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Let "Justice Prevail"

The Labor Problem

BY

HERBERT V. READY

Author and Publisher

This is but the preliminary skirmish of the opposing forces, the heavy engagement is yet to come.

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Alhambra Theatre, May 4, 2 A. M.:—By a rising vote, upwards of 2000 carmen decided to accept the United Railroad's offer.

WE DID THE WORK

This Unanswerable Publication Produced the Result.

MURRAY & READY HIRING MEN TO
AID UNITED RAILROADS.

Murray & Ready, who conduct an employment bureau at 634 Clay St., had several covered wagons standing outside their place of business last evening until a late hour. Ready claimed that he was authorized by the United Railroads to secure the services of all men who were anxious to work for the corporation. He declined to say what the wagons were to be used for, but it was generally presumed that the wagons will be called into service to carry the men that the firm engages to the different car barns.

Ready refuses to discuss the street-car situation, but remarked that he will keep his offices open all day to-day for the transaction of business. Ready is to a certain extent a friend of the United Railroads, as at the time that the arbitration proceedings were on about a year ago between the corporation and the Carmen's Union, Ready was a strong witness for the car company.—*S. F. Examiner, May 1st, 1904, page 10.*

First Edition of 10,000 delivered by Monday, May 2, 6 P. M.
Second Edition of 10,000, out May 3d. In answer to excessive demand for this book, we issue Third Edition, 20,000.
Total issued 40,000.

Imitation Unionism is
a Thing of the Past

Respectfully yours,

Herbert J. Murray

OF MURRAY & READY.



R. Cornelius

Oscar S. Strauss

Geo. F. Chapman

W.D. Mahon

Patrick Callahan

A.A. Moore

Men Prominently Identified with Settlement of Differences between the United Railroads and the Street Car Men. (Bulletin)

"Let Justice Prevail"

The Labor Problem



— BY —

HERBERT V. READY

Author and Publisher

[Copyrighted by Herbert V. Ready, 1904]



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Self author



Cartoon 1—Son of honest but poor mechanic going to school.



Cartoon 2—Same boy at home.



INTRODUCTORY

The approaching crisis in the industrial life of San Francisco renders the publication of this little brochure opportune. The phenomenal growth of unionism, so-called; and the control of the union power by the worst elements composing it, has created a condition of affairs intolerable to the peace-loving citizen, whether he be an humble toiler, seeking the privilege of earning his living according to the dictates of his conscience, or the multi-millionaire seeking investment for his capital. The great majority of the citizens of San Francisco are long suffering and patient, but the last straw that breaks the camel's back has been added, and on all sides, on every quarter, irrespective of creed or nationality, comes the protest of outraged men against the exactions of a clique of ignorant, insolent agitators.

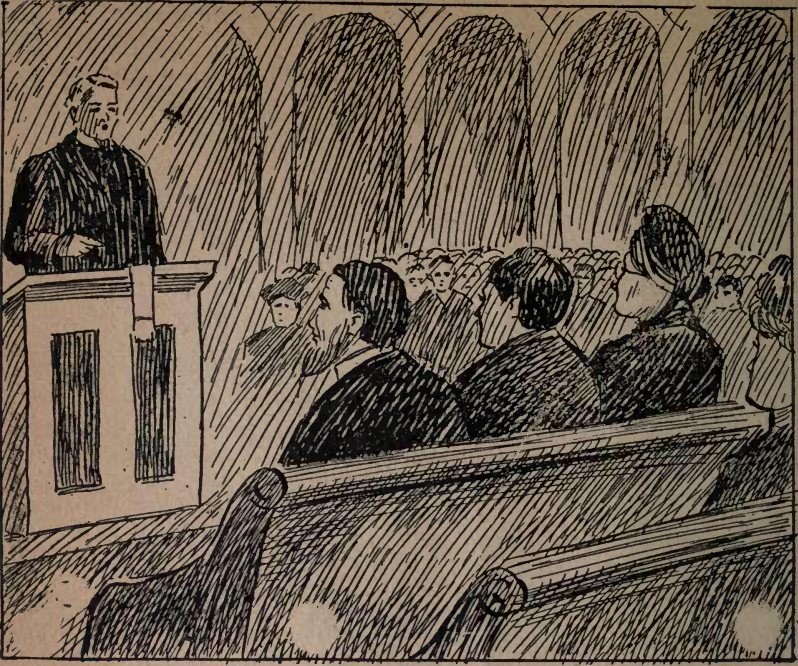
The old Roman saying, "Whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad," seems to be peculiarly applicable to the leaders of the union mob. The Pin-Head McCarthy's, the cheap imitation of Sam Parks, who abound in this city are so swollen with their sense of power that they fail to discern the signs of the times, and even the remarkable change of public opinion towards them and their hirelings fails to ruffle their insolent demeanor.

Time was, when unionism, even of the type that prevails in San Francisco was accepted with a sort of good natured toleration by the people of this city, but that time is past forever. Coming events cast their shadows before, and blind indeed is he who cannot see the complete disruption of it in the immediate future.

In respect to the education of public opinion to this desirable end, the firm of Murray & Ready can claim having taken a prominent part. Their facilities for getting to the bottom of this question, and observing the evils produced by its operation, gives their testimony a value of its own. The long list of unjustifiable strikes in San Francisco, will, unless all signs fail, be climaxed by a walk-out of the carmen's union. Drunk with the sense of power generated by winning an easy victory over the United Railroads two years ago, they propose to hold up the long suffering people of this city again. In the face of a coming industrial depression, that is evident to even the tyro in business affairs, they ask for another raise of wages, with its accompanying corollaries, recognition of the union, and absolute debarment from employment of all non-union men. Can bulldozing ignorance go further than this? Is it possible that these men realize the absurdity of their demands?

At the present moment there are a large number of men, Americans, the equal of any union man who ever breathed, walking the streets of this city seeking employment. No union badge proclaims their slavery to an agitator. They are free men, and yet conditions have been such, through the operations of the union clique, that they cannot obtain employment. This condition of affairs will shortly pass away and the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States will be restored to them. These men, non-union, constitute the vast majority of the working population of this country, and from their ranks any places vacated by the Carmen's Union can easily be filled; provided, that the protection to which they are entitled is extended to them by the municipal and State authorities.

The Carmen's Union is a body of 2,300 men who are receiving the highest wages ever paid for labor of their kind in the United States, and therefore the world. Not satisfied with this, they have "requested" another raise, which the Company has definitely refused. The Amalgamated Association of Railway Employees, of which they are members, has probably \$1,500,000 in their treasury, which will be at their disposal in the event of a strike, presuming that there are no other labor disturbances in the country. This sum, large as it is, will disappear like dew before the morning sun under the demands of 2,300 men, many with families, and particularly under the grafting propensities of Cornelius, Goldkuhl, and the lesser satellites, who fatten on the labor of other and better men.



Cartoon 3—Boy with parents attends church and listens attentively to sermon from text. "Why Stand ye here Idle," etc.



Cartoon 4—Boy graduating at school, receiving diploma from hands of principal, with acclamation of father, mother and friends.

These vultures, these parasites who never work, well know their deluded followers cannot win. The low cunning which enables them to do the walking delegate graft, also tells them they are up against the real thing this time. What of that? Is there not an overflowing treasury to be explored? Visions of the yellow gold in that treasury, and of the good times coming, when that gold sticks to their palms, obscure everything else.

Meanwhile their 2,300 followers will be doled out a miserable pittance and will walk the streets, seeing their places filled by wiser men. The alarming absence of American or Anglo-Saxon names in the ranks of these demagogues is another peculiar feature. Cornelius, Goldkuhl, Tveitmoe, Goptchevich, etc., are names which sound somewhat foreign to the American ear. They seem to be in suspicious resemblance to Czolgosz, the assassin, and Ivancovitch, the Russian convict who pursued a murderous career here a few years ago. Time will show whether the resemblance is anything more than name. San Quentin is in welcome proximity in case the similarity becomes too pronounced. The Railroad Company will undoubtedly operate its cars without the assistance of the Carmen's Union, and when they do, the death knell of these foreign scrubs is sounded. A terrible fate then awaits them. They will have to either go TO WORK, or follow their grafting schemes and land where many of their breed are already, viz., the State Prison.

Perhaps when the shipwreck of their schemes confront them, they may fall back on the "sympathetic" strike. It is a possibility not realized by the people of this city to-day, that the near future may see an attempt to tie up all business here. The restaurants, the bakeries, the manufactories, the laundries, in fact, every line of the great industrial life of this city, including even the papers, may be involved. Some of these papers have been engaged in actively aiding and abetting these labor fakirs, have given unlimited space to their nefarious hold-up, and lauded them to the skies as industrial patriots. Even in this extreme situation is it possible for these fools to succeed? No, a thousands times no!

The American public is hard to rouse into action; is forbearing to a degree unknown in other countries, and on this forbearance these scrubs have imposed till they cannot realize the intensity of the feeling against them or hear the rumblings of the coming storm which will sweep them out of existence.

Happily in Governor Pardee the commonwealth has an official who is American to the core, and endowed with the backbone and moral firmness so essential to an official in that position. It cannot be doubted that in the event of violence the National Guard will be ordered out, and the might of the law upheld.

As for Mayor Schmitz, elected to his office by the union vote, his action cannot be forecast, but if he wishes to avoid political death he will see that order is maintained, and that the right of every man to work as he sees fit, for whom he sees fit, and for what he sees fit, unmolested by thugs and murderers, is guaranteed him.

In this great metropolis of 450,000 people there are 23,000 union men, 15,000 of whom are voters; this insignificant minority has actually dictated to the overwhelming majority for years past, but a new power has arisen in the local world that promises to speedily overthrow the baleful influence of unionism. The Citizens' Alliance is the name of this new power. Its voting membership already exceeds that of the labor unions and its growth is just begun. National in its scope, impartial in its dealings, and law-abiding in its principles, it is the complete antithesis of the labor union, although it recognizes the principle that in union there is strength. It is composed of the leading business men of the city, the small dealers, the retailers, the large and small contractors in the different lines, and the unbought working man; in fact, all who wish to see the principles for which the word American stands, prevail. Already in many Eastern cities it has overthrown the walking delegate, the hired strike-maker, the bribe-taker. In these cities the thug has had to make himself scarce, the walking delegate no longer collects his tithes, and the worker pursues his chosen calling without fear of being waylaid and murdered or felled in the dark by that lowest of human creatures, the labor grafter.

The terrible results that may happen from the actions of these labor leaders are not fully understood. The fearful responsibility resting upon them they do not appreciate. The untold misery, the breaking up of happy homes, the countless evictions, the starvation of the wife and children, the destruction of the moral fiber of a man who has to depend on the charity of others, that has already occurred in San Francisco they care nothing for. The impartial reader who



Cartoon 5—Boy applies to manager of factory for a chance to learn a trade. Manager only too willing to teach boy. Cannot because of that social and moral LEPER, the WALKING DELEGATE.



Cartoon 6—Generation of VIPERS The poor but HONEST workman have to continually contribute to THIS, My GOD where will it end?

reads the statements contained herein must be simply astounded that such a condition of affairs can obtain in a civilized city.

A renewal of the misery and suffering of two years ago is proposed by these men. Having nothing to lose, owning no property, absolutely irresponsible financially, they care for nothing, as long as they can live on the credulity of their dupes.

