

## In Old Missouri

By E. Val Putnam.

Socialists of St. Louis have just passed through an experience that may be of great value to the movement nationally. In the recent campaign they were opposed by a municipal ownership movement that called itself "The Public Ownership Party." The reader will readily understand how alarming was this "Socialist" argument to the new beginner when sugar-coated with so suggestive a name. It proved an obstacle which St. Louis Socialists could not surmount on short notice. We gained nearly two thousand votes in November. Many of these votes have been excited that we would be able to hold these new comers, who were boiling over with resentment against the Transit Company, when they saw before them an opportunity to elect a man pledged to bring about the public ownership of the street railways? In North and South St. Louis many a toiler still have the scars resulting from that great conflict, and many a heart was filled with rage over the loss of the battle. These workmen had suffered much. They had for weeks and months ridden on rude contrivances, or walked great distances to and from their jobs; they had looked into the whistling of bullets; they had seen the whistling of bullets; they had seen them when they had nothing but stones with which to defend themselves; they had seen mounted minions of the law riding through crowds of innocent women and children, brutally slashing right and left; they had seen armed sons of aristocracy arrayed in swaggerish military costumes, marching through the streets, frightening children and shamefully abusing their authority; they had fought long and bitterly against great odds; and as the hope of victory died away it left in their breasts a deep desire for revenge.

And while this spirit was still rife, many came before the public and proposed that they would send him mayor he would take these street railways from the Transit Company and place them under the control of the city. He had sufficient money to scatter his literature freely. He had sufficient prospects of success to draw to him a goodly number of his listeners, and also many enthusiasts who only work because it is in sight. What more natural than that these men, who were accustomed to following "leaders" should take to this man as a means of wreaking revenge upon the Transit Company?

## WORKINGMEN, SOCIALISTS!!

If you eat in an unfair restaurant, you are traitors to your class, you are traitors to your families, you are traitors to yourselves!

If you buy bread in an unfair bakery, you are traitors to your class, you are traitors to your families, you are traitors to yourselves!

If you buy from an unfair store; if you help by word or deed the firms whose employees are on strike, you are traitors to your class, you are traitors to your families, you are traitors to yourselves!

## Resolutions in Favor of the Strikers.

The Social Democratic Party of San Francisco, in mass-meeting assembled on Tuesday evening, May 7, 1901, unanimously passed the following resolutions by standing vote:

"We again affirm our unswerving devotion to the cause of the workers, and pledge our support to the laborers in their struggle for economic advancement. And, further, especially considering the efforts of the restaurant employees to reduce their hours of labor and increase their wages, the Social Democratic Party tenders its sympathy and hearty support to the restaurant employees, with the assurance that we will use every effort to assist the restaurant employees in gaining what they demand.

The Women's Label League of San Francisco, at its last meeting, unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The Cooks' and Waiters' Alliance of San Francisco, No. 30, an affiliated branch of organized labor, has declared a strike against the Restaurant keepers in this city, who require of their employees seven days work per week and from ten to sixteen hours per day, and who pay less than the schedule rate of wages;

"Whereas, The said Alliance has furnished to the proprietors of "fair" restaurants a display card for their windows, bearing the announcement, under the seal of the Alliance, that in such places the union rules are complied with, thus assuring the public that fair dealing is practiced therein; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By this, the Women's Label League of San Francisco, that we call upon our fellow-workers and the general public to recognize the emblems of the workers whose toil makes and provides all the necessities and luxuries of life; and that great care be exercised to select, where possible, such articles as bear the Union Labels, and particularly at this time to seek and patronize only those restaurants displaying the Union Card, testifying that it is a "Union House"; be it

"Resolved, further, That we pledge to the Cooks' and Waiters' Alliance our most earnest efforts in their behalf.

Mrs. L. M. Rosenberg, Sec'y.  
Villa D. Reynolds, Pres.

## Workers, Stand Firm!

Workingmen of San Francisco: A crisis in the trades-union movement of this city has come. During the past six months there has been an enormous growth of trades organizations. Old unions have experienced unprecedented increases of membership and trades and occupations heretofore deemed impossible of organization have been gathered into powerful unions. Demand after demand from one trade after another has been made upon the bosses, and—some immediately, others after a short struggle—these demands have been granted. Success has attended the unions thus far and many thousand workmen have been benefited by their formation.

But the bosses have suffered. It would have been far better and more profitable for them had no unions been formed and had labor continued to work under the same hard conditions as heretofore. As the labor movement has grown they have viewed it with greater and growing alarm. They have watched for some vulnerable point to begin their attack and make a breach in the solid ranks of organized labor which now is demanding more of the product of its labor than the poor bosses, contemptuously tossed to it in former times. They have watched and waited, hoping and praying that a favorable opportunity would come when, by breaking up the unions, they could stem the tide of organization, roll it back and crush for good the trades unions of this city.

They have chosen with much cunning. In the general good times that have been prevailing here, public opinion has not been disposed to exclaim against the demands of labor for better conditions. But as the boss-ness has grown, muttering is heard that "this thing is being carried too far." To make this undercurrent open and active the bosses have waited to use some strike which would inconvenience the public and thus render them more susceptible to the insinuating and crafty attacks made on the "tyranny of trades unions."

