throughout the shipping industry and Longshore craft.

The spokesmen for the strikers included: Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the California Federation of Labor, representing the International Seamen's Union and two branches, the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and Marine Cooks and Stewards; C. W. Smallwood, of the Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders; Harry Jackson of the Marine Worker's Industrial Union, an admitted Communist organization; E. B. O'Grady of the Masters, Mates and Pilots; Andrew Furuseth, President of the International Seamen's Union; Sam Kagel, Marine Engineers Benevolent Association; H. P. Melnikow, Pacific Coast Labor Bureau; C. W. Deal, of the International Seamen's Union, and Carl Freitchie, of the Marine Cooks and Stewards. "Thank you, friends, for coming here," was Archbishop Hanna's simple, yet profoundly grave opening of the hearing. He then introduced Cushing, who made the plea for a truce.

"All parties," Cushing said, "have indicated a willingness to arbitrate, but conditions have been imposed which make arbitration impossible. The Board hopes that those conditions may be eliminated. The Board believes that one of the first steps should be to have the men return to work at once, without discrimination because they are on strike or because of their Union affiliations. And pending arbitration, the men should not be required to use the hiring halls to which they object. There was a moment of dead silence. Realizing that there would be no response, the Archbishop briskly swung the meeting into the business at hand, and called for representatives of striking unions to State their case. There was one significant interruption. Furuseth, eighty year old, grizzled champion of seamen, weary almost to the point of collapse, told the board: "Gentlemen, we are wasting your time." "You cannot get at the truth unless you exert your authority to subpoena and place



witnesses under oath." There was no move to do this, however, and Cushing later declared it was a "bridge yet to be crossed." Only a moment before, Furuseth had unconsciously lightened the gravity of the session and caused a chuckle. When he entered the courtroom he could not find a place for his hat, so he clapped it on the head of a bust that stood in a wall niche.

Typical statements from the Union leaders were: Scharrenberg: "The contention of the employers that they cannot deal with us as an organization is untenable." "They have organized thoroughly to grind the seamen into the dust. The owners will not recognize the 'New Deal' they recognize only a 'Raw Deal' for the seamen. They refuse to do anything about the hiring halls, yet that system of employment has been condemned the world over. The Labor Conference of the League of Nations has affected a treaty among most of the maritime nations to prevent the existence of bureaus like those here."

O'Grady: "The Masters, Mates and Pilots have been forced to join company unions and to submit affidavits to prove they have no connections with any other unions or with the American Federation of Labor. We shall be ready later during this hearing to submit affidavits to prove these things."

Furuseth: "I have information that in 1921 the Ship-owners Association was compelled by the bankers, to become a member of the Industrial Association. And that is evidently why we haven't been able to meet with the owners. The Industrial Association committee has been appointed for the purpose of talking for the owners. You must ascertain these things by using your power of subpoena and placing witnesses under oath."

Kagal: "Why did we strike? Because of company union domination, lack of decent working conditions, longer and longer hours and continued cuts in wages. The owners argue against the closed shop but the closed shop is practically complete in their own ranks. Now we have no stipulated working conditions. The engineers work from eight to sixteen hours a day and perform extra work when they go off watch. Wages have been cut more than fifty per cent. Meanwhile the owners get their fat government subsidies and mail contracts. If they want to have cutthroat competition, let them have it at the expense of their profits and dividends."

Malinkow: "Unless conditions which caused the strike are removed, there can be no fundamental solution. That cause is the refusal to give us the right to join unions of our own choice for collective bargaining. The owners cannot object to the closed shop on principle, for they have had the closed shop with their company unions. The men will arbitrate if the owners agree to let them be represented by their own unions. That is the real issue."

Freitchie: "Today there is no minimum wage, and the men work thirteen hours a day, seven days a week."