If in this union-cursed city we had labor leaders of the type of T. V. Powderly, Arthur of the Locomotive Engineers, or even John Mitchell, unionism might take hope that it might live down the past record and in coming years by conservative action command the respect of honest citizens; but a body of men which glories in the leadership of such men as Cornelius, McCarthy, Tveitmoe, or Jim Gray of Los Angeles must be totally disrupted in order that the peace of the community may be preserved. Such spectacles as a thug parading in front of a man's place of business with a banner disturbing the peace and breaking the law by using obscene language directed at those having the moral courage to patronize the victim, must and will be abolished.

The opportunity to learn the trade of his choice will again be placed within the reach of any ambitious youth. The father will again be able to teach his son in his own shop without being threatened and cursed by a gang of low-bred ruffians. The expert worker will again command the higher wage which is justly his due, while the listless loafer will again be forced to the rear, instead of as at present drawing equal pay with his superior.

Industries, and such there are, that have been totally destroyed in San Francisco by the exactions of these hold-up men will again spring into existence, whilst prospective enterprises that have been forced to settle in other localities far less favorably located may even at this late day be induced to come here. It is a conservative statement to make, that San Francisco would to-day have a population of over 600,000 people were it not for the retarding influence exerted by these renegades. Los Angeles on the south, comparatively undisturbed by the operations of these people has been, and is, growing with phenomenal rapidity. The conservative law-abiding element of that city have a friend and champion in the *Times*, with General Otis as its editor, that this city has sadly lacked. A significant feature of the public feeling is the fact that the *Times* has an astonishingly large circulation in this city. No tamale appears at the head of the columns of the *Times*. Seattle on the north, with not half the commercial advantages of San Francisco, has been growing with greater rapidity, owing to its greater freedom from the labor union pest. That San Francisco has grown at all in face of the labor union persecution to which it has been subjected, is a tribute to its commercial enterprise that cannot be denied.

What is the motive of the present agitation? The United Railroads are owned by absentees. Immediately after the transfer to them the carmen struck, when they did not have 200 members out of the 2,300 in their union. One evening in May, 1902, a cable-car stopped opposite the Emporium, and the conductor and gripman jumped off, leaving the passengers in their seats wondering what was going to happen. Another car came up, stopped immediately in the rear of the first car, and the same proceeding again took place. The passengers simply had to walk. In half an hour a long line of cars extending beyond Jones Street could be seen. A large number of conductors and gripmen refused to leave their cars, but the strikers, reinforced by the hoodlum element of the streets went from car to car, and by threats and curses "persuaded" the men to leave their cars. The next day the whole system was tied up, and express wagons did a rushing business carrying passengers at ten cents a head. In a week the trouble was adjusted and the men went back to work. Since that time the unfortunate owners have been in trouble with their employees almost constantly. Finally, after an exhaustive hearing, during which Mr. H. V. Ready, whose testimony appears *verbatim* on another page, completely pulverized the Carmen's attorney, Mr. Livernash, the dispute was referred to Mr. Mahon of the Union, Mr. Calhoun of the syndicate, and Oscar Strauss the well-known philanthropist of New York. The decision is a matter of history. Mr. Calhoun openly dissented against the award, his reason for so doing appearing on another page of this book. Mr. Mahon was compelled to agree with Mr. Strauss although he claimed the union was not treated right, and Mr. Strauss' language showed that he felt he had stretched a point in favor of the Carmen, and the affair was supposed to be closed. The men were now in receipt of the highest wages



Cartoon 7—Boy unable to learn a trade, becomes what the WALKING DELEGATES and their originators call a "SCAB."



Cartoon 8—Boy arrested; brought before Superior Judge on charge preferred by WALKING DELEGATE. Sentenced to States Prison and WALKING DELEGATE, though a perjurer, is temporarily happy.

paid anywhere in the world except Montana where the greater expense of living more than offsets the difference in wages.

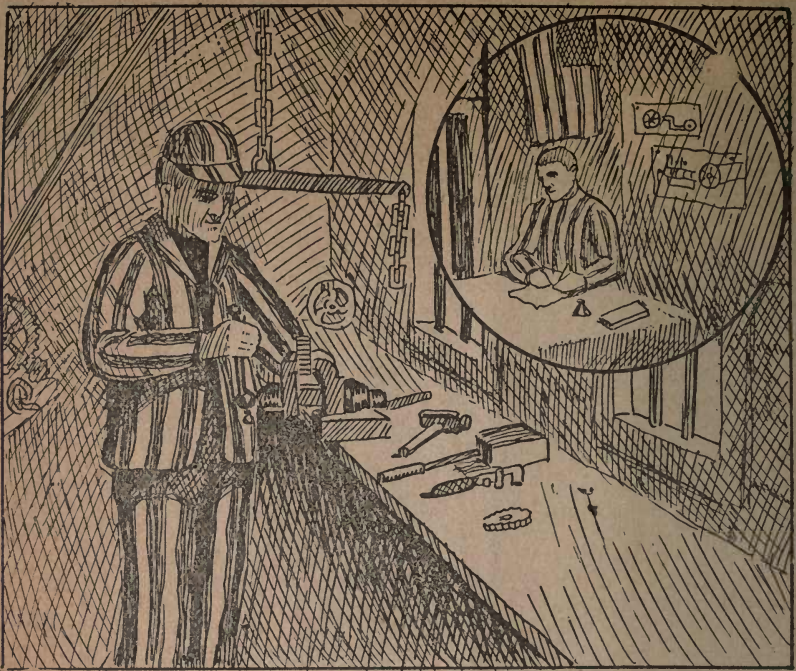
Were the Carmen satisfied? Not at all. Mistaking the forbearance of the Company for fear, they immediately commenced issuing a series of petty requests, and insulting statements have caused the Company to issue a statement, also on another page of this book. We appeal to every one to read that statement, and then ask themselves whether the bulldozing behavior of Cornelius' brigade has not reached its limit. The public favor which was openly lavished on the Carmen in 1902 is to-day conspicuous by its absence. The long list of outrages upon defenseless people in that year has produced this result. American citizens who simply exercised the principle of earning their living with their arms, have had those arms broken by cowardly brutes in human form, who ambushed them on dark streets. Valuable property was destroyed. Harness was cut to pieces, bolts drawn from wagons, nuts unscrewed from the axles and everything that degraded human nature could devise was done, but the defeat of the thugs was overwhelming. Hat in hand they went to their former employers and begged for their old positions regardless of conditions. Some got back, some got into the State prison, and some left the country for the country's good.

Perhaps some reader of this article may think the condemnation here meted out too strong. None know better than the writer that there are men in the Carmen's Union, in the Brotherhood of Teamsters and in every union, who are sterling American citizens according to their light, but the remarkable regularity with which the ruffian element dictates the business of the union seems to show that it is in control. A man is judged by the company he keeps, and it is unfortunate for these men to be in such company. A union is a species of partnership and one partner is held for the acts of the other. Such men will, nay they must, if they wish to preserve the respect of their fellow men sooner or later leave their union, or throw these blatherskites overboard. He is a short-sighted man who thinks that unionism will ever be blotted out. Like the combines of capital, the combines of labor are here to stay, but the union of the future will be so essentially changed that the labor grafter, walking delegate, and low-browed thug cannot gain admission to it. In that reorganized union he will have no opportunities to graft and no victims to slug. The object of the future union will be, not to create disturbances but to prevent them. A present instance of such a union can be found in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, but the difference between the quality of the members of that union and those comprising, say, the Chicken Pickers' Brotherhood, is so great, that comment is useless.

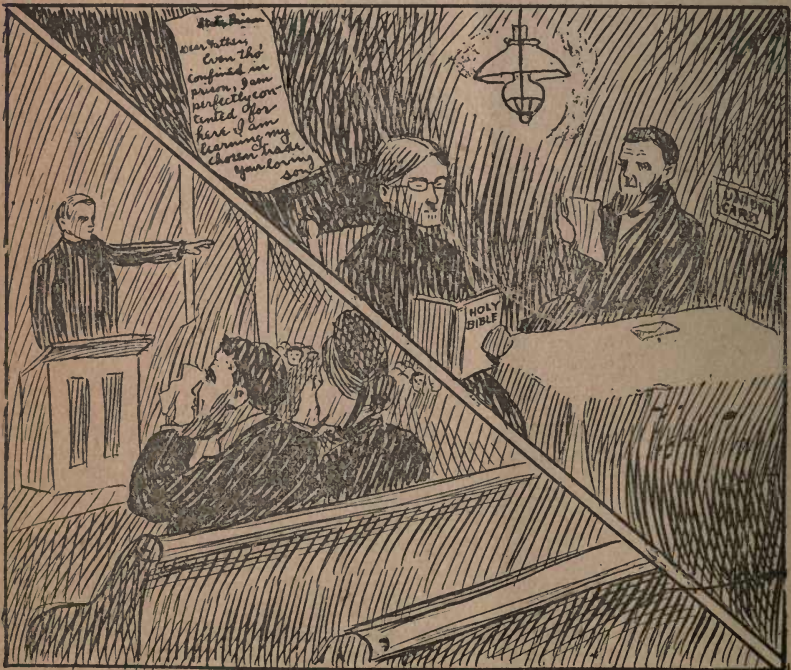
Violence, *per se*, is a sign of low grade organization and a low bred man, and violence in the constantly advancing state of civilization will eventually be relegated to the rear AND THOSE WHO PRACTICE IT.

The men who have made this country what it is are not and never were union men. As one mountain peak towers over another so some men overtop their fellows, and such men absolutely refuse to be bound by the dull uniformity of unionism, with its schedule of wages for good and worthless alike, for youth and old age the same. Such men, looking to the future do not strike if they, perchance, should sometime be asked to work nine hours a day, or put themselves to some little inconvenience for their employer. For the man whom nobody wants, the man who is in his glory when he can loaf on his employer, the union is a paradise, but for the ambitious man, the one who some time expects to be an employer himself, it is a hell. "Abandon ye all hope who enter here" might well be written over the meeting halls of these unions, for once inoculate a man with the virulent idea that his employer is his enemy, whom to defraud is an honor, and he is lost for all time, and a strike is the principal thing he welcomes. A complete verification of these statements can be found in the slow but sure decadence of England as a manufacturing nation. In the grip of a unionism far more relentless than prevails in this country, England sees her trade slowly diverted to other countries not so cursed. The British manufacturer is as alert as when he controlled the world's trade, but a unionism that restricts a man's work and imposes a thousand other absurd rules is too much for him. There are signs over there, as well as here, however, that the end of submission to such nonsense is at hand. If it is not, England will inevitably decline.

This is the age of strenuous competition, of the survival of the fittest. All that America, and San Francisco in particular, asks is a fair field and no favors. This includes the untrammled operation of the laws of supply and demand in



Cartoon 9—Boy in States Prison where for the first time he has a chance to learn his chosen trade.



Cartoon 10—Father reading letter from son.

all marketable products. Labor comes under that category, but instead of giving these laws full rein, a small organized body of men step in and say, "We will control this essential factor in the production of wealth, we will allow so much labor to be expended in one day, at so much wages, and certain men only must be hired to do it." Under such restrictions this great State, with cheap fuel, with every facility for the production of wealth, and facing the greatest undeveloped market in the world, has but 1,500,000 people. There is a reason, and it stands out unmistakably defined—labor union domination.