The restaurant strike has furnished the opportunity waited for. Nowhere are the people more vulnerable than in their stomachs. No man is more easily disgruntled than a hungry man. And it is very easy to turn his wrath against those who inconvenience him in procuring his dinner. Knowing that the first victim to be marked for sacrifice. They believe them the most easily mastered because, first, the fact that the waiters are not highly skilled labor and hence scabs are more easily procurable; and second, the closing of restaurants disgruntles the hungry patrons of the various places. Thus it comes about most logically that the Restaurant strike is a pivotal event in the struggle between the bosses and the trades unions. Against the cooks and waiters the bosses will hurl their strength. Organized labor in its own interest and by bonds of duty must respond by giving its best and strongest support.

Consider a minute the mild and moderate demands of the Cooks and Waiters. Only one day's rest in seven and nine dollars a week. Are these exorbitant demands? Must men work all seven days and never get a rest or time for recreation? Must they be content always with eight or nine dollars a week? During the past two weeks scarcely a day has gone by but what news has come of fortunes made by Wall Street speculators.

John D. Rockefeller's income is \$40 a minute, which is four times what Cooks and Waiters demand for six days of hard, wearing labor. During thirty minutes, which he might take for luncheon, his income would be \$1,200, or as much as a waiter would earn in thirty months. Two and one-half years of un-remitting toil will only bring the waiter what in half an hour spent at the dinner table flows into the coffers of the magnate of the Standard Oil. And there are all degrees shading from Rockefeller down. Who, in the face of this, will say that \$10 a week and one day's rest in seven are exorbitant demands?

But it is not because they believe the demands unreasonable or unjust. This fight is a fight against the very principle of trades unionism. It is incumbent, therefore, on every trades unionist to give it his heartiest and most determined support. The bosses believe that the union movement is but a bubble, which, if pricked, will burst. If they can defeat the Cooks and Waiters and deny their demands, the prestige of unionism will be gone, the confidence of the workman, now strong, will be shaken, their enthusiasm, now ardent, will cool, reaction will set in and all the labor of the past year will be lost. Shall this be?

Now is the time for union labor to act. It is a well-known principle of warfare that victory is won by that general who strikes the heaviest blows at the earliest time. So, in this struggle, which is directly and mainly between organized labor and organized capital, if labor will make a solid, mighty demonstration of its strength and manifest that magnificent spirit of solidarity of unity on which it must depend, and with which it cannot fail, the bosses will be forced to yield.

Stand firm, fellow-workers! Yield nothing! The cause of each is the cause of all. In helping others you are helping yourselves. Your own vital interests, the maintenance of your standard of wages, the comfort of your wives and little ones depend upon your loyalty to your fellows. Thrice cursed is that man who fails to do his duty in this struggle. He betrays his brothers; he betrays his family; he betrays himself.

Workingmen, as you hope for better lives, as you strive for the ultimate triumph of labor over the tyranny of capital, give your support in this class-struggle

## A Socialist and the Capitalist Press.

Comrade J. S. Roche is stirring things up in the South. The two daily papers of Riverside recently devoted a column each to his masterly treatment of the trust question. Comrade Roche is one of the best speakers on the Coast and where he goes attentive audiences hang on his every word. Much fruitful discussion follows his remarks and his arguments are so well developed and so pregnant of thought that even the capitalist papers treat them with courtesy. To have the papers of such a bourgeois center as Riverside vie with each other in giving space to comments on the lectures of a Socialist, is somewhat of a compliment in these days of vilification and abuse.

## SOCIALISTS, STAND FIRM!

The opportunity of all good Socialists and lovers of the cause of labor presents itself in this fight of the Cooks and Waiters. Let every one be an active rather than a passive agent, to curtail the powers of the capitalists. There is an open field. The strikers need you. A few resolutions more or less are as straws in the whirlwind compared to the strength of their advance guard. Let us do the same. We have little money, but we have ourselves. We should lend ourselves to the waiters. Let us say we are Socialists and workmen, then let us stand in front of every unfair restaurant in town and proclaim it as such. This is our opportunity. And in it we can rebuke the P. H. McCarthys and the weaklings who would bring on a fight and then retreat. We can rebuke the poor citizens who are creatures of either McCarthy or the weakling, and we can do much to prove that our sympathy is something more than a well rounded phrase that fits our lips. We must close ranks. This fight is the fight of all workmen. It may be the visible beginning of that irrepressible conflict between capital and labor which will mean either the entire enslavement of the working class or its complete emancipation. The struggle will ultimately resolve itself into a struggle for the possession of the government. We can help forward this. Our stand on the firing line will gain us the confidence of the workers, and if the strike is won or lost the Socialists shall gain. Every soldier is needed at the front, and though there is little glory proclaiming to the heavens that a restaurant is unfair, still that is our battlefield. If we would be considered something more than dreamers who take our conception of life from between the covers of a book, let us do our duty as pickets.

## A Socialist and the Capitalist Press.

The following is from the Riverside "Enterprise": "J. S. Roche of San Bernardino spoke on the corner of Eight and Main streets last evening to an attentive audience on the subject of Socialism. His address was devoted mainly to the evolution of trusts. The trust, he said, was the direct outcome of the competitive system. He traced its history from the simple grocery store in a small town where the storekeeper had a monopoly. Then came competition and the elimination of profit when the business was a losing one. Ruin must necessarily ensue in the struggle to succeed.

Practically the foundation was laid over a century ago for the vast aggregations of capital and the resultant power, when the first machine for the saving of labor began to be used. Some of the workers of that day pronounced labor saving machinery a dangerous innovation. Notwithstanding the protests of the people the machine came to stay. And so of the trust; it has come to stay. The only question is as to its ownership.

"If the trusts were all to be destroyed, under the competitive system they were bound to rise again. Socialists recognize this, and hence they are not fighting the trusts so much as the system by which they are created and sustained. It is said, 'Competition is the life of trade,' and so it is within certain limits, but when the limits are outgrown it is destructive.