Jackson, of the Assertedly Communistic Union, tried to tell the Board that the other union men could not speak for his organization and submitted a list of nine hundred signatures of members of the Marine Industrial Workers Union. His demands were far more exacting than those of other leaders. Deal heatedly contradicted Jackson, pointing out that the seamen on strike totaled twelve thousand and that consequently no organization listing only nine hundred members could be said to act as spokesman for the strikers.

The hearing began at 10:00 A.M. and lasted until 12:20 P.M. Throughout the session Archbishop Hanna and Cushing frequently injected questions, encouraging the labor leaders to submit affidavits in support of their charges. After the hearing the Mediation Board went into conferences behind closed doors, first with the waterfront employers and then with the Labor Council's Board of Strategy, which had thrown its influence behind the maritime unions and which appeared to hold the answer to the question, "Will there be a general strike."

The Mediation Board continued in session until nearly midnight. The Board of Strategy and representatives of several unions were heard. These conferences, it was announced, dealt solely with the general strike situation. Members of the Presidents Board said that "certain questions" were asked the employers and that they expected responses to these questions the following afternoon. The nature of the questions was not revealed, but it was stated that they were designed to prevent a general strike.\*

On July nine, Company G, 184th Infantry was relieved from duty in Berkeley and ordered to San Francisco where the Company was assigned to Sector six, Pier 50 B.

By July eleven, there was some apprehension that Communists or agitators might seize the opportunity to cause trouble among agricultural workers while the attention of the authorities was centered on developments in San Francisco. The Division Commander therefore directed Brigadier-General Walter P. Story, commanding camp at San Luis Obispo to organize immediately in the 185th Infantry several small mobile self-contained detachments, equipped for duty in agricultural areas or small towns. General Story was also directed to organize small motorized machine gun detachments from personnel, armament and equipment of the 143rd Field Artillery to accompany the provisional detachments of the 185th Infantry in case they were ordered out. The 143rd Field Artillery was also to place its motor equipment in condition ready to transport troops and material at a moment's notice. Steps were taken during the day to secure G-2 information regarding conditions in Imperial Valley and in San Joaquin Valley, the two areas considered most likely to suffer from Communist activities. There were no changes of consequence in the disposition of troops in San Francisco.

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\*San Francisco Examiner July 10, 1934, page 1, column 8, page 8, columns 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.



Although the San Francisco sector was apparently quiet on the surface, all indications pointed toward the adoption of a more belligerent policy by the striking elements. No one could predict the extent to which the strikers would go, or the measures they would employ, but it was the general opinion that additional troops must be brought into San Francisco eventually.

Division Commander Major-General David P. Barrows and Adjutant-General Seth Howard met during the afternoon of July twelve, and conferred on measures to increase the strength of the State forces, either by forming new units from the unorganized militia, or actively recruiting existing units to approximately peace strength. It was suggested that a Replacement Center be established in some city other than San Francisco where recruits could be sent, uniformed and equipped, and be trained sufficiently to take their place in the ranks of existing units.

On July twelve, radio station W6KUH was installed in the Berkeley Armory with the object of facilitating communication with organizations in camp at San Luis Obispo.

G-2 offices in the Ferry Building were extremely busy. The personnel remained on duty twenty-four hours a day and eventually five telephones were necessary to handle the business. It was necessary to install a private line to insure secrecy for certain confidential messages. A short wave radio was installed for the reception of police reports which would give early information concerning any disturbance. A large force was kept busy transferring information received to situation maps and journals.

The troops relieved members of the city police force on the Embarcadero who were returned to regular posts of duty in other parts of the city. By agreement with the Chief of Police, the guarding of the interior of the Ferry Building was left in the hands of the police force of the city, co-operating with the Provost Guard of the military.

Arrangements were made with daily newspapers to furnish all available information at regularly scheduled press conferences in the Ferry Building. A Pass Bureau was established and passes issued to all who furnished proof that they had business to transact at the docks.