Against such domination this firm will ever protest, not from enmity to the honest unionist, him we pity and will treat the same as any other honest man, but from a deep-seated contempt for the cheap jawsmiths who dominate him and whom we are determined to dethrone if it takes all this summer and the next, and also from a desire to see the magnificent resources of this city and State developed at something like a normal rate.

The competent man will always, union or no union, secure satisfactory wages. Employers to-day everywhere are looking for such help, and always will be. The demand for good men is unlimited, but when, as now an employer under the dictation of these unions, is forced to take two mediocre men to secure the services of one good one, it is an injustice too rank to be submitted to.

There are employers to-day in San Francisco goaded to desperation by the exactions of their organized employees. Employers who know that if the present condition prevails long they are facing inevitable bankruptcy. To such we would say that you have but to say the word and be free. The struggle may be hard at first, but the triumph is as certain as that the sun will rise to-morrow. The pioneer work of this movement has been completed, the entering wedge that will disrupt this bulldozing combine has been placed, and it but remains to drive it home.

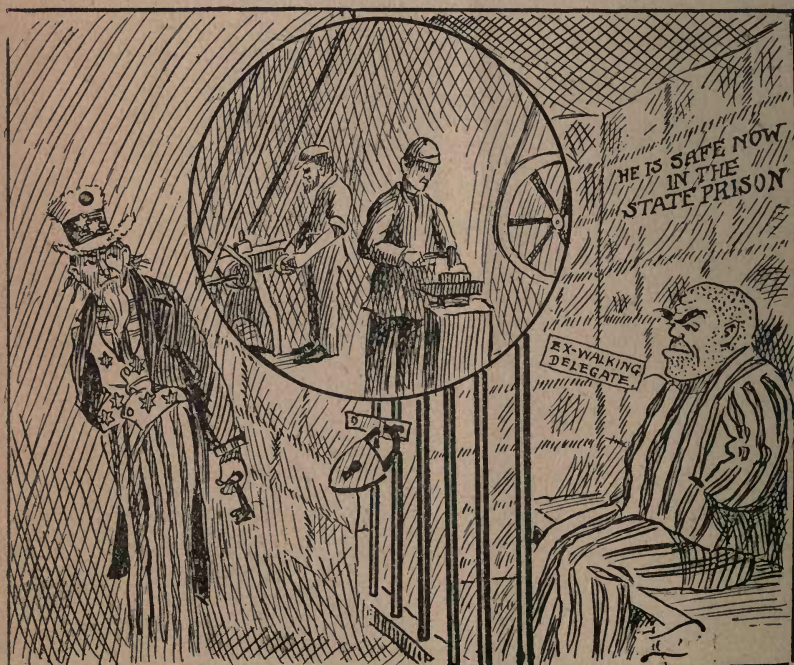
We believe after this trouble is settled right that the dawn of a better day is at hand. We believe that when the present fog of misunderstanding that obscures the vision of both employer and employee in their mutual relations is cleared away, that a long period of industrial peace will be ushered in. We believe that the time is coming, when capitalist and workingman will not regard each other as enemies but as friends, each absolutely essential to the other. We believe that the average employer and employee wish to do unto the other as they would be done by, and that but for the labor union blatherskite, who rears his ugly form between the two classes and makes it his business to breed trouble and discord, their relations would be harmonious.

We also believe that the time is at hand when the above-mentioned blatherskites, Cornelius, *et al.*, will be made to work as other men do, instead of working men to the limit of their erudility as they do now, and lastly we believe that the laborer is worthy of his hire, that a good day's work is worth a good day's pay, that a good day's pay calls for a good day's work, that a man is a man whether he be millionaire or pauper as long as he gives equivalent for what he receives. In our position, conducting as we do one of the largest employment offices in the world, we have had opportunities for judging and obtaining insight into this question, not vouchsafed to the average business man. We have observed the thousand and one ways in which this outrageous combine handicaps employer and employee alike, we have seen men, mechanics of extraordinary proficiency unable to secure work and retused a chance even to join a union to get it, forced to walk the streets penniless and finally lose ambition and sink, or if they were made of sterner stuff, go out on a farm to get enough money to leave this State, of which under other conditions they would have made useful citizens. It is with no malicious intent we have penned the above remarks. Strong diseases require strong remedies.

Our business is peculiarly dependent upon amicable relations being sustained between the two classes, and if this small effort but hastens the time when the so-called scab and the so-called "fair" worker are merged into one, we are satisfied.



Cartoon 11—Family reunion. Boy grown to manhood; and a first-class mechanic, approves heartily of his father's decided action in utterly destroying the cause of their sorrow and misery—the UNION CARD.



Cartoon 12—father and son now working side by side as GOD intended, and the constitution of the United States insures. The WALKING DELEGATE is safe because Uncle Sam, although slow, is sure.

IN THE MATTER OF THE ARBITRATION BETWEEN THE
UNITED RAILROADS OF SAN FRANCISCO AND THE
AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF STREET RAIL-
WAY EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, DIVISION
NUMBER 205.

San Francisco, Cal., Monday, August 3, 1903.

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT V. READY. (RECALLED).

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

By MR. LIVEBNASH:

Q. Are you a member of the firm of Murray & Ready?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Every day three to four thousand men visit your office?

A. From three to four thousand, yes—not including Sundays—
every week day—probably 1500 on a Sunday.

Q. You have to have the police there to prevent the streets from
being blockaded?

A. No, no need of it. If the streets are blockaded we can soon
send for the police.

Q. When did you last have to call for the police in order to let
men get in and out of your establishment there?

A. They don't all come at one time—they come during that period
from 7 o'clock in the day until 10 o'clock at night.

Q. How many will the office hold?

A. Standing room for 300.

Q. Did you ever have any more than 300 there at one time in a
day?

A. Four or five hundred—the inner office will hold just as many
as the general office where the men stay, but we don't crowd it to that
capacity. We could seat 100 men; no doubt there are a hundred there
now with the fourteen clerks that are inside the office.

Q. You know that?

A. That is what I said.

Q. You don't know a thing about it in point of fact, do you?

A. I do know that when I left now right after lunch there were 80
people talking with the fourteen clerks.

Q. You believe there are more there now?

A. I believe there are more there now than at 12 o'clock, because
there always are at this hour of the day.

Q. In point of fact, you don't know a thing about it, do you?

A. I do.

Q. By what process do you know? How do you know that your
store is there now?

A. If it is not burned down.

Q. You are guessing?

A. I don't guess; I know. without there is some calamity there.

Q. You know there are just a hundred persons there now?

A. I don't know that there is just one hundred.

Q. Well, between 90 and 100?

A. Well, between 80 and 100.

Q. How many will there be in one hour from now?

A. There will be in that office and outside probably four hun-
dred people, and we will be shipping one hundred of these men to
Utah and Nevada and other divisions of the railroad company.

Q. I didn't know that Utah was in Nevada.

A. I said Utah and Nevada.

Q. You will be shipping about four hundred to Utah and Nevada?

A. I said we would be shipping one hundred to Utah and Nevada
and other places for the railroad about 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Q. Well, I am not deaf.

A. Excuse me; I am so used to speaking loud in the office where
there is a large quantity of men. I shall try to lessen my voice.

Q. You know there are not five hundred in this room now?

A. That is correct, sir.

Q. How many will there be in your office at half past seven to-night?

A. Probably twenty and probably one hundred.

Q. They can't both be there?

A. From that.

Q. Between twenty and one hundred? And how many at quarter to eight?

A. I could not say, sir. I will be taking dinner at that time.

Q. How do you know you will?

A. I generally dine about that time, sir.

Q. When do you get back from dinner?

A. When I get through—it takes half an hour sometimes, and if I meet a business man I may take an hour.

Q. How many were there there this morning at quarter to eleven?

A. I could not say—probably 100, 200 or 300—I don't know.

Q. At half past eight, how many?

A. I wasn't there at half past eight—I was there at nine.

Q. How many will be there at quarter to ten?

A. I hope there wont be any because I want to close up at that time. I generally close at ten, but I want to close earlier to-night.

Q. Your establishment is the headquarters of "scabs" in this town, is it not?

A. I would like to know the definition of the word "scab" and then I could answer.

Q. Nobody in town, I think, knows it much better than you. Haven't you been under arrest for defrauding persons dealing with your agency in the last six months?

A. For the violation of a so-called law.

Q. Charged with defrauding persons seeking employment?

A. Violating a law, yes.

Q. By misrepresenting conditions?

A. Misrepresenting conditions in conjunction with the Union Lumber Company—we were both arrested. We are now testing the constitutionality of that question in the Supreme Court.

Q. You misrepresented conditions?

A. I didn't misrepresent it.

Q. You did not tell Mr. Dunnigan that no strike was on?

A. I didn't harm Mr. Dunnigan, and Mr. Dunnigan was told by my own brother in the presence of other clerks that a strike was on there—

Q. There are not more than five hundred persons here?

A. That is all right—I was talking so loud because—

MR. MOORE: You are not talking any louder than Mr. Livernash sometimes does.

A. I have heard Mr. Livernash talk louder than that sometime.

MR. LIVERNASH: Well, go on.

A. Mr. Dunnigan was sent to our office or came to our office some time ago and asked for a position in that lumber camp in Mendocino County. He was engaged by my brother and was also informed there was a strike on there.

Q. You are sure about that?

A. I am positive about that.

Q. How do you know about it?

A. Because the clerks in the office told me.

Q. How do you know about it?

A. Because my brother's word is as good as God's in Heaven, and Mr. Dunnigan was told that he would have to wait two or three days.

Q. How do you know he was told?

A. Because the clerks were witnesses.

Q. Is their word also as good as—?

A. Their word is equally as good or they wouldn't be there.

Q. You don't have anybody in your employ whose word is not as good as God's or better?

A. They are as good or they wouldn't be there.

Q. You have fourteen clerks—the only fourteen honest men on earth?

A. I don't know that they are all the honest men in the world.

Q. There may be fifty.

A. There may be twenty—there may be more.

Q. Twenty-one, including yourself?

A. We are leaving ourselves out. I leave others to speak for me. I never speak of my honesty myself.

Q. Are you willing to let me speak of your honesty?

A. If you chose—every man has a right to his own opinion. Do you want any more about Mr. Dunnigan and the Union Lumber Company? He was told that a strike was on with the Union Lumber Company—

Q. The fact of the matter is that you are under arrest for having defrauded persons seeking employment, my misrepresentations of conditions?

A. There was a warrant sworn out of that nature.

Q. Yes, sir.

MR. MOORE: By Mr. Dunnigan?

A. No; by a man—I forget his name just this minute—the Labor Council and the *Examiner* no doubt combined to handle that man, because the Labor Council is prosecuting the case and has hired Attorney Hutton to prosecute it—against both the Lumber Company and myself.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Dunnigan was connected with the *Examiner*?

MR. LIVERNASH: Mr. Dunnigan is the present labor editor of the *Examiner*. He was employed for the purpose of uncovering the fraud in this man's agency, and he didn't uncover it.

A. He did uncover it?

Q. Yes.

A. As the law stood according to the *Examiner*.

MR. LIVERNASH: I am not disputing with you, sir. You are bitterly opposed to trade unionism in this town and are finding employment for scabs.

A. No, sir; that is not true, because we engage union and non union men.

Q. How many did you engage yesterday—union men?

A. Three union men.

Q. Out of four thousand?

A. No, sir; not out of four thousand—they were engaged as union carpenters and sent to union shops in San Rafael.

Q. Three out of fifteen hundred?

A. I don't know—I wasn't there until about 1 o'clock yesterday afternoon.

MR. MOORE: He didn't say fifteen hundred men were employed—he is speaking of applications.