"The speaker said we are confronted by a new situation and new situations demand new remedies. When we learn what the remedy is we will be able to make the trust a benefit in place of a curse.

"Forty years ago the conditions of today were foreseen by a few men who were the progenitors of modern socialism. They were hooded and jeered at; but today the principles they then advocated have a respectful hearing. The principles of these early pioneers of the movement have not changed, but people's understanding of them has changed. The fact that there is no sentiment in business explains the reason why people who are able and willing to work cannot obtain employment and why they suffer for the necessities of life with plenty all about them.

"The only way to make a change for the better, the speaker protested, is to substitute co-operation for competition. The trusts are able by the great power they wield to manipulate things politically to such

to your fellows. The bosses are they who seek on every occasion to degrade and humiliate labor. On every pretext they seek to cut wages and lengthen hours. The Cooks and Waiters are your brothers. Their battle is your battle. Be true to yourselves and stand by them! Boycott the such restaurants! Act unitedly! Triumph labor will overwhelm the miserly money-grubbers, who seek to lord it over you. Now is the time to score!

The opportunity of all good Socialists and lovers of the cause of labor presents itself in this fight of the Cooks and Waiters. Let every one be an active rather than a passive agent, to curtail the powers of the capitalists. There is an open field. The strikers need you. A few resolutions more or less are as straws in the whirlwind compared to the strength of their advance guard. Let us do the same. We have little money, but we have ourselves. We should lend ourselves to the waiters. Let us say we are Socialists and workmen, then let us stand in front of every unfair restaurant in town and proclaim it as such. This is our opportunity. And in it we can rebuke the P. H. McCarthys and the weaklings who would bring on a fight and then retreat. We can rebuke the poor citizens who are creatures of either McCarthy or the weakling, and we can do much to prove that our sympathy is something more than a well rounded phrase that fits our lips. We must close ranks. This fight is the fight of all workmen. It may be the visible beginning of that irrepressible conflict between capital and labor which will mean either the entire enslavement of the working class or its complete emancipation. The struggle will ultimately resolve itself into a struggle for the possession of the government. We can help forward this. Our stand on the firing line will gain us the confidence of the workers, and if the strike is won or lost the Socialists shall gain. Every soldier is needed at the front, and though there is little glory proclaiming to the heavens that a restaurant is unfair, still that is our battlefield. If we would be considered something more than dreamers who take our conception of life from between the covers of a book, let us do our duty as pickets.

The Central Labor Union of Flint, Mich., has declared for independent political action by the working class.

The S. D. P. Local of Aberdeen, Wash., is composed of workers. Three hundred copies of the May Day "Advance" were distributed. As a result, eight new subscribers were gained so far. Rousing street meetings are held, and the whole town turns out to hear Comrade Nick. The hearts of the comrades are glad by the cheers that greet him after each speech.

## What the platform of this new party will be hard to predict in detail. One plank it will have though—the public ownership of railroads. It will probably follow the Public Ownership party of this city and hedge on nearly all the other questions for fear of scaring the "business interests." For instance, the aforesaid party started out by declaring its allegiance to public ownership of public utilities and then, as though startled at its own audacity, in the very next sentence it says: "We are not opposed to corporations; on the contrary, we recognize their importance in the business world and favor such free switching and other privileges as will make St. Louis the greatest commercial and manufacturing center of the country." This is Bryan to a dot, and the national platform of the new party does not contain similar drivel it will not be his fault.

But how to meet this new party in the political arena? It will whisper to our new converts: "Here, don't tell it, but this is Socialism, too, and besides, we've got a dot, and it will undoubtedly be the hardest proposition the Socialists have ever tackled. Of

(Continued on Page 4)

# ADVANCE

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### ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Read our primary directive to ADVANCE. If you do not subscribe this organ, you are not a Socialist. It is a condition of membership in the Socialist Party of America that you subscribe to this organ. If you are not a member of the party, you may subscribe to this organ as a non-member. If you are a member of the party, you may subscribe to this organ as a member. If you are not a member of the party, you may subscribe to this organ as a non-member. If you are a member of the party, you may subscribe to this organ as a member.

Advertisement for a book or publication, mentioning 'The Socialists' and 'The Workers'.

Last week we promised to say something more of the May-day meeting. There really is not much to say, however. The singing was good.

Have you considered, Mr. Workingman, that all these millions of dollars which are being won and lost by the Wall Street gamblers have been counted out of your sweat and blood?

Prosperity is here. The advance agent will come around again, soon to look upon his handiwork. We commend to him a study of the causes which drove one man to suicide that his dead body might earn the food for his family which he could not win, and which drove another man to steal twenty-five cents worth of bread to get food for his family. Is this his vaunted prosperity?

Morgan's Transportation Trust continues to grow. A locomotive-building trust has just been organized.

A shipbuilders' trust is now a fact. The recent speculation in railroad stock shows that the railroad trust is almost completed. And so the capitalists form a trust in one industry after another. The common people seem only to trust in God.

The Texans have invested \$16,000,000 in oil stocks since the Beaumont gusher struck. The Standard Oil Company has no use for either the oil land or the oil stock. It owns 9,000 acres on the Gulf and the only accessible bay near the oil fields is included in the 9,000 acres. When the oil is shipped to the Rockefeller combine will have something to say about the price of freight, etc., and the price of stock will take a sudden tumble. The Texans will know better next time.