On July fourteen, the strike situation became more tense. The Teamsters Union walked out and all heavy trucking ceased. Members of this union picketted highways leading into San Francisco and East Bay cities and interfered with the movement of supplies. Local supplies of gasoline were soon exhausted. Citizens laid in stores of food stuffs as long as they could be obtained from retail stores.

A series of conferences were held Saturday morning, July fourteen, between military and civil officials when it was thought probable that the situation



would eventually necessitate the bringing of additional troops to San Francisco.

Plans were being formulated for a general strike. In view of that threat the Governor decided to call the 185th Infantry from Camp at San Luis Obispo. On account of the possibility that attempts might be made to interfere with the movement of troop trains, railroad officials urged the utmost secrecy. Ordinary means of communication being considered unreliable in that respect, Colonel Otto Sandman, 143rd Field Artillery, senior colonel at camp, was ordered to proceed by airplane to Berkeley, and upon arrival there to report to the Commanding General and receive instructions to be transmitted to General Story, Camp Commander at San Luis Obispo. This was done and Colonel Sandman returned to San Luis Obispo on the evening of July fourteen.

Activities on the waterfront in San Francisco included sending the Chemical Detachment to Sector six, where it was reported Communists were assembling and preparing for a demonstration and parade. Strikers who threw rocks at a sentry in front of Pier seven were dispersed. Officers in mufti made detailed reconnaissances of Telegraph Hill and Rincon Hill, locating routes of approach, observation points and strong points.

A guarantee that San Francisco, the East Bay and adjacent regions affected would receive an ample supply of food was given July fourteen, in a statement issued in Sacramento by Governor Merriam:

"There must be no shortage of food in or around San Francisco because of strike conditions.

"I am appealing through the press to representatives of the striking workers to make ample provisions for the free and uninterrupted transportation of necessary food supplies and needed medical supplies into San Francisco and the Bay region.

"Needless delay in this matter will cause great suffering among the general public.

"If those most directly involved do not promptly meet this situation, it will become necessary that independent action be taken to guarantee that no women or children shall go hungry or face deprivation during the pendency of the labor dispute."

At 1:30 P.M. July fifteen, orders were issued by General Story at Camp San Luis Obispo putting into effect the plan previously communicated to him by Colonel Sandman. The plan was that the 185th Infantry, 40th Signal Company and Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment, 40th Division proceed to San Francisco by train, reporting there not later than 4:00 A.M. July sixteenth. The 143rd

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\*Oakland Tribune July 14, 1934, page 1, columns 4, 5, 7 and 8.



Field Artillery (less the Second Battalion modified, and band) would proceed by motor transport to Oakland and Stockton.

At about 10:30 P.M. July fifteenth the 160th Infantry, Los Angeles, 40th Tank Company, Salinas, Headquarters, 79th Brigade and Headquarters Company, Third Battalion, 184th Infantry, Sacramento, and Company H, 184th Infantry, Yuba City, were ordered to assemble at their respective armories, not yet under official call to perform active duty, but to await orders. Orders calling these troops into active service and directing necessary travel were issued between 11:10 P.M. July fifteen and 1:15 A.M. July sixteen.

Organizations in camp at San Luis Obispo received orders between 1:30 and 2:00 P.M. July fifteen. At 6:30 P.M. the first train section bearing troops of the 185th Infantry left Goldtree. The last section departed at 8:00 P.M. Special precautions were taken to guard troop trains over the Cuesta Grade, which had numerous tunnels. The Second Battalion, 143rd Field Artillery and rear detachment of the 185th Infantry posted guards at each tunnel by means of a pilot train, and the whole movement was under continuous observation from the air by personnel of the 40th Division Aviation.

The 143rd Field Artillery, (less the Second Battalion modified, and band section) with one platoon of riflemen from the 185th Infantry attached, departed from camp at 6:40 P.M. in trucks of the 143rd Field Artillery. Arriving at Santa Margarita the column halted pending the safe passage of troop trains of the 185th Infantry. With the exception of Battery C, which left the Column at Warm Springs and proceeded to Stockton for duty at that point, the column arrived at Oakland Armory at 6:40 P.M. July sixteen. The Second Battalion, 143rd Field Artillery and property guard of the 185th Infantry were left in camp for protection of material stored there.