MR. LIVERNASH: Well, three union men out of fifteen hundred applicants?

A. We may have employed more, but I took the telephone myself—I knew it had to be filled and I know the job was filled; but I will tell you I don't know the meaning of the word "scab" yet.

Q. You will before we get through.

A. Thank you, sir.

Q. It never has occurred to you what that word means?

A. Never.

Q. You never heard it before to-day?

A. I have heard it used on the streets. I have read it in the labor news of the *Examiner* and other papers.

Q. But you were never able to tell what it meant?

A. I don't know the meaning of the word "scab."

Q. You haven't the remotest notion?

A. Not the remotest notion, sir.

Q. You don't know that it has any relation to unionism or non-unionism?

A. I don't know the definition of the word "scab," sir.

- Q. And you a truthful man; as truthful as God?
- A. As truthful as there is a God in Heaven.
- Q. Why do you get so excited when that word "scab" is mentioned if you don't know what it means?
- A. I don't get excited—I don't think I am excited.
- Q. Not a bit excited?
- A. Not a little bit, sir.
- Q. If there are three or four thousand men come to your place a day then during the last week there may have been between twenty-one and twenty-eight thousand men applied there for employment?
- A. I say twenty-five to twenty-eight thousand.
- Q. And in the last month about one hundred thousand, or about one-third of the population of the town?
- A. Some days there are less, some days more.
- Q. I say within the last month—three or four thousand a day—you have sworn to that here.
- A. I should say there are that many probably, that entered our office daily.
- Q. As a truthful man you mean what you say?
- A. I mean exactly what I have sworn to in that affidavit—what I have sworn to is true. There is nothing in that affidavit that is not true that I have sworn to.
- Q. Then three or four thousand apply to your establishment every day?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then within the last thirty days, leaving Sundays out, in the last thirty week days between ninety and one hundred and twenty thousand men have applied at your establishment for work?
- A. We will say seventy-eight thousand.
- Q. Why do you say seventy-eight thousand?
- A. Because I have taken the lowest number and you have taken the highest to figure by.
- Q. Three thousand for thirty days would be ninety thousand—
- A. But leave out Sundays—26 working days.
- Q. No; take thirty working days.
- A. Then you will include Sundays?
- Q. On thirty week days preceding the day you made this statement there were between ninety and one hundred and twenty thousand men applied at your place for employment?
- A. There was that number applied daily we will say since April first, and in the winter time there are more than that.
- Q. Then some months you must have as much as one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand men apply for work?
- A. More in the winter, than in the summer; yes sir.
- Q. As many as two hundred thousand apply in a month?
- A. I say in winter there are more.
- Q. How many more?
- A. I could not say—a bigger crowd.
- Q. Such a lot you have to have cordons of police around the block?
- A. I don't have to have them unless agitators come around there and then we soon remove them—we send for the police.
- Q. What kind of agitators—are they looking for work?
- A. Labor agitators—demagogues.
- Q. You can tell a demagogue when you see him?
- A. I can tell demagogues.
- Q. You can tell a demagogue from a scab?
- A. I know a demagogue, but I don't know a scab.
- Q. Describe what he looks like.
- A. I will not tell you what he looks like, but I will tell you what he is.
- Q. Go ahead.
- A. A man that raises trouble—a man that does not know his own business, and tries to know others', sir.
- Q. You know not a good deal of your own business but the business of others?

A. That is my business, to find others' business—to get them work; but that don't prove a man is a demagogue—because he wants to put a man to work and earn a good honest living by the sweat of his hands and brow.

Q. By the sweat of his hands—you improve upon the biblical phrase?

A. A man that sweats with his hands—takes a pick and shovel or any kind of labor work.

Q. That is the only kind of man—one that sweats in his hands?

A. No; but he is one class of man—a good class of man.

Q. You like to have pick and shovel men around you?

A. I like to have men that work with their hands and brain at the same time.

Q. Oh, brains come into it now. Well, now, when did you last use the pick and shovel?

A. I can state that very, very quickly. When I came to San Francisco, I came with a dollar in my pocket and a pair of blankets on my back—that is sixteen years ago, and I went to work on the streets of San Francisco for two dollars a day.

Q. Wern't you ashamed of yourself to charge so much for that work?

A. Ashamed to work with a pick and shovel?

A. Ashamed to charge your employer as much as two dollars a day?

A. It was worth the two dollars or my employer wouldn't have kept me.

Q. Weren't you worth more than that?

A. At the rate of wages at that time, no; because that was the rate paid for that character of work.

Q. Wasn't that when they had thousands of Chinamen working for a dollar a day with pick and shovel?

A. Did they ever have a thousand Chinese in San Francisco working for a dollar a day? I don't know that we ever had them for that wages, pick and shovel work.

MR. MOORE: Never had them on the streets.

MR. LIVERNASH: I am not talking about the streets—pick and shovel work can be used more ways than one.

A. I never knew that Chinamen worked for a dollar a day with pick and shovel in this city or any other city in California.

Q. You don't know.

A. No; I hear very little of Japanese or Chinese—it is only hearsay evidence—you don't want hearsay evidence here.

Q. You wanted it when you were talking about what your clerks stated.

A. Those clerks are in my employ and everything they tell me is true.

Q. Being so truthful yourself you could not have an untruthful man in your employ. You had no occasion for the police except for getting rid of demagogues that congregate around your establishment?

A. That is about all I could state—a drunk once in a while would float around there—when he does and is boisterous—

Q. There is not much room for him to float on account of the men there, is there?

A. There are a lot of saloons around there and he floats around but we soon know how to get rid of him, though.

Q. These demagogues are labor demagogues—labor agitators?

A. Labor agitators.

Q. Men who would like to break up your business?

A. I don't know that they would like to break up my business any more than they would like to break all other businesses which they can't rule themselves.

Q. These labor agitators simply want to run everything?

A. That is correct—they do.

Q. They are bad citizens?

A. Some of them are not citizens.

- Q. Worse and worse—of course you go out and inquire of each of these demagogues whether or not he has been naturalized or born here?
- A. No; but sometimes we happen to know these demagogues—we have seen them raised up in the city in the sixteen years' business that we have done on Clay Street. I have seen a lot of them raised up.
- Q. Besides myself who are the demagogues?
- A. I have not stated that you are a demagogue.
- Q. Well, assume it—I want to be a demagogue in your estimation—now, who are the others.
- A. I wouldn't care to mention names.
- Q. You would do a public service to the community to expose these terrible fellows.
- A. I think the papers have exposed a great many of these demagogues.
- Q. The editors of the *Examiner*, of course, are demagogues?
- A. I have not the pleasure of knowing many of the editors of the *Examiner*, consequently, I can say very little about them.
- Q. Among these demagogues you class the editors who believe in labor unions?
- A. All editors don't believe in what they write, sir.
- Q. You understand this editorial business—but the labor editors and all the men connected with labor in San Francisco, you rank them as demagogues, don't you?
- A. No; there are some good editors and labor men that are not demagogues.
- Q. Well, they are almost as rare as white crows, aren't they?
- A. I don't know that they are, or are not. I don't know much about the newspaper men in San Francisco. All the newspaper men that I have ever met, I would never take one of them to be a demagogue.
- Q. You wouldn't?
- A. No, sir.
- Q. You wouldn't take Mr. Myrtle?
- A. I know Mr. Myrtle is not a demagogue, sir.
- Q. And our friend Mr. Boyle?
- A. I know that he is not a demagogue.
- Q. There are no demagogues at all in the newspaper business?
- A. No, because I don't think half of them believe what they write on labor news.
- Q. You think the labor news that is published is all humbug?
- A. I think it is published for one great purpose, and that purpose is the circulation of their papers.
- Q. That is why they publish labor news?
- A. I believe they do.
- Q. Coming back to this great army of men who in a month apply to you for employment—the same man does not keep coming back every day?
- A. He does come back.
- Q. You are a successful business man, aren't you?
- A. I believe I am a successful business man.
- Q. In fact, you are at the very top notch of your business here?
- A. It would be out of place for me to say that, sir, let others speak of those who lead.
- Q. I noticed your advertisement in this morning's *Examiner*—there are no such marks of modesty there—you speak of having made yourself famous there by your great work?
- A. I believe the firm of Murray & Ready have made themselves famous? I know no distinction between man and man.
- Q. You know one man from another?
- A. Yes, but all men are equal before God and the Law.
- MR. MOORE: You don't employ Japs and Chinese?
- MR. LIVERNASH: All men are equal except Japs and Chinese?
- A. I believe so—I treat them as such—as men.
- Q. A Jap or a Chinaman is not a man in your sense?

A. Yes, sir, he is, but he has not been educated to the standpoint where we are.

Q. It is a matter of education and not of race, then?

A. Correct.

Q. An educated Chinaman is all right for anything?

A. An educated Chinaman is my equal or your equal, sir.

Q. Well, I hope he is your equal, anyhow. Now, in point of fact, you have got what you regard as the most successful employment agency in town?

A. I wouldn't say that—I would say we have been successful in business.

Q. And that a heavy percentage of men who apply to you for employment do not apply in vain?

A. No man will ever be refused work whether he is union or non-union man. All men are treated with the same consideration in our office. There is only one thing we ask of the men, "Can you fill that job?"

Q. Well, suppose you answer the question?

A. Well, we will go into a little further detail—no matter whether he was born in this or any other state on whether he belongs to this or any other church, or any unionism.

Q. You wouldn't refuse a man?

A. I wouldn't refuse any man provided he could fill the work—any man that ever lived.

Q. He would have to be alive if you were going to give him work—you are not giving work to dead men?

A. No, sir; there is a place for them in the morgue.

Q. Now, you pride yourselves, I should gather from your advertisement as successful, painstaking employment agents—these, of course, are strictly truthful?

A. The Examiner publishes them.

Q. But you say you don't believe many newspaper men believe what they print?

A. The advertisements are truthful, yes, sir.

Q. You would not for the world mislead the public through an advertisement, would you?

A. No, I wouldn't.

Q. You would not deviate a breadth of a hair from the line of truth in an advertisement, would you?

A. I would put the advertisement in papers for what I want, no more and no less.

Q. You would not make a false statement in your advertisements?

A. No, I wouldn't.

Q. And everything in your advertisement you print is as true as the God in Heaven?

A. Yes, true as the God in Heaven.

Q. And you get employment for a considerable percentage of the men that apply to you?

A. We got work last year for 45 thousand applicants, but we didn't get all the people work who came to us—I wish we did—we would get rich quick.

Q. You have fifty-two working weeks in the year, and six working days in the week leaving out Sunday—that is too good a day to work on?

A. I have worked Sundays as well as any other day.

Q. You don't work so hard, do you?

A. Sometimes I worked twice as hard—according to how the business comes—according to the season of the year—when the hay is burning out in the fields I am going to rustle help and send it to them—I am going to harvest the crop.

Q. I don't know how the State of California ever did peg along before you got here?

A. I can tell you how they have pegged along since I have been here—I can't tell you how they got along before I was here.