Say you Cooks and Waiters, do you remember that you did not vote the Socialist Democratic ticket last fall? Now you are on strike. What does the city government do for you? There is a policeman in front of every boycotted restaurant. They are there to protect the bosses' property. The bosses' property is the means by which they get the income on which they live. The city employs the policemen to protect the bosses who will not discuss any of your propositions for agreement as to wages and hours. Your jobs are the means by which you get an income on which you live. Does the city take any means to protect you in your jobs? Does it in any way assist you? Is it not on the contrary, hostile? And do not its police seek to hinder you and obstruct your boycotts? Why is this? It is because the city government is run by a capitalist, a bosses' party. How different the case of Marseilles and Montcaux-les-Mines in France. There the city councils and mayors lend their support to the strikers, voting over the heads of the police for their aid. The councilors and mayors are Socialists. Their action in this matter was Socialist. Would it not be wise for you to vote the Socialist ticket next election? It won't cost you anything. And it may bring you aid in your hour of need.

### THE PILGRIMAGE OF J. PIERPONT.

Now it so happened that once upon a time a certain man arose in the western world and, stretching forth his hands, grabbed everything in sight. Stripped of his possessions and suffering from emaciation, he was the center of a spider's web of popularity known as "the big financing of new trusts, this man, whose fame was spread abroad the world as J. Pierpont More-gane, went abroad for pleasure and recreation. In a few days he came to an island, where many joyed during their early career. In by-gone days this was the center of a spider's web of commerce, but now it has slumped. When Pierpont arrived and viewed the land, his fancy was taken by the biggest of the Oceanic transportation lines, which carried merchandise to all the quarters of the globe. He looked at it. He liked it. So he bought it. At this time it fell out that the Hicks-Beech, whose euphonious given name was Michael, became hard up for the maintenance of the island's army, navy and other ornaments. During the year previous, however, the bespangled glory of the empire, whose reveille bugles in one continuous blast aroused the earth, announced the rising of the sun, more than usually expensive, so that Hicks was shy of the denario for the coming year. An Anglo-Saxon good-fellowship had been established by this time. For the civilization and liberating of South Africa and the benevolent assimilation of Cuba and the Philippines had drawn the Western world and the tight little island into bonds of brotherly sympathy.

When, therefore, J. P. heard of the pecuniary difficulties of poor Sir H.-B. his heart was softened in compassion. He had a few millions with him for pocket change and pin money. And he went to his respected friend. Said he: "Mike, old chappy, deuced

sorry to learn you're hard up. I'm not overfluent myself, but I'm always glad to do you good—and plenty. It won't inconvenience me; just pouch this," and he slipped \$30,000,000 into his hand. "Well, so long," he continued, "if you want me back to work in the world, I'll have 86 new trusts for me to bank and six railroads to buy—see you later." So he hid him away to his former stamping ground. But in after years it became known that he had surreptitiously bought in a playful mood, as one of the inhabitants put it, "the 'ole bloody island'." Which accounts for the wise men, known now as the "keean gerabs," for the quiet smile of pleasure and satisfaction, which played around his lips and made him appear not to have such a hard mug after all. Here endeth the tale of Pierpont's pilgrimage.

### NOW, DEAR ANTI-, DON'T.

A woman anti-woman-suffragist "has come" to California to work against equal suffrage. Her arrival is published in an interview in which the lady asks, "How would you like to see high-heeled shoes in the Presidential chair?" Well, we suppose the wardrobe would be a slightly more proper and decorous place of deposit for the three articles mentioned. If, however, the lady means that all there is to women are frilled petticoats, high-heeled shoes and forgetties, we know better. The lady should not consider herself typical. Even Rudyard Kipling, who is certainly no "despised and despicable feminist," speaks of the ladies as being—"A rag, a bone and a hank of hair."

That is something more than petticoats. True, at certain social functions we have heard one young gentleman invite another to "swing me rag, while I swam a schooner." But, nevertheless, our own acquaintance with women does not convince us that they are all such semi-ornamented slaves and semi-babies as you are so ready to believe. We know that the girls who get the prizes in beauty contests. We have seen them silence men in controversy. In all industrial fields they are forging steadily ahead and making their influence increasingly felt. We admit that woman's temperance and mental characteristics are in some ways different from men's. But we do assert that the difference is not such as disqualifies her from understanding political issues and deciding them as justly as the majority of men now do. The puerile objection of woman's unfitness for war can be easily swung. If they can't throw a ball straight, nor swing a vigorous battle-axe, yet let member that men make poor needlewomen and poor correctly, the maternal slipper has claims as a factor in the regeneration of society unequalled by either sword or rifle. Taking a comprehensive view of the people, we feel justified in the statement that, whatever their limitations may be, men, women, wives and sweethearts are all on the same level. It is not such inferior, incompetent, half-slaves as to be denied a voice in the management of those affairs upon which their lives and happiness depend as much as men's. We conclude with Mark Twain's toast: "The ladies—God bless them; where would we be without them?"

### LABOR'S HISTORIC MISSION.

"This country will have one of the biggest and bloodiest revolutions the world has ever seen." These things go on the way they are going now. Trusts and unions and strikes and boycotts, there will be the end of a smash-up some day—there will be Hades to pay." Such are expressions which are commonly heard on the streets these days. Despite an undeniable and unprecedented commercial prosperity, agitation and unrest are rampant. As the interests of the numerous conflicts between organization and unorganized labor, and the increase of trades-unionism, have caused a general feeling of uneasiness and discontent. More and more definite this feeling is gradually becoming and sooner or later it must take a coherent, tangible and cognizable shape. The interests of one class or of one group are more closely together. The antagonistic interests of another class begin to merge their ideas and sympathies more and more with that of their class. The capitalists on the one hand and the workmen on their part become mutually antagonistic to each other and their bonds and mutual consciousness. They come to comprehend their mutual relationship on the other members of their respective classes. The fact of class interests and the great importance of serving these comes into their respective consciousness and dominates their actions. And when this is arising the real class-struggle. And when this class effort is made by one or the other to crush the other, and to either retain or conquer the powers of government, then we may expect a clash.