The general strike began in San Francisco at 8:00 A.M. July sixteen, when seventy-five thousand workers quit, crippling the city's commercial, industrial and trade functions. Five hundred special officers were employed by the city and sworn in for special strike duty, equipped with tear gas, masks, gas guns, rifles and clubs. All San Francisco street car movement was halted. Cessation of all East Bay street car and bus transportation was scheduled after the nights last run. Walkout of Key System trainmen would halt that ferry system, but the Southern Pacific and auto ferries would continue.\*

Blame for the strike in San Francisco was laid to Communists by Governor Merriam, in a speech at Lodi, July sixteen. The Governor called for "United public action against this threat to our economic existence. In his declaration concerning the radical leadership in the strike, Governor Merriam said:

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\*Oakland Tribune July sixteen, 1934, page 1, columns 4 to 8.



"When the strike was declared, there were one thousand two hundred to one thousand four hundred longshoremen, now there are five thousand in San Francisco. They came from outside. The entire strike has been directed from other parts of California. The master minds of the strike are not in San Francisco. They would not risk their lives there."

A promise that food crops would have free highway access to San Francisco or to canneries was repeated by the Governor as he described his plan for co-operative sheriff's office-highway patrol convoys. The people of San Francisco need food," he said. "The farmers must move their produce to markets. I am not going to stand by and see farm products rot."

General Wallace A. Mason, 79th Brigade and his staff, reported in Berkeley Sunday afternoon, July fifteen, then proceeded to San Francisco and established headquarters. The 185th Infantry arrived in San Francisco at 3:15 A.M. July sixteen, additional elements of the 184th Infantry arrived at 6:30 A.M., the 40th Tank Company at 7:30 A.M. and the 40th Signal Company at 3:15 A.M. Detraining at Third and Townsend Streets was covered by a battalion of troops from the San Francisco Port Command, machine gun mobile detachments and the Chemical Detachment. By 9:00 A.M. the 79th Brigade sector had been taken over and all detachments posted.

The 160th Infantry, Los Angeles, entrained at 9:00 A.M. July sixteen, and proceeded to San Francisco. The Third Battalion was detached at San Jose and ordered to Oakland. The remainder of the regiment arrived at San Francisco at 10:30 P.M., and were covered in detraining in the same manner as the 185th Infantry.

Between 4:00 and 5:00 A.M. on the morning of July sixteen the Division Commander moved his command post from the Berkeley Armory to the Ferry Building in San Francisco and assumed direct command of the augmented Port Command. Orders were issued covering the necessary realignment of the forces, establishing the First Provisional Brigade comprised of the 159th Infantry and 250th Coast Artillery under command of Colonel Mittlestaedt, the 79th Brigade comprised of the 185th Infantry and elements of the 184th Infantry under command of Brigadier-General Wallace Mason, and the reserve, comprised of the 160th Infantry, less one battalion, and the 40th Tank Company, under command of Colonel Harcourt Hervey, 160th Infantry. The East Bay Command was organized under command of Colonel Otto Sandman, and included the Third Battalion, 160th Infantry stationed at Parr Terminal No. 1, elements of the 143rd Field Artillery and detachments of the 184th Infantry, stationed at the Oakland and Berkeley Armories and at Leona Heights rifle range. One battery of field artillery was held in readiness to move to San Francisco in case a threat of

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\*Oakland Tribune July 16, 1934, page 1, column 7.



artillery fire should be deemed necessary. Some two hundred additional rifles were secured from the State Arsenal and issued to troops not armed with those weapons.