Q. You have an average of 3 to 4 thousand men applying every day?

Q. Then you had last year between 936 thousand and 1,248,000 applicants for positions?

A. I never made up the figures—I just said that was the number.

Q. You didn't put those figures down in the affidavit without having investigated it, did you?

A. No, sir, those figures were put in the papers before and told to the public at large. This statement that I have given that there were about three to four thousand men a day—that was published for a long time before I ever told the United Railroad—as a matter of fact that has been going on, the three or four thousand a day, not this year, but for several years.

Q. That 3 or 4 thousand a day is a pretty substantial fact?

A. That is a substantial fact.

Q. Applying for work?

A. And if they don't get it one day the same men come back to-morrow and keep on coming until they get work or get work somewhere else.

Q. The number of your applicants for last year then was between one million and a million and a quarter of men?

A. I have not figured that up.

Q. That is leaving Sundays out.

A. Well, I have a lot of writing and other things to do on Sundays, that I don't have time on other days to do.

Q. How many clerks do you have to handle this million and a quarter of applicants?

A. All of them don't go inside and ask about the job. I said three or four thousand go there a day seeking employment. They come right down there and pick out our bulletin of labor that we published every day—I believe I have one in my pocket. I don't know how many come in there every day. As a matter of fact between four and five thousand of these bulletins are taken from our office a day by the applicants who apply for work.

Q. Some of these demagogues may take them to destroy them in job lots?

A. If they only take a dozen at a time and put them in places that are good it is advertising us.

Q. It is now six minutes of three—how many men are in your office looking for work?

A. I could not state positively—I could give you my opinion.

Q. Go ahead.

A. At the present time I should say there are about three hundred in the general office reading the bulletins and looking around.

Q. Of the million and a quarter men who applied for work this last year, you succeeded in getting employment for how many?

A. Forty-five thousand.

Q. To a man?

A. No, I think 45,300 and some odd—the books will tell that.

Q. You could bring your books down here?

A. I don't know that I would care to, I don't care about everybody looking into my private books.

Q. These books contain nothing that is not strictly truthful, and it is explanatory of what you say?

A. They contain nothing only what I have stated here to be facts.

Q. The books will show these 45,300 and odd persons last year?

A. You will find the names of these, yes.

Q. Of these one million two hundred and fifty thousand men, how many of these men come back? On an average how many men will come back to-morrow seeking employment again?

A. They will come back until they find it or go to the United Railroads to see if they can give them a job on their cars. They are after work. That is the reason that they come to us. A man comes to us and he pays us something for a fee.

Q. You get a fee from every one that registers?

A. We do not charge until the man has got the work—before a man is given work there is no fee to pay.

Q. You have to do that under the law of California?

A. Thank Heaven I agree with you there.

MR. MOORE: You and Mr. Livernash seem to be falling into the old heathen idea of pluralizing Heaven.

MR. LIVERNASH: We are doing all kinds of things with Heaven here this afternoon, certainly.

Q. The supply of labor in San Francisco, you say, is greater than the demand therefor?

A. Yes, the supply of ordinary labor is greater than the demand.

Q. Why do you advertise that the men are coming around to your place?

A. I will answer that. The supply of ordinary labor is greater than the demand—they are seeking work in San Francisco, sir. We have come to a state of affairs in San Francisco today where there is men coming from all parts of the United States seeking to work right in San Francisco, and they are waiting and waiting right here to go to work, but no, there is ten, fifteen to twenty dollars to put up to join a union, and unless they can find that they cannot get employment, they have to go out in the country to work upon farms—they can't go to work in San Francisco.

Q. Do you want to deliver another speech?

A. No, sir, but I have answered.

Q. Then the reason that there is a great army of men hanging around your establishment is because there are trade unions here?

A. Yes, you have struck the key-note.

Q. So the foundation of your personal success is the trade union?

A. Labor unions have made me rich, but at the expense of the laboring working man who has been driven to go to the country.

Q. I am surprised that a man of such lofty notions as yourself would permit himself to become rich.

A. They are making me rich and I will ride in my carriage some day if I keep on like I am going now.

Q. You are paying taxes upon it, of course?

A. I don't know about paying taxes—a man can put his money in the crock and put it away.

Q. But certainly a truthful man like you wouldn't give a false statement to the assessor?

A. I don't say I am paying taxes—I am not going to say about that—in fact, I may be so generous as to give it to the poor. I might have poor relatives in the old country and send it to them.

Q. Well, you are getting rich?

A. Yes, I am getting rich.

Q. And are rich now?

A. Rather than answer that we will let that pass by.

Q. You are not afraid of Mr. Dodge.

A. Not a bit—the assessor is a good man to have in this city or community, or any other city or community—we have got to have them.

Q. The effect of the trade union movement here is to prevent men getting employment because they have not money enough to become members of the union, is that it, and that is why the labor market is congested in the way in which you have given testimony here?

A. That is why the labor market here today is congested with men—San Francisco—they come here seeking employment, and they find out when they come here that they have got to put up ten or fifteen dollars, and there are plenty of men here that cannot join the union because they have not got the money in the first place, and they are forced to go out in the country to make their living.

Q. The great mass of these men who apply at your establishment are non-union men, are they?

A. That is a difficult question for me to answer, Mr. Livernash, because I never ask a man, are you a union man or non-union.

Q. But you say the reason of these great droves of men around your establishment is because the men have not money enough to join the unions, therefore you must believe that the mass are not union men?

A. The majority are not union men, and the majority of the working men in the United States today are not union men—most of the employees, female and male, are not union; and I believe you could give me the figures if you wanted to.

Q. I wouldn't think of juggling figures with you—you are such a master of the art. You don't go a cent on trade unionism then?

A. Yes, trade unions are right, but only when purged of demagogues and street agitators, and these leaders. They are right when they are banded together for the benefit of their craft—of their trade, that they may work better with their hands and brains and at the same time give their employees better service, and band together in fraternal organizations; but when they interfere with your and my business they are wrong, sir.

Q. Are they interfering with your business?

A. They are trying to do so.

Q. Getting you arrested and things like that?

A. They advertise me and I am making money by their doing it. They are turning the great wealth of the corporations into the hands of Murray & Ready today by doing it. It is not right, though—just because they are doing it it is not right. They put a boycott upon my place because I send men up to the Union Lumber Company. The corporations look upon that and say, "Here is Murray & Ready being boycotted—what are they getting boycotted for?" They stop to think and reason, and they say that is not right, and they turn their custom over to me, and I today am making money out of that. I am getting more business in San Francisco today than I would have had had it not been for the boycott they put in front of my door.

Q. Then you are getting a disproportionate percentage of the trade?

A. I am getting a larger percentage of trade today than I would have got had the unions not started to boycott me.

Q. The Labor Council has a boycott on your house now?

A. Not that I know of, but the City Front Federation, I believe, has.

MR. MOORE: Is your place boycotted?

A. It is boycotted. In front there is a man who has got a worn out, weather-beaten sign—it looks as if he ought to have a new one. But Murray & Ready does not give a continental for any boycott, we will send men to the Union Lumber Company or any other company.

MR. MOORE: The Union Lumber Company has a strike on?

A. A strike or lock-out, and they come to me and want me to supply them with help, and I will supply any man that ever lives that pays his help and treats them right—I will do it as long as I live.

MR. LIVEBUSH: I hope you won't do it afterwards.

A. Well, I may be in that business in the other world, higher up, but you, Mr. Livebush, will not be an applicant for a position up there.

Q. Well, you will be very far down in the basement.

A. Well, I will have others with me.

Q. I hope you don't mean Mr. Moore. Now, let me read this from your advertisement—you write these advertisements, do you?

A. You have struck the key-note to that—that is what keeps me down working till 10 o'clock at night.

Q. You are pretty well pleased with them yourself?

A. Well, it would be out of place for me to say that.

Q. I am reading from the Examiner of August 3rd, 1903.

A. Today's issue?

Q. Yes, sir. Your first advertisement in the column from which I am reading contains this statement: "Thousands going"—where are these thousands going?

A. The advertisement calls, does it not, for Utah, Nevada, Central America and Oregon.

Q. Every place but the moon.

A. It contains the places we are shipping to-day.

Q. You are shipping to-day to all these places?

A. To-day or to-morrow—whenever the steamers or trains go.

We are shipping to Utah and Nevada to-day, and Arizona to-night and Oregon to-day. I can't tell you where we are shipping to, we are shipping to so many places.

Q. Shipping to a million places?

A. To many places.

Q. I wondered if you were slipping up a cog.

A. No; I am not trying to slip up a cog.

Q. There is just thousands of men moving?

A. There are thousands going—I don't say to-day. Would you like to know how many men we shipped last year to one place?

Q. I would, but I wouldn't like to try your figures.

A. We shipped 8000 men to Utah and Nevada for the construction of the railroad on that seven-million-dollar contract in Utah and Nevada. We shipped them in one deal. You don't need to take Murray & Ready's figures at all—the S. P. passes will prove that.

Q. I have not been able to find any way to learn about the S. P. passes.

A. They issue them to me every day in the week and every hour of the day when we have orders for help from differing departments of the S. P., C. P. R. R. We first get the help, then the passes.

Q. Every hour?

A. That is true—that is, my business hours.

Q. Every hour in the day they send you down a bunch of passes?

A. No; I go there and get them. They are respectfully issued to us by the gentlemen, heads of departments.

Q. Every hour?

A. If I am ready—I can get them any minute during their business hours.

Q. They are just there on tap?

A. They are on tap for me to go and send the men they want to different places, but, of course, they are not there for people with kid gloves who want to ride—they are there for working men.

Q. You advertise for 666 men in this *Examiner* for the Southern Pacific Railroad divisions?

A. For the different railroad departments.

Q. Just 666?

A. There were 666 wanted when I closed my books up, yes.

Q. How long has that advertisement asking for those 666 men been running?

A. I don't know; I could not say. There may be seven hundred or eight hundred wanted at this very minute—the orders pour into my office every minute of the day.

Q. Just a stream of orders?

A. Yes, sir; for the S. P. Company they are streaming in there right along.

MR. MOORE: For laborers for railroad construction?

A. Yes, sir; and other work.

MR. LIVERNASH: Every minute of the day?

A. Every minute of the day—for section gangs and laborers.

Q. About a hundred?

A. I don't know whether by the hundred or by the thousand, but we often get orders for a hundred at a lick.

Q. Why don't you send out more than two or three hundred men a day?

A. Because all good laboring men don't want to work for \$1.60 to \$1.70 a day.

Q. A laboring man is worth more than \$1.60 a day, is he?

A. Yes, sir; some are worth more.

Q. That is a dreadful wage rate, is it not?

A. I don't know—a man is worth what he earns, providing he is all right he will earn it for that class of work.

Q. That is the rate, is it?

A. That is the rate with the S. P. Company—\$1.60 to \$1.70 a day.

Q. And board themselves?

A. Board themselves; yes, sir.

MR. MOORE: Pick and shovel work?

A. Yes, sir; and construction; \$1.60.

MR. LIVERNASH: And you find it pretty hard to get men for that?

A. Yes; it is generally pretty hard to get men for \$1.60.

Q. They don't want to work for that?

A. Not at this season of the year. In the winter time they will work for it.

Q. What do they want?

A. They are looking for the highest wages paid.

Q. What are the highest wages paid?

A. For what class of work?

Q. We are still talking about this same gang of men.

A. Skilled or unskilled labor?

Q. We have not at any time been talking of skilled labor.

A. Well, unskilled labor in some places is higher and some less.

In Utah it is higher than in California in some classes of work—it depends on what part of California. You are well up on the railroad question.