Without doubt it is to the interest of the working class to have peace. Violence and destruction are for it unnecessary and injurious. With manhood suffrage it should be possible for it to conquer the public powers and install representatives pledged to its interests in all the public offices. This done, the revolution, the complete change of laws and institutions necessary to settling the working class in complete and unshakable power, may be accomplished peacefully. The only real danger of violence is that it comes from the selfish desires and inhuman actions of the capitalists who, seeking to retain the power and wealth which they now enjoy regardless of the misery of the people, will employ armies to hold by force of military enterprise the dominions from which the votes of the people have legally ousted them. The employment of Pinkerton thugs by the strategy of the Railroad Managers' Association, and of Federal troops by Steenberg of Idaho, are forerunners of what might happen in this direction, once the people move. Nevertheless, it is impossible to believe that such methods could secure the continued dominance of the capitalist class. The forces of industrial and social evolution are behind the working class, pushing it irresistibly forward. This is what is meant by the historic mission of the working class. The nature of the people and the conditions by which they are surrounded are such that the working class must organize—must struggle with the capitalist class, must capture the fruits of their victory, must inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Dry goods and department store trust is being formed with \$20,000,000 capital.

# IN THE Industrial Arena

BY JOS. J. NIEL.

Wage work, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should be directed to the Labor Editor. The name will be used in their respective trades and as soon as enough have been organized in a trade, the Editor will be notified. All in one organization through the medium of "Advance" will be published in the American Federationist. Address all communications to "Labor Editor ADVANCE," 34 Murray Building.

Events are rapidly tending toward the point of culmination in the strike of the cooks and waiters. After seven days of sincere effort about two hundred and seventy-five restaurants have conceded the demands of the Union. The large places down town, that depend for patronage upon professional and semi-professional men, refuse to accept honorably in the matter. Every artifice known to the exploiters of labor is indulged in to stave that chaos of ignorance and superstition, popular opinion, to the side of the Restaurant Keepers' Association. The gentleman with the long, sanctimonious face, who believes that suffering is necessary to develop character, at the head of this combination, rushes into print on the slightest pretext to show the public the freedom of the workers having an organization for the betterment of their condition. And he sheds copious tears over the fate of the man who refuses to join the Union. It harrows up his theosophical soul and otherwise injures his Karma, to imagine this person as other than a free agent. He is so anxious about the freedom of this man of straw that he is willing to enslave all the men of flesh and blood in the city to preserve it. Right there is the crucial point. The average man thinks, if he thinks at all, that the demand for recognition of the union is unnecessary and more than the ethics of the situation will allow. And he forgets that no one is really free who must work twelve or fourteen hours for just enough to keep him in clean collars. He also forgets, this average man who works with his hands and thinks with his feet, that these smooth hypocrites conspiring the Restaurant Keepers' Association have had ample opportunity to treat their men decently, which they failed to take advantage of. And further, that it is only because the Union is in existence that better treatment is even discussed. There is infinitely greater freedom in being a member of an organization that compels the restaurant keeper to give shorter hours and more pay, than in being accorded to the conception of freedom possessed by these restaurant keepers and is a drudge, that cannot have a spare hour in the whole length of the year in which to think or read.

But despite these self-evident truths, "the man on the street" may be moved to bestow his sympathy on the Restaurant Keepers' Association. He stands together with Irving M. Scott & Co., are against disgracing the city by having a strike in progress while the "first gentleman" of the country is visiting us. So to that end the Scotts have contributed to break the strike. Reports differ about the amount of the "Oregon" Some say is \$100,000; others, more conservative and perhaps more truthful, place the figure at \$50,000. If it were \$10,000 or merely \$1,000, the spirit in any case would be the same. It is evident that organized labor will be fought. The "chickens" that show the fight insecure as long as the workmen can enter a fight as the least hope of success; and, remote as it may seem, a successful strike so widely advertised as this one of the cooks and waiters, would put heart into the mechanics of the Union Iron Works.

There is a unity of action among the merchants and manufacturers so obvious that a unity of insight becomes more than a suspicion. The central association keeps in touch with the association of the different lines of business, and where a breach occurs in the breastworks they pour in wealth and the prestige follows a name which is not a man in these associations. They do not pledged to fight every encroachment of labor. They contribute enough to guarantee the merchant or merchants making the fight against loss. And in exceptional cases they can give the sum of \$50,000 each.

In the light of these facts it is with a certain amount of surprise that we have to admit that capital and labor are not brothers. We were deceived about this matter of brotherhood. It sounded so well, too, when we first heard it, and our leaders were so vehement in their denunciations of the men who dooms the meeting with quite as firm adherents as the brotherhood fiction is, that labor does not need to depend upon the government, nor ask it to do anything. If this were true, considerable might be saved trying to get unconstitutional bills passed in the legislatures, and the sight of some of its firmest champions going to the Mayor asking him to intervene in the cooks and waiters' trouble might be spared us. Perhaps Messrs. Rosenberg and Pierce feel in their hearts that the fiction, "Workingmen want nothing to do with the government and should ask nothing from it," is only a fiction. It sounds big, this phrase, and the ears of the crowdings are split by it, but really, being of this age and time, and as the undoubtedly are, and having to do with men and things, it is a serious reflection on their wisdom—that is, if they still adhere to the idioicy, which seems impossible after this visit to the mayor. If workingmen ever expect to be more than mere drudges, war-men ever expect to be more than the call of a master, they must take a most serious interest in everything that pertains to government. They must, in fact, become the government. This brings us to the point of culmination. Through this visit to the mayor, the President may be inaugurated, to hold good for a time. A temporary peace, should it be considered, especially if the workers take the first step toward its establishment. It is suggestive of weakness and is a tactic of the most absurd kind. There is only one rule of conduct: Hesitate to fight; fight hard.