By authorization from the Governor, troops in San Francisco extended their operations on July seventeen to include a depth of several blocks adjacent to the waterfront, particularly north of Market Street, to include the main wholesale produce district, and south of Market Street to include the large warehouse district. The principal purpose of the extension was to make possible the movement of perishable food stuffs. These districts were cleared of all persons having no business therein and a line of outguards were posted. Barricades were constructed at tactical localities.

During the late afternoon, upon request of city officials of Stockton, the Governor ordered the National Guard to protect that port. Accordingly Company C, 184th Infantry, Modesto, was ordered to Stockton, and with Battery C, 143rd Field Artillery, was constituted the San Joaquin Command, Major J. B. Maloney, 184th Infantry, commanding.

Between 5:00 and 7:00 A.M. July eighteen, the Division Command Post was transferred to the S.S. Fort Sutter which had been brought from Stockton during the preceding night and tied up alongside Pier No. 3. At the same time Pier No. 1 was vacated by Headquarters of the First Provisional Brigade which established its new command post on Pier No. 3. Pier No. 1 was assigned to the 160th Infantry, less Third Battalion, and the 40th Tank Company, in reserve. These changes were made necessary by crowded conditions in the Ferry Building which had been previously used as command posts.

At 12:00 O'clock noon, July eighteenth, information was received that a group of business firms would attempt to force the issue by making an effort at 2:00 P.M. to move goods from a certain undesignated place in the city under protection of the police; that police were being assembled in the area and trouble was expected as soon as strikers learned of the proposed movement. With the idea of being ready to assist the police if such action became necessary, each brigade commander was directed to form detachments and have them stand by in readiness for instant dispatch by truck to the scene of the trouble. Motor transports were assembled and held in readiness. The reserve commander was similarly instructed to equip trucks and have the reserves ready for movement instantly. Transport trucks for tanks of the 40th Tank Company were secured and assembled at Pier No. 1. The Adjutant-General authorized the Division Commander to employ National Guard troops to render aid to the civil authorities in any part of the city if necessary to suppress disorder. Martial law again seemed imminent. Orders covering occupation of the city of San Francisco under martial law conditions were prepared, to be placed in effect only on authorization by the Governor.



At 4:45 P.M. July eighteen, Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Murray, 184th Infantry, was ordered to San Francisco to assume command of elements of the 184th Infantry at that station. At the same time the Howitzer Company and a detachment of the Medical Department Detachment, 184th Infantry, Sacramento, were ordered to active duty, the Howitzer Company to join the East Bay Command in Oakland and the Medical Detachment to report at San Francisco. Colonel Charles R. Blood, 184th Infantry, reported to the Division Commander in San Francisco and was instructed to prepare plans for control of any disorders that might materialize in the Sacramento Valley.

In a speech at Colusa, July eighteen, Governor Merriam stated that if the California National Guard could not handle the strike situation "We'll call out the reserve corps of the American Legion, and other veterans organizations." Governor Merriam stated that no further action along these lines would be taken except at the direct request of the Mayor of San Francisco. "California citizens, when confronted with violence and injury to their families and homes, have a right to use the spirit of their forefathers," said Governor Merriam. "If necessary, the State of California is going to control the situation. We have no desire to interfere with labor troubles, but this is a situation which has gone beyond a labor dispute. It is a situation in which a group of men say to the merchants that they cannot carry on their business. Any citizen who tolerates this without making an effort to correct conditions hardly deserves being called a citizen of California. I am not criticising San Francisco's citizens. They are rapidly becoming aware of the seriousness of the situation. Right now this looks as if it might become a matter of protecting strikers from the fury of the citizens." The Governor explained that he was not opposed to labor or to labor unions. "Labor has rights and should be protected," he said, "but the unions have lost control of their organizations. Communist agitators are in power."