Q. But you see, I am a demagogue.

A. You are a demagogue all right, since you admit it. In the extreme southern portion of this State, where it is very, very warm, and labor is scarce, then labor is scarce, then labor is dear; but where labor is plentiful and there is no conditions to stop a man from seeking employment—that is, this union racket business that we have been speaking about, then we could get labor at less figures. Some parts of California they pay more than they do in others.

Q. Where there is a big supply of men the wages are down?

A. Yes; and where the climatic conditions are favorable, also—then wages are less than they would be in other places; for instance, in Arizona, or Fresno, or Bakersfield, or any warm climate where it is pretty hard work, you know wages are high.

Q. Here in San Francisco where these great ranks of men are steadily moving in an endless procession, it is strange, is it not, to find men unwilling to work for \$1.60?

A. I have never said that no man was unwilling to work for \$1.60 in San Francisco. I told you that thousands of men—not hundreds, but thousands, come here—

Q. Hundreds of thousands?

A. No, sir; but thousands, and they are shut out and told "you can't get work here, go out in the country, go work on the farms, go to pick and shovelling, do anything—but there is nothing here for you." They shut a man out unless he belongs to their clique or gang. They stop the workmen or any citizen of the United States unless they force them to do as they say.

Q. So the \$1.60 rate would not have any application here—the unions would not stand for it?

A. I don't know whether the unions would stand for it. I don't think you could get men to work in San Francisco for \$1.60.

Q. Even if there were no unions?

A. If there were no unions.

Q. What are you able to get men to do pick and shovel work in San Francisco for now?

A. \$2 and \$2.25, \$2 principally; pick and shovel on the streets, \$2 a day.

Q. How many hours a day?

A. Nine and ten.

Q. Most of them nine?

A. No; most of them are ten.

Q. The men who work ten hours are scabs, aren't they?

A. I told you, sir, I didn't know the meaning of the word "scab."

Q. What do you think a "scab" does mean?

A. I would like to know it.

Q. Are these union men who are willing to work at pick and shovel work for ten hours a day here?

A. I could not answer that question. I never ask a man whether

he is union or non-union. I ask him if he is a pick and shovel man, and if he wants a job, and if he says yes, he takes it.

Q. A union man will not work at pick and shovel work for ten hours, will he?

A. I find thousands willing to work in San Francisco here if they only had a chance to work. I find thousands of men willing to work at a good reasonable rate of wages—just longing to live in the City and County of San Francisco, if they could get work here.

Q. How many people cannot get work here?

A. I don't know.

Q. Well, you have been throwing your big figures around here promiscuously.

A. Well, you asked me something I could not tell you.

Q. You think there are fifty thousand?

A. Not fifty thousand—I could answer that.

Q. Forty thousand?

A. I don't think there are.

Q. Twenty-five thousand?

A. I don't know.

Q. You are not sure there are not 25,000, but you are sure there are not 40,000?

A. I am sure there are not 40,000; yes.

Q. Are you sure there are not 40,000?

A. I am sure there are not 40,000; yes.

Q. How many soup kitchens are there for the unemployed?

A. Well, we have some things in this world worse than soup kitchens. There are no soup kitchens that I know of. We have a whole lot of organizations in San Francisco, and rich people, and not only rich people, but other people who try to do good—try to help others and who are putting up a whole lot of money nowadays to help people in case of need and in case of want—there are a whole lot of them paying out money in these benevolent societies.

Q. Is there a greater number of unemployed unskilled labor in San Francisco now than there was a year ago?

A. More unemployed than there was a year ago at this time; yes, sir.

Q. How many more, do you think?

A. I could not answer. I know there is more than there was a year ago.

Q. How do you know it?

A. Our books will prove that there is more applying to me for work to-day than there was this time last year.

Q. We want you to bring your books here and let us see.

A. I certainly object to bringing my books here to this place or any other place for anybody to see, other than one man.

Q. Who is he?

A. The Labor Commissioner of California. He can have access to my books and can look over them any time he wishes to.

Q. That is because you can't help yourself.

A. That is because I like him to look over them.

Q. He has that right anyway.

A. All right; grant that he has, sir.

Q. I notice you advertise here for 386 laborers "no experience required."

A. Yes, sir.

Q. \$60 and \$75 a month?

A. Correct.

Q. How many days off a month for them?

A. Thirty days in a month for a great many of them.

Q. How many days off for these men in a month?

A. No days off at all. They work every day, including Sundays—some of them.

Q. Every one of them?

A. Not every one of them.

Q. How many?

- A. I could not say; I don't know. You don't want me to give you a rough guess at anything, do you—you want facts?
- A. That is what I am trying to give you, sir.
- Q. No; I want that fine measure of accuracy you possess.
- Q. Well, we have at last found one thing you don't know.
- A. I don't know that.
- A. There are jobs set down in the advertisement at \$70 a month. Where are they?
- A. I know where some of them are—they are going to work on the levees and cutting tules. For that kind of work they get \$60 a month and fare up there. It is up on the Sacramento River.
- Q. With these thousands of men that can't get work here because of the labor unions, it ought not to take you long to get 386 laborers with no experience required, at \$60 or \$70 a month.
- A. All men are not seeking pick and shovel jobs.
- Q. It does not appear from this that they are pick and shovel jobs.
- A. It says "laborers."
- Q. Every man who labors is not a pick and shovel man?
- A. No; because a street-car conductor is a laborer.
- Q. How do you know it?
- A. Because I have hired hundreds of them that run street cars—I have hired them as waiters and farm hands.
- Q. You hired hundreds?
- A. Not hundreds—I will say a hundred—a hundred men now right on the street cars in San Francisco, in my sixteen years' experience in San Francisco. I got them different positions in different parts of the State; some as pick and shovel men and some as farm hands. It doesn't prevent a man running a car because he has been a pick and shovel man.
- Q. What do you know about running a car?
- A. I know it wouldn't take me very long to learn.
- Q. Half an hour?
- A. No; a day or two days.
- Q. Two days?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How do you know you could run a car in two days.
- A. Because any man with common sense and willingness could.
- Q. Are you sure you have common sense?
- A. I don't know whether I would have to go before a doctor, or or whether he would have to examine me. I think I am rational, and in this respect I think I have an advantage over some people. Do you catch on?
- Q. In two days any man of common sense; and you are of that class?
- A. I am.
- Q. Could run a street car?
- A. I don't say that I wouldn't be able to do it better in a year than the first time I started in.
- Q. The fact is, there is not much of anything you couldn't do, is there?
- A. I say, sir, that a man who has got sufficient brain, and will educate those brains up to the standpoint, he can simply lift himself and do thousands of things that he didn't do before.
- Q. Thousands of things?
- A. Yes; thousands of things. I say you, yourself, if you chose to educate your brain and educate it in a certain line of business, could do thousands of things.
- Q. I wouldn't educate my brain for anything.
- A. Probably not.
- Q. I think that is very dangerous.
- A. I don't think the educating of your brain is a dangerous proposition—I think it is good.
- Q. You think it would be all right for me to educate my brain?
- A. I don't say you are not educated already, sir.
- Q. Now, you advertise for 186 drillmen?
- A. That is correct.

Q. What does a driller have to do?

A. A driller is a man who has to work in a tunnel or a mine or a class of work amongst stone.

Q. What do you pay him?

A. In some places \$2.25 a day; in quarries, \$2.25 and \$2.50. In other places they get \$90 a month, according to where he works and what kind of work he does. In mines drillmen get \$70 a month and some \$75. In quarries in and around San Francisco, \$2.25 a day, up to \$2.50.

Q. Let me read you some of the persons you are advertising for in this one advertisement in the *Examiner*, August 3, 1903. You want, according to this advertisement, thousands of men——

A. Does it say thousands?

Q. It says "thousands going;" I suppose you want them.

A. It says "thousands going."

Q. They are going without being wanted?

A. But that means all the way down the line—thousands are wanted in every business, but not altogether in one job.

Q. The next call is for 666 men?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is for the Southern Pacific Division?

A. Well, we have had that once.

Q. The next you want is 155 Italians, and for some marvelous reason you want just 155 Greeks, and by some similarity of fact you want 155 Australians. In addition to those you want ten machine miners?

A. Correct.

Q. You want 186 miners, single and double hand; machine men, muckers, timber men, and furnace men; and you want 386 laborers for which no experience is required?

A. Correct.

Q. You want 186 drillers, and 12 laborers for a mine, 12 men for stables, 125 men for farms, 250 men for orchards, 65 men for dairies, 36 men and boys for chores?

A. Correct.

Q. 63 men for hay, harvest, 36 fruit pickers, 39 teamsters, 555 laborers, and a lot of men, no numbers mentioned for coachmen, gardeners, private choremens, 68 blacksmiths, 9 helpers, 12 bench hands, 9 carpenters, 5 plasterers, 5 machinists, carriage makers, 12 coopers, 9 brick molders, 995 laborers for whom no experience is wanted, 186 experienced mill and yard men, 383 woodsmen, stickermen, spooltenders, buckers, trackmen, blacksmith and wood turners, barkers and car loaders, jackscrewers, log loaders, shingle sawyers, Dolbeer loggers, carriage setters, swamper and rimmers, gang edgermen, oilers and engineers, saw filers, pond men, band sawyers, carriage loggers, chain tenders, shingle packers, jointers, chute builders, 386 woodchoppers, and so forth; 57 cooks, 18 waiters, 36 pot and dishwashers, 18 bell and elevator boys, porter, second cook for mine, 21 laundrymen, 6 bakers and helpers, 12 boys to learn trades, 12 boys for a box factory, 15 laborers general work, 2 screw setters, 2 off bearers, 10 cross-cutters for woods work, 25 laborers to pile lumber, 9 carpenters to build barns, sheds, and so forth; 6 carpenters for factory, 25 men amongst fruits, 25 laborers, big lumber trust; 26 teamsters, laborers and axmen, 3 machinists, 5 laborers, 2 laborers to run cars, mine; 2 stablemen, city job; bakef for city institution, 2 laborers to run cars in mine, 4 men about threshing outfit, stableman, wash cans; butcher, waiter, milker, bar-tender, 2 carriage setters, 6 hay-makers, blacksmith, 3 furnace men for mine, 3 carpenters, painter and tinter, assayer, gold mine; 6 drillers, 4 muckers." Are all these persons wanted by you?

A. They are, sir, every one of them.

Q. Out of these thousands of persons applying you obtain employment for how many?

A. I guess we find employment for seven hundred people.

Q. Of whom you will send out of the city over 200?

A. We will send out of the city 650 of them.

Q. To-day?

A. Yes. If we get thirty employment to-day in the City and County of San Francisco we have done a big thing—if we get thirty out of seven hundred people that we have found employment for we have done a big business.

Q. Out of the three or four thousand men who have applied or will apply before the day is over, you will obtain positions for only about thirty in this city?

A. In this city, about thirty people; and I would question whether we have found even thirty.

Q. Is that a fair average?

A. That would be a good average per day.

Q. For all sorts?

A. In this city for everything—skilled and unskilled—no female help—male help we are speaking of.

Q. That has been a fair average for the employment for the last year?

A. A fair average for the last, say, year.

Q. Thirty a day, skilled and unskilled?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is less than 10,000 of your 45,000 that you give employment to in San Francisco?