The visit of Mr. McKinley is a distinct advantage to the strikers. If the presidential party were tied up here for a few weeks, or if the whole program for his entertainment were disarranged, a wholesome respect

for organized labor might be developed by the local merchants, and possibly a peace that meant something brought about. Then, the mere exhibition of weakness at the present moment might compel advances from the employer's association. Who in a fight one must beat himself so that his enemy may have respect for him. There can be no respect where the overtures of a temporary peace without honor comes from a side that is thriving advantages fortune has dropped in its lap, away from this. This is a war we are engaged in, fellow-trades-unionists, not a love-feast. Every coigne of vantage must be held till it is wrested from us by main force or strategy. To give up an advantageous position is playing into the hands of the enemy. And to patch up a temporary peace till the Presidential party leaves the city, is risking one of the best guns we have in our battery. There is another consideration that must be brought home to the workmen engaged in this fight, and that is the nature of the politicians who will have occasion to be freely advertised in this peace that is not peace. They are capitalist to the core. Every action and every word would be used to beguile the workers into security with an eye for future use. The vote of the striker unable to look beneath the surface is a vote worth playing for.

But yesterday, it seems, there was a man upon whom few of the third-rate leaders in our movement looked with kindly eye and hoped to imitate if circumstances would adjust themselves to the imitation, who has earned for himself in this strike of the cooks and waiters the disgust of all decent people. His name is P. H. McCarthy. He is a ward heeler of the most vulgar and annoying kind. He follows forth on every occasion of a strike in the union world, he runs, and yet through politics in the union he puts money in his purse. He is only a type. All these leaders who wish politics banished from the union are only anxious that a certain kind of politics may be banished. But to the specific act that brands P. H. and his clique as parasites. They have come into the public press and repudiated the cooks and waiters strike and aligned themselves with the conservative and peace-loving element, who wish only that workmen should be content. The only thing that would keep this man from ordering the Pinkertons to fire on the strikers at the moment of the union world opportunity. He was unfortunate in the selection of parents. The instincts of an exploiter and an enemy of labor are all his. He thinks only of himself and his standing with the local politicians. The sooner organized labor puts a permanent quietus on him the better. As almost as the name of McCarthy is mentioned, the labor movement as the weaklings who insist on war, then wish to retreat at the first sound of strife. They are both an insult to the spirit of solidarity in particular, and to the whole labor movement in general.

The machinists have missed a golden opportunity. The strike will come about May 1st. And there will be a strike, just as sure as the trust issues the orders. The nine-hour day is not particularly objectionable. It is the feeling of security and strength the members of the union would have after the victory that annoys the Irving M. Scotts. The idea is to crush out all fight as soon as convenient. The position of the union is that of a few supreme masters and a country of degraded slaves. This could not be stayed by bringing on the strike a few days earlier, but the launching of the "Ohio," that huge engine of war, is to be a feature of President McKinley's visit, and if the strike were inaugurated the 1st, instead of the 21st, the warship could hang on the davits and the whole contingent of capitalist mountebanks be disappointed. It is barely possible that a compromise would be made and the nine-hour contract signed if the machinists took advantage of the opportunity presented. The bluff and bluster, the brave hurrahs and the emotions of patriotism that surge through the crowd, are absolutely necessary to the stability of the present government. Sentiment keeps one-half of the population in subjection, guns the other half. And without the sentiment of the first half the second half is weakened. The capitalists know this. Every demonstration is evidence of it. The launching of the "Ohio" is a point, in itself, possibly, for the moral effect on the whole nation, a victory could be wrung from the Scotts, which means a victory for machinists all over the Coast. Opportunity has a tuff of hair in front and a bald spot on the back of the head. Unless one grasps the hair, opportunity will go by and one's fingers will glance from the smooth surface that remains. The machinists should consider this.

A beautiful habit the capitalists have, of making the workmen pay both directly and indirectly for their amusements, is evidenced by the action of the Union Iron Works management in anticipation of President McKinley's visit. Not content with robbing the men of nine-tenths of what they produce, the management has issued an order that every man employed will have one day's pay deducted from his wages, to make a suitable present for McKinley. And the hypocrisy of the thing projects when the men are told that the honor the President does them in accepting the present is sufficient to warrant the sacrifice of a place from the "donation" of the men. There might be a few dull clowns in the shops who would give freely ten or fifteen cents (about the donation Mr. McKinley desires) to buy a few cigars for the President if he really needed them; but that any sane man should give a full day's pay to this servant of the capitalist class is beyond belief. It is held more dishonorable than any indulged in by Black Bart or Deadwood Dick. These knightly deeds of the dime novel would scorn to give up the few farthings he had saved to feed his family. The only parallel to this game of the Scotts is by the way, a considerable fact in the new \$65,000,000 shipbuilding trust is to be found in the act of the sneaking cur, who hides in an alley till his victim passes, then rushes forth and strikes him unaware with a piece of gas pipe.