Pushing ahead with their announced "mopping up" campaign against Communist agitators, National Guardsmen and San Francisco police on July eighteen, smashed their way into the Seaboard Hotel, on the San Francisco waterfront, a focal point in the bloody riots of a few days previous and lined up more than two hundred men on the sidewalk. Union membership cards meant "safe conduct" from the hotel, but ten men, who did not have such cards were arrested and taken to jail.

The raid on the hotel was reported by police to be part of a widespread and concerted plan by which police, operating with intelligence officers of the National Guard, intended to crush the "hotbeds" of communism in San Francisco. Working quietly and with utmost speed, troops under the command of intelligence officers suddenly appeared near the hotel at 11:00 A.M. with machine gun equipped trucks, blocked off arterial streets and held back pedestrians. An instant later, fifteen police officers of the anti-radical squad crashed through the hotel doors and began to escort the occupants outside. Among these were scores of members of the International Longshoremen's Association, the Cooks and Waiter's Unions

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and other striking groups which were not molested.

While the raid on the Seaboard Hotel was in progress more than three thousand asserted Communists, who were hauled to jail the previous day after a series of sorties by a union "Vigilante Committee," police and "National Guardsmen," appeared in the court of Municipal Judge George J. Seiger on charges of vagrancy. District Attorney Mathew Brady, present in person to conduct the prosecution, delivered an address in which he promised swift and speedy "justice" for men who would overthrow the American system of government. He stated that the conflict was no longer between employer and employee but was a conflict between legally constituted authority and agitators and Communists, who had no regard for the institutions and laws of the country. "The situation goes to the very heart of our ideals—the ideals for which Americans must stand. Law and order must and will prevail. I will not sidestep my duty in this connection."

While Judge Seiger was considering the cases of the asserted agitators, a new group was taken into the court of Municipal Judge Sylvian J. Lazarus. Attorney George Anderson said to be the representative of the International Labor Defense, was present. He said he did not know how many of the men he really represented, but he protested against one hundred dollars bail for each man as unreasonable.\*

On July twenty, the San Francisco Union Labor Council declared the general strike ended. The Teamsters union, voted to return to work everywhere, but the decision to end the strike was not accepted by certain unions, who continued active picketing. The number of pickets maintained by other unions, were reduced. Some trucking operations and movement of cargo commenced. Troops maintained constant vigilance, protecting all operations along the waterfront. Early withdrawal of a portion of the command was foreseen and plans to cover the movement were drafted. A conference was held with railroad officials during the evening to draft schedules for movement of troop trains.

On July twenty-one, the strike completely collapsed. Trucking operations and movement of goods were resumed throughout the city. All barricades were removed. Sentry posts of three men each were established at important points and the remainder withdrawn.

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\*Oakland Tribune July 18, 1934, page 1, column 2.



The Longshoremen's strike resulted in at least a partial victory for the workers. An agreement was reached July thirty-first between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Waterfront Employer's Union to leave the matter of procedure of collective bargaining or arbitration to settle the demands of the strikers, entirely in the hands of the Mediation Board.

Settlement of the strike demands of the maritime unions were at the start, to take the form of both collective bargaining and arbitration, but the main issues were submitted to final and binding arbitration by the Mediation Board. The immediate rulings of the Board were:

That seafaring men and longshoremen who were on strike should be permitted to return to their former jobs without discrimination for union affiliation and strike activities; That all strikebreakers be discharged and that the term strikebreaker should apply to any man hired after May 9, 1934; That all labor disputes in the future be left to an arbitration board if collective bargaining failed to bring about a settlement; That the men need not seek re-employment through hiring halls as was the former custom and which was the primary cause of the strike.

The Longshoremen returned to work on the basis of these rulings. Certain other questions were left open for the time being, to be decided at a later date by the National Labor Board. Among these was the demand of the strikers for a thirty hour week instead of forty-eight hours and for an increase in pay from eighty-five cents to one dollar per hour with one dollar and fifty cents per hour for overtime.

The National Labor Board held sessions in San Francisco and other coast cities where both employers and employees presented their cases of alleged discrimination. These questions were practically all settled without difficulty.