A. Yes.

Q. And of the 35,000 others you have given employment to in the interior of this State or other States?

A. In the country—the Pacific Coast.

Q. What percentage of the 35,000 outside of San Francisco are given employment in the interior of this State?

A. That is a hard question to answer, because we ship to Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Hawaiian Islands. Of course, the mass of them are in the State of California.

Q. Would you think as many as 30,000 in California?

A. No; I don't think that—it could not be 30,000; I would not be so sure of that.

Q. Do you think as many as 25,000 of these 35,000 were given employment in California?

A. I should say that was about it.

Q. Then your 45,000 of last year was made up in this way: Not more than 10,000 in San Francisco, skilled and unskilled, and 25,000 in the State other than San Francisco?

A. I think somewhere along there.

Q. There is not much of a movement then from the interior to San Francisco, if you find it easy to place 25,000 persons in a year in the interior of the State—the movement is from the city to the country instead of from the country to the city?

A. The movement is from the East. A great mass of labor comes from the East and of course it touches San Francisco first and they try to get work in the city, and, failing to do it, they go into the interior.

Q. Then the interior instead of having a surplus of labor, absorbs this 25,000 a year?

A. Yes; and more than that if they could be got.

Q. 25,000 you placed this year, and you didn't place more because there were not more applicants?

A. I didn't place more because there were no more applicants to go to the country.

Q. You could have placed more?

A. 50,000 more in the interior of the State if there had been applicants. I could do that to-day provided I could get the applicants for to-morrow.

Q. San Francisco is the distributing point from the East?

A. Yes.

Q. Men coming from the East use this as a distributing point to scatter over the Pacific Coast States?

A. Yes.

Q. You handle this large number of persons because there is a steady stream from the East; it is not a local labor supply.

A. Well, of course, it is this way: Some of the classes we call traveling public, for instance, you take the miners and farmers and that class of labor, they get tired of the country and want to come to San Francisco; and then they are here for a few days or a few weeks—they quit the job in the part of the country they are and want to see if they can get a job in another part of the country, and they come to San Francisco. Then a great number of country people, especially farmers' sons, unfortunately for them, too, they come to San Francisco and want to locate here and go to work right here, but they can't do it; so they find out they have to go back again to the country—they shift around, and, of course, the immigration from the East is large.

Q. These laborers, 386, whom you advertised for at \$60 to 70 a month—are they for the interior of California?

A. Does it not read "for city and country"?

Q. No; it does not say that.

A. Well, I think the *Examiner* has left it out then—it should include "city and country;" of course, the great mass are for the country.

Q. These men to whom you give \$60 and \$75 a month—you will have no difficulty in filling the places, will you?

A. We will have no difficulty in filling the high-class positions with some class of labor, but the difficulty is to fill the pick and shovel laborers.

Q. Men don't want to work for less than \$2 a day, do they?

A. Not at this season of the year; the supply and demand, of course, covers that.

Q. They want \$2 to \$2.50 a day for it?

A. They want all they can get, I guess.

Q. Well, you come in contact with these men and understand what they want; they want \$2 and \$2.50 a day, don't they?

A. If it is a short job they want more wages than if it was a steady job. A man won't expect as much on a steady job as on a short job.

Q. What is the ruling rate for ten hours a day for pick and shovel men—the rate at which you can get men?

A. That is impossible to answer, because some sections of the country are higher and some less.

Q. Well, San Francisco?

A. San Francisco, \$2 a day.

Q. You can't get men for that for pick and shovel work, can you?

A. Well, I can for \$1.75 a day, some classes of work.

Q. What classes of work?

A. Around factories—any hard work.

Q. Have you within the last month?

A. I have hired them to-day.

Q. What are the names of some of them?

A. The names of the men or the names of the firms I am sending to?

Q. The firms.

A. I don't care to give the names of my customers away. I don't think I should come up here and state to you with whom we are doing business. I don't think that would be doing right.

Q. You are hiring men for \$1.75 a day to-day?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. To work ten hours a day?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. An ordinary day's labor?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of them?

A. I don't remember. I can remember of hiring two or three myself.

Q. Give me the names of these men you hired.

A. I could not tell you that. They are on the books.

Q. Can't you give any names to me?

- A. I can if you wish it.
- Q. I do.
- A. Well, your wish will be gratified.
- Q. But the ruling rate here is \$2 a day for pick and shovel work, in this town?
- A. The ruling rate is \$2 a day. In all that kind of work they board themselves.
- Q. In this kind of ordinary pick and shovel work no experience is required?
- A. No experience is required. You require a good strong man—that is about all. Willingness is the great feature.
- Q. Now, you advertise for 39 teamsters in San Francisco, \$22 a week, \$2 to \$2.50 a day.
- A. \$2 and \$2.50 a day—that is right. Some are wanted to drive teams in San Francisco, \$22 a week; \$2 a day on sand wagons—
- Q. Do the sand wagon men work ten hours a day?
- A. Work ten hours a day.
- Q. Union men?
- A. I don't know anything about union men, sir. I don't know any distinction between man and man, sir.
- Q. Now, give me the name of some man that works for \$2 a day and more than eight hours a day.
- A. I could not give you his name right here. I could give plenty of them down at the office—any amount of them.
- Q. Well, give me some of these names.
- A. But I want you to understand me that I am not going to give you the names of the employers.
- Q. All right.
- A. Because that would be violating confidence, you know.
- Q. I wouldn't have you violate a confidence.
- A. No.
- Q. Because I want you to make a good success of your business.
- A. Thank you.
- Q. Men working in the hay harvest are paid \$1.50 and \$2.50 a day and found?
- A. Yes; that is correct.
- Q. And men who work at fruit picking are paid \$26 a month and found?
- A. Correct.
- Q. You advertise here for 555 laborers for the country at \$2 and \$2.50 a day. How does it happen that they are getting so much?
- A. \$2 is what they have been getting a day in San Francisco here. \$2.50 for classes of work that is worth more than \$2—for instance, cutting tules up on the river, they are standing in the water all day long; that is worth more than anything else.
- Q. Then it is \$2 in both country and city.
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Men are not working for less in the city than they are in the country, are they?
- A. Well, taking an average all around and they would be getting less wages here than in the country.
- A. Yes, I do know, sir—that is plainly answered. They have not
- Q. Why don't they go to the country then, do you know?
- the accomodations in the country they have in the city—they haven't got what they want. They want to be the same as you and I do. They want to live among civilization once in a while and go to the theatre and see their friends and elevate themselves. They can't do that on a ranch—that is the reason why. That is the reason that all cities grow as they do. They strike from the farms to the city. Of course, you know that without my mentioning it.
- Q. Thank you for the sociological lecture.
- A. Well, you asked me and I answered it, sir.
- Q. Blacksmiths at \$3 a day for the country?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Of course, you don't know whether any of those men are union or non-union?

A. I know of no distinction between man and man.

Q. You know no distinction between a demagogue and the other fellow?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. You want 68 blacksmiths at \$3 a day. How long will it take you to supply 68 blacksmiths at \$3 a day?

A. It is owing to the condition of the labor market. It will take some time at this season of the year.

Q. Blacksmith's helpers at \$2 a day now?

A. Some, and some get more, sir.

Q. How much more?

A. From \$1.75 to \$2.25 a day—it is according to the years experience he has had.

Q. Plasterers \$5. 50 a day—is that right?

A. If it states it there it is correct.

Q. Brickmolders \$2.50 a day. Do you have any difficulty in getting brickmolders at that?

A. Yes; I guess we have great difficulty in getting brickmolders at \$2.50.

Q. Here is a bunch of laborers wanted, 995, no experience?

A. Yes, sir.

Yes, sir.

Q. \$35 to \$70 a month and found?

A. For the lumber trust—that is for the lumber trust.

Q. No experience is required?

A. None whatever. They are to go in the mountains and handle lumber. All that is wanted is a laboring man with strength and with a pair of hands willing to work—that is all they want of him—to do what he is told.

Q. Mill and yard men, that is around the sawmills?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You offer from \$40 to \$150 a month and found. That is right, is it?

A. There are different classes of labor. They range from men to pile lumber to a man to run the mill.

MR MOORE: These lumbering regions are very remote from San Francisco, are they not?

A. Yes, sir; Mendocino County, Shasta County and Sonoma County.

MR. LIVERNASH: Mendocino County is not remote from here.

A. It is not very far away from here, but you can't get up there frequently. You can't tap the labor market in a minute. You have to wait until the steamer goes; sometimes they only go once a week, and sometimes two or three times a week, it is according to the seasons—there are no cars.

Q. What is the use of talking such nonsense? Mendocino County is not remote.

A. Mendocino County is a remote county from the City and County of San Francisco, and there are no railroads in there.

Q. A railroad runs up to Willits.

A. That is true; but there are not any running up to Fort Bragg.

Q. There is a stage route from Willits to Fort Bragg.

A. And how long does it take you to go?

Q. About a day.

A. And how long would it take you if you left Fort Bragg to go to San Francisco?

Q. About two days.

A. Well, I think a place that would take you two days is remote.

Q. There are regular steamers plying between here and Fort Bragg in the lumber trade.

A. How often?

Q. Not very often during the strike that is going on.

A. During the strike they go oftener than they did before. I don't say they are taking so many laborers, but the steamers are running oftener.

Q. Well, where you are so completely off I don't care to argue with you. I have the information. Andrew Furuseth told me so last night.

A. Andrew ought to know what he is talking about. I believe that is right.

Q. Now, you offer here to dishwashers \$20 a month and found?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You want thirty-six?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have any difficulty in getting them for that?

A. Yes, sir; some difficulty. A man don't want to go and wash dishes when he can pick fruit.

Q. Elevator boys, bed makers, and so forth, \$30 to \$45 a month and found?

A. What is the figure?

Q. \$30 to \$45 a month and found—elevator boys, porters and bed makers.

A. They are for different places.

Q. Some you want for as low as \$30 and some you say \$45.

A. Some as high as \$40, and they go down to \$15.

Q. You don't so advertise?

A. What is the use of advertising? You can't get them.

Q. You say your advertisement is strictly truthful?

A. Yes; but there is no use to advertise for \$15-men now. You can't get any man for \$15 to wash dishes or make beds.

Q. \$30 and found—can you find them?

A. I can find them. I can get the right kind of men.

Q. You have places for eighteen men of this sort?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The lowest price \$30 and the highest \$45?

A. No, sir.

Q. Then what does your advertisement mean?

A. Exactly what is says for those men; but I have also places for men at \$15—more than the number you are speaking of. That is correct, sir; we want that number of men at those wages right there.

Q. But you will have difficulty in getting them, wont you?

A. Well, we will fill a great many of them.

Q. How long will it take you to fill those eighteen places?

A. Probably to-day or to-morrow, or probably two or three days. We will fill them as soon as possible.

Q. 21 laundrymen, all classes, "\$18 a week up"—up to what?

A. About \$20.

Q. \$18 to \$20. Is that a fair rate for laundrymen in the interior?

A. In the interior—in Arizona, somewhere.

Q. How much do you pay a baker's helper in the interior?

A. It is according to where he is located—\$25 and sometimes \$40, and whether it is a big shop or a small shop. It is all according to the work.

Q. A baker gets \$40 and found?

A. Bakers, yes, sir, and more.

Q. Do you have any trouble in getting them for that?

A. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. It is according to the supply—that is all.