Now the four bill-posting combines of the country are about to hold a conference in Buffalo with a view to organizing a trust.

A New York daily says the billionaire trust will soon absorb enough additional corporations to bring the capital up to \$1,416,000.





Correspondence.

In Old Missouri.

(Continued from Page 1.)

Mr. Editor: The following answer to an opponent of Socialism, and a supporter of the existing conditions of robbery, was refused space in our local paper; perhaps for no other reason than to leave the impression that Socialism was "knocked into a cocked hat," without giving me an opportunity to expose the fallacious arguments of my opponent. To show how absurd the gentleman's arguments appear, we will use his own words in the form of questions and then answer them, as follows:

R. S. Calhoun: Is not the rich man's right to accumulate property as sacred as H. H. Miner's? Yes, sir. The rich man has the right to construct wagon roads, paralleling our public highways, and to erect toll gates every ten miles, and proceed to skin R. S. Calhoun and others who believe in private ownership of public utilities. It seems strange to me that so many people who enjoy the socialized thoroughfares will not stop and think what a benefit it would prove to socialize all public utilities.

R. S. Calhoun: "Don't you as well as others of greater notoriety teach the 'division of property'?" In fact, I know you do."

Let us see what others of greater worth have taught and do teach on this subject. The ethics of Socialism is identical with Christianity. (Encyclopedia Britannica.) Your charge one of my former communications as being "nothing but skeptical rant." In the light of the above definition I would like to know where you stand. "The abolition of that individual action of which modern society stands in awe, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action." (Imperial Dictionary.) "A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed." (Webster.) "A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for the principle of competition in every human branch of industry." (Worcester's Dictionary.) "Any theory or system of local organization which would abolish entirely, or in a great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation." (Century Dictionary.) "A theory of polity that aims to secure the equality of status and the distribution of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of labor and capital. Its motto is, 'Every one according to his deeds.' (Standard Dictionary.) "Is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to every day life." (Prof. Ely.) "What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity shall control all production." (Frances E. Willard.) Yes, sir, I would like to be classed in this kind of company, and these authorities show conclusively your ignorance as to what Socialism and Socialists teach, or you certainly were in collusion with the editor of the Le Grand "Advance," to have my answer cut, so others would not know that your argument was false, even if you knew better.

In the eight of the authorities I have quoted any one making the arguments, and charging the Socialists with the teaching of the "division of property" is simply an assertion that brings the party making it close to the door of the home for feeble-minded.

R. S. Calhoun: "Give an example of two kinds of monopoly?" The post office is a complete monopoly of the mail-carrying business. The Standard Oil Company is a private monopoly which makes the people divide up and hand over to that gigantic concern their property to the amount of forty millions a year. Now, which is dividing up? Is it the postoffice monopoly, which is a social monopoly, or the Standard Oil Company, which is a private monopoly? Does the post office take any more from the people than absolutely necessary to pay operating expenses? Illuminating oil can be produced and delivered for three cents a gallon; and every cent charged above this amount is robbery, pure and simple. Yes, you are forced to divide your property with the Standard Oil all private monopolies. You who are outside the lines of Socialism are the ones who are supporting the system of "dividing up" other people's property, not the Socialist, as my comparison of public and private monopoly plainly shows to those who will stop and do a little thinking. There are many who will take advantage to accumulate property to the extent as to become a detriment to the masses—the producers. When such conditions are evident and do prevail, it is the duty of the government—the people—to alter or abolish the same and establish one in accordance with justice by fostering a system of government that will prevent organized capital from taxing the necessities of life. This can be done by the government building and operating all public utilities at cost; then, and not until then, will the people be able to enjoy life and liberty. You may say these privileges of equality are already guaranteed. Let us see. The editor of the Le Grand "Advance" has a standing "ad" for the railroad company; the railroad company gives him a pass anywhere over its roads in the state for advertising its business; it does not look at cents to me, and should the Le Grand "Advance" commence advocating public ownership of the railroads, do you suppose that railroad "ad" would stay in its paper, or there would be any more passes issued to Mr. Editor? Well, not hardly. Now, if the government owned the railroad, there would be no more necessity for advertising its business; then the "ad" in the post office business. Don't you know, if these little railroad editors could advertise the post office business and get their papers and letters carried for nothing, they would do it? Well, they are already ready to criticize the post office business; but did you ever hear them criticizing the railroad? Oh, dear, no! That characteristic pass, bought by an "ad," closes their mouths. That is what you are pleased to call a free press? And you of my articles, comes along and asks for space, and is lopped off in the waste basket. That is what you are pleased to call free speech. H. H. Miner.

Let Grand, Cal.

course, our speakers and our press will teach the class struggle, will show the middle class nature of the new movement, etc. We have plenty of arguments, and all sound enough to convert any man if you can get his ear. But there is the rub. "The science of propaganda is the art of getting a man to listen to and understand your arguments." But let a man once become infatuated with this "public ownership" movement of the middle class and you will not get his ear until you dig him out of the sidewalk sometime after election. From the time of the election there is only one thing for us to do—get the voter's attention long before 1904. Talk to him now and begin to show him that there is a difference between government ownership for "business reasons" and collective ownership for the benefit of workmen. To do this successfully, organization is absolutely essential. We must begin now and perfect an organization of which we can be proud. We must be able to reach every sympathizer personally and to see the new party. Had we been thoroughly organized in St. Louis which was rendered impossible by the division of our party last April, the long street car strike which suspended all meetings and all other forms of organization of which we would have been able to meet the Public Ownership Party in its infancy and have successfully coped with it. As it is, we have learned a lesson which we repeat to all our comrades—"Organize, organize, organize!"