On August first the five and one half mile Embarcadero in San Francisco was the scene of intense activity. three thousand five hundred San Francisco Longshoremen were back at their jobs and the members of various other marine unions were returning to work.

On all sides there was evidence that both employers and employees had reached the conclusion that both parties to the controversy would be treated fairly by the Government Board and that acts of violence such as were committed by both sides to the controversy during the first week of July, were un-American and could only intensify the feeling of hatred between the two elements instead of bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the dispute.



It was evident that there would be a considerable reduction in the number of troops maintained on duty so all units except the 250th Coast Artillery and the 159th Infantry were given warning orders at 11:00 A.M. July twenty-one, to begin packing for probable movement during the day. At 4:10 P.M. orders reducing the command to approximately one thousand officers and men were received from the Adjutant-General. Tentative orders to troops and railroad officials were confirmed and ordered executed.

In connection with the withdrawal, the Division Commander ordered a retreat ceremony and a formal review of all troops in San Francisco at 5:00 P.M., departing troops to proceed direct from the review to entraining points. The review, held along the Embarcadero, north of the Ferry Building was exceptionally impressive, and was calculated to leave a lasting impression with the citizens of San Francisco of the strength and power of the military forces of the State which they had called to aid them in time of trouble.

Shortly after the ceremony troops were on the way to their home stations for demobilization, or to the training camp at San Luis Obispo for field training. The 40th Signal Company, 40th Tank Company, 184th and 185th regiments of infantry and the 143rd Field Artillery proceeded to their home stations. Troops of the East Bay Command and the San Joaquin Command were relieved at the same time and at an early hour the following day demobilization was completed. The 160th Infantry proceeded to San Luis Obispo for field training. The division command post aboard the S. S. Fort Sutter was closed at 7:30 P.M. July 21.

The 159th Infantry, less the Third Battalion, was withdrawn Sunday, July 22, returned to their home stations and demobilized. Headquarters Company, Third Battalion, Company L and one platoon of Company M, 159th Infantry, and detachments and individuals of the 250th Coast Artillery were relieved Monday, July twenty-three. On July twenty-six, the 250th Coast Artillery, and Third Battalion of the 159th Infantry were relieved, thus bringing to a close the connection of the California National Guard with the Emergency of July 1934.

There was comparatively little disorder during the period the troops were on active duty. All that occurred were of minor importance and were promptly and effectively suppressed, in most cases by individual sentries. No fatalities were inflicted by the National Guardsmen, nor were any injuries suffered by any member of the Guard at the hands of disorderly elements. In no case did any organization, unit or individual of the National Guard fail to accomplish an assigned task or to perform any duty in the manner expected. The appearance and conduct of the troops were excellent in all respects.

The people of California and particularly Major-General David P. Barrows, commander of the 40th Division, California National Guard, had reason to be proud of the manner in which the two thousand or more Guardsmen conducted



themselves during the emergency created by the general strike. Not only did the Guardsmen justify the confidence of their officers in their ability as citizen soldiers, but they earned the everlasting gratitude of the people of a sorely distressed district who were confronted by conditions bordering on revolution. Rioting and bloodshed ceased the moment California's citizen-soldiers reached the scene of disturbance and order was maintained until a truce had been effected between the waterfront workers and the civil authorities when the troops were withdrawn.

While apprehension may have been felt in some circles when the Guardsmen moved into position along the San Francisco waterfront because of the youthfulness of the men, all fear that they were undisciplined and lacked the training necessary in the performance of duties of the character of those so suddenly thrust upon them, was dispelled immediately after the troops were established along the Embarcadero. Throughout the entire period of their emergency duty the officers and enlisted men of the Guard went about their duties in a manner that would have done credit to older more seasoned and more experienced soldiers. Nor was there a single act of disobedience; not a single false or ill-advised move to mar the splendid record held by California's National Guard.

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