You have asked me to write about old Missouri and I have written you concerning what I think is the most significant event not only in Missouri, but also in the whole country. In closing, let me say that the Socialists of St. Louis are not in the least dismayed. They have understood the situation and have done the best that could be done with the resources at their command. They are not discouraged because they know that the Socialist sentiment is twice as strong as it was. The field is ripe for the harvest. Thirty thousand voters have broken away from the two old parties and these men are ready to hear something more radical (for defeat always makes men more radical) than the two parties have been able to do. The Public Ownership Party publishes a weekly organ and threatens to go into the state elections, but it is already beginning to wane, and if the Socialists build up their organization as they are planning the gains they make in the next election will astonish the enemy.

A SOCIALIST AND THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

It is not so much a question of brains, but the monopolization of the means of existence which the capitalist press is guilty of.

"No one can say," said Mr. Roche, that Anna Gould or the Count Castellan have any great ability, or that they do anything for the vast amount of money they are spending. The modern capitalist does not work; he hires somebody else to do the work and to keep his business. Mr. Schwab, who gets a million dollars for two cents in the case of Morgan and his associates. When it is asked how Socialists are going to run trusts owned by the people, they say that the people can just as well hire Mr. Schwab as Pierpont Morgan."

The trusts are rapidly abridging the number of the employed and the number of the people for the labor. The number of unemployed is getting greater, but business is business and sentiment cuts no figure where business considerations interfere. As a matter of fact the sacred rights of private property are of far more importance than individual right. Socialists are not at war with individuals, but conditions, and they expect great changes in the near future.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The minutes of the regular business meeting of C. C. C., April 8th. Comrade Dunne in the chair, as follows:

Two applications for membership were accepted. Bills, were ordered paid to J. J. Noel for editorial work, organizing and postal cards, \$22; for advertising May-day celebration, \$9.50; for hall rent, \$5. A motion was carried that money needed to purchase publications be drawn.

Financial Secretary reported receipts of the two weeks, ending May 7th, as \$138.81.

A motion was carried that we co-operate with Free Thought Society in securing headquarters.

The chairman for Thursday is Comrade King, Jr.; for Sunday, Comrade Flemming.

The resignation of Comrade Anna Strunsky from the office of Secretary was accepted, and Comrade J. J. Noel was elected Secretary pro tem, pending election by a quorum.

Respectfully submitted, ANNA STRUNSKY, Sec. C. C. C.

THE WORKER.

Beginning with its special May Day issue, the paper heretofore known as "The People," and published at 187 William Street, New York, in the interests of the Social Democratic Party, appears under the new title of "The Worker." The change was considered advisable because of the confusion arising from the fact that there is another paper, "The People," published, which devotes itself to bitter attacks upon the S. D. P. and upon the labor movement in general.

The editorial position of "The Worker" will continue unchanged in advocating the principles of Socialism and the S. D. P. and holding fraternal relations with the Trade Union movement.

J. A. Wayland is issuing a pamphlet for farmers. It contains half-tone engravings of the new huge 50-horse-power traction engines, with driving wheels 60 inches in diameter and flanges 60 inches in width, drawing over five field sixteen-ton plows, four 6-foot barrows, and a press drill to match, plowing, harrowing, and seeding from 45 to 75 acres at one operation each day. This machine explains why the vast crop of California, covering millions of acres, can be planted and cultivated at other times the labor cost reduced in other portions of the country. The machinery what can be raised at 3 1/2 cents a bushel, and why the small, unsocialistic, unprogressive, reactionary farmers are being driven into tenantry or off the land and into the city.



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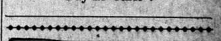
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BOTTLE BEER DRIVERS.

The Bottle Beer Drivers' Union was organized at 1159 Mission street on Monday May 6th and temporary officers were elected. The union was organized under the auspices of the National Union of United Brewery Workers and was affiliated with that body. It was resolved to apply for affiliation as a branch of the Bottlers' Union 102 so that employees of bottling establishments can be in the one organization.

It was resolved to meet at 1159 Mission street every first and third Monday of the month.

In view of the fact certain interested parties are circulating a rumor that the Enterprise Brewery is an unfair laborer, the following resolutions were adopted and ordered published:

"Whereas the Enterprise Brewery is a strictly union brewery employ only union brewers, bottlers and drivers and the Bottlers' Protective Association of San Francisco is recognized as a strictly union brewery by the Brewery Workers' Union and the San Francisco Labor Council, therefore be it

Resolved, that we, the Bottle Beer Drivers' Union, deem it our duty to denounce this rumor as baseless and false; and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of those resolutions be sent to the press and to the Bottlers' Protective Association of San Francisco.

The strike of the Cooks and Waiters for a six week and recognition of their union was heartily endorsed and it was resolved to tender them the full support of the union.

It was resolved to make the "Advance" the official organ of the union. Resolved, that

BEER BOTTLERS

Regular meeting held Tuesday, May 7th at 1159 Mission St. A letter was received from the Oakland branch stating that they will sign the Bottlers' Protective Association of San Francisco the eight-hour workday to their employees on May 10th.

A fine of five dollars will be imposed on any member of the union found patronizing a non-union restaurant for the first offense, and expulsion from the union will follow the second.

The general secretary reported that the Social Brewing and Malting Co., brewers of Light Beer, have not yet signed the eight-hour workday. The matter is in the hands of the Labor Council and a boycott will be laid unless the matter is settled by the end of the eight-hour day, already in force in Oregon and this state. Resolved, that

Mat O'Brien, Sec'y.

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