Q. I see you advertise here, 5 laborers, board yourselves, 15 cents fare, \$2.25 a day?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where are they to be employed?

A. Well, across the bay—a government job—not a government job, but a State job. I won't say government job.

Q. State jobs are eight hours, aren't they?

A. This is eight hours.

Q. It does not say eight hours.

A. It should say eight hours.

Q. What kind of labor?

A. Pick and shovel work.

Q. You advertise for four men to work about threshing outfit. Is that ordinary labor?

A. They have to be ordinary labor to work very long hours at threshing at this season of the year.

Q. You offer \$35 and found for stableman, wash cans, city?

A. Correct. He does both works.

Q. To hay makers you offer \$40 a month and found?

A. \$1.50 a day.

Q. If the San Francisco Labor Council and the Building Trades Council put a boycott on the United Railroads, in how long do you think you could get a thousand men to work for the United Railroads as platform men?

A. If the labor unions were boycotting them?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, it wouldn't take very long.

Q. Well, how long? You would get them in a day, wouldn't you?

A. No; but I think I could get them in two.

Q. Get a thousand men?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In case there was a boycott?

A. Yes, sir; and providing that they had the protection that they want—provided they had the protection of the law.

Q. The soldiers and the police?

A. Well, I don't know whether they would need them. If it comes to that the city could not take hold of it the State might.

Q. What kind of protection do you have in mind?

A. Just this: that if a man is allowed to go about his business in a peaceful avocation, I could get that number of men in about two days who would be only too willing; and, furthermore, with an advertisement in the *Chronicle, Call, Examiner*—a statement that I wanted that number of men, they would swarm to the city, providing I could guarantee them they would be protected.

Q. From where?

A. From the farm, the orchard, the dairy, the ordinary laborers, to get work on street cars, because he would like that kind of work.

Q. There would be a great exodus from the country to the city?

A. Yes, sir; if they could only find work here.

Q. Thousands and thousands of men from the interior are just waiting to come to San Francisco?

A. They would like to come here if there was work for them.

Q. And on the other hand, thousands and thousands from here are ready to go to the country?

A. They are forced to go to the country or starve.

Q. There is a tremendous movement back and forwards?

A. Yes, sir. You do not need to take the statement from me—you can see them on the Stockton boat going out to their work—going out to put great corns on their hands, because they cannot get work here.

Q. They cannot get work in San Francisco?

A. Yes; that is what they are looking for.

Q. What are they looking for?

A. For work to earn an honest day's living, sir.

Q. What kind of work?

A. Any kind; skilled or unskilled.

Q. Men are just flocking in from all places—not only from the farms, but everywhere, and all classes of labor?

A. There is a great immigration from the East, and then they come in from the interior, and they come right here, and they want to go to work in this City and County of San Francisco, but they can't go to work.

Q. On account of these terrible trade unions?

A. On account of the conditions of the labor market as it is now handled by the trade unions of this city.

Q. Are the labor unions handling the labor market here?

A. I claim that they are handling it to-day; yes, sir.

Q. Thirty men a day is all you can get employment for?

A. That is all I can find employment for in the City and County of San Francisco, because I haven't the positions to give them.

Q. There is no demand for laborers?

A. There would be provided we were under the right kind of circumstances.

Q. What do you mean by the right kind of circumstances?

A. I mean that if you were allowed to employ who you want and discharged who you liked, if he didn't work to suit you, and the depression would not be as it is to-day in the labor market in the City and County of San Francisco. I claim further, sir, that there are millions of dollars tied up in our banks waiting to be invested when employers can employ who they want and discharge who they want to.

Q. Millions of dollars?

A. Millions of dollars in the banks in the City and County of San Francisco.

Q. Just waiting investment?

A. Capitalists are willing to put it in buildings and other things provided that they know that they may hire and discharge whom they like, and are not at the dictation of agitators and walking delegates.

Q. Oh, you have heard of a walking delegate, have you?

A. I have seen them, sir.

Q. Did they bother you much?

A. No, they don't; they bother me but little.

Q. Not as much as demagogues?

A. They associate with them.

Q. They are just like them, in fact?

A. Well, birds of a feather flock together, sir.

Q. Walking delegates—business agents of the unions?

A. Walking delegates—a man who interferes in your business and mine.

Q. You are not able to hire men for the Fort Bragg situation?

A. I have been able to hire men for the Fort Bragg situation, and if you wish to know how many I guess my books will prove it. To-day, before I came up here, the manager was inside the office and he and I together hired twenty-four men and those men are going to Fort Bragg to-day or to-morrow.

MR. MOORE: Fort Bragg is in Mendocino County?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where there is a strike on?

A. Yes, sir; where there is a strike on; and the men have been told that there is a strike on there or a lockout, and they were also told by myself personally: "Gentlemen, if you want to work for them, go and work for them. Listen to none of those demagogues and agitators—take my advice. If you are a man and want to work for them, go; but if you don't want to work for them don't go."

MR. LIVERNASH: Fort Bragg is a little village in Mendocino County?

A. Village, you call it?

Q. Yes; a little sea-coast village on the Mendocino coast. I have been up there many times, near where are great forests of redwoods which are worked by big milling companies.

A. I believe great forests of redwood are there.

Q. The principal milling company is now having trouble with its employees and the labor unions, and you are engaged in supplying men to take the places of union men?

A. Not to take the place of any union man up there that I know of, because I don't know that there are any union men there. I am employing men to work—not to take the place of no man—to take the place of those that are vacant. They are not going to take anyone's place. There is not anyone there or they wouldn't want a man.

Q. A few months ago there were hundreds of men working for the Fort Bragg Lumber Company in the redwoods around Fort Bragg. Isn't that true?

A. I believe there were.

Q. And then there was the formation of a union and a strike?

A. I know nothing of the formation of a union or a strike.

A. You don't know a thing about a union under any possible circumstances; but you know there is a strike up there?

A. I heard it said there was, but that is hearsay evidence. I will answer that question: I don't know positively that there is, but I have been informed by the Union Lumber Company that there is a lockout and strike, and I have told every employee that has gone there of such conditions; but as a matter of fact, I know nothing to my personal knowledge. I was never there.

Q. Lucky man—you wouldn't dare to go there.

A. If I was in the city of Fort Bragg to-day I would receive the same consideration that you or anyone else would receive.

MR. MOORE: He says you do not dare to go there.

A. Well, we will leave that out, whether I dare or dare not go. I would travel in any part that there is in this world and have generally done it. I fear no man, but obey laws of every country I have been in, which includes the greater part of the world.

MR. LIVERNASH: You have not been to the north pole?

A. I could not get there. If you can I can.

Q. I know if any man can do it, you can do it. You, in point of fact, were employed by the Fort Bragg Lumber Company some weeks ago to supply the places of men who are on strike. Is not that the plain, blunt truth?

A. I was not engaged to employ men to take the places of those that were on strike or anything of the kind. I was to employ men to work in those lumber mills and camps.

Q. Didn't you tell me that you knew, at the time Mr. Dunnigan applied, that there was a strike on up there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said that the man who told you was as truthful as God Almighty?

A. He was.

Q. Then you did know about that time that there was a strike on there?

A. The lumber company had given us that information, and I believe their information would be true, sir. I did then and I do now.

Q. Then you do believe that there is a strike on there and has been for some time?

A. I believe there has been a strike and lockout for some length of time, and I believe it is on there now.

Q. You have been, in point of fact, sending men up for the Fort Bragg company, where the men were on strike. You know that, don't you?

A. You say I knew the men were on a strike? I know what the lumber men told me.

Q. You have been sending men up there from your employment agency to perform the work that those men who are on strike used to perform?

A. I don't know that those men who were on strike were there. I only know what was told me. I know if you give me a position to fill, I know that the man I have is going to go there if he wants to go, sir.

Q. How many men have you sent up there to work for the Fort Bragg Company?

A. I could not say, sir.

Q. You have not sent as many as a thousand, have you?

A. No.

Q. As many as five hundred?

A. I don't know.

Q. More than ten?

A. Yes; I shipped more than ten to-day.

Q. More than a hundred?

A. Yes, sir; more than two hundred.

Q. More than three hundred?

A. Well, probably three hundred would be about the mark—probably more. I wouldn't say now.

- Q. How many men did the Fort Bragg company want?
 A. I don't know. I know when they gave me the order for men I filled it.
- Q. How many men have they told you to employ altogether?
 A. Fifteen to-day and I got them.
- Q. How many men altogether did the Fort Bragg company ask you to get for them?
 A. They asked me to get a certain number of men on certain days and I got them.
- Q. How many?
 A. They never told me they wanted ten thousand or one thousand.
- Q. How many men altogether have they told you to get them?
 A. I could not say that without looking over the books.
- Q. Five hundred?
 A. They got all they wanted—all they asked for.
- Q. Three hundred?
 A. If they asked for three hundred they got three hundred, and if they asked for five they got five.
- Q. You have sent up three hundred men?
 A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did you have any difficulty in getting them?
 A. Well, some of them refused and some did not.
- Q. Why did they refuse—those who refused?
 A. Some of them said they didn't want to go and work up there—they heard there was a strike on there and they didn't want to go there.
- Q. Where did they hear it?
 A. It was in plain English language in front of Murray & Ready's office on a bulletin board.
- Q. When did you put it there?
 A. I didn't put it there. The labor unions put it there to boycott—not that has been the means of keeping men away. It has kept some away and I have sent others up there.
- Q. It makes an addition to your business?
 A. An addition to the business of the Union Lumber Company. Scores of men never knew there was a Union Lumber Company before, and have been induced to work there.
- Q. Scores of men have been induced to work there?
 A. Yes, sir.
- Q. How do you know that?
 A. Some have gone up there and said how they came to go there—the Union Lumber Company said so to me.
- Q. The Union Lumber Company said so to you and therefore you knew it?
 A. I know it as a matter of fact, that three did because that three men told me so themselves.
- Q. Three is not very many.
 A. I will say three that I know of.
- Q. From a man who has been handling big figures like you, three does not strike me at all.
 A. And from information I received from others I know a great many went up there.
- Q. How much have you been paying those men?
 A. From \$35 a month up—they are for different work. Common laborer is \$35 a month and board.
- Q. For how many hours a day.
 A. Ten hours.
- Q. You have not had much difficulty in getting men?
 A. I told you if they wanted twenty, they got twenty; and if they wanted ten, they got ten.
- Q. There was not so much difficulty then?
 A. Not so much difficulty, no.
- Q. All the advertisements you have been publishing are equally as truthful as the one we have been dealing with this afternoon?
 A. What advertisements are you alluding to? Then I will talk about them.

Q. I will give you the benefit of a blanket statement. All your advertisements.

A. All my advertisements are true; I know that they are true.

Q. They are absolutely true?

A. They are absolutely true, yes.

Q. How much are you spending per annum for your advertisements?

A. I could not say.

Q. So large a sum that you could not carry the figures around with you?

A. I could not say; and it would be poor business for me to tell what my expenses or what my profits are.

Q. I don't care about your profits.

A. I know that I am paying the *Examiner* about \$100 a week and the *Chronicle* and *Call* about the same. I think I am paying about \$300 a week for advertising in the papers.

Q. Then in this congested labor market you are paying \$300 a week to advertise for men?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you advertise in the Eastern cities?

A. Well, don't you think you are going a little bit too far to ask that?

Q. No; I do not.

A. Well, I do, sir.

Q. How much do you spend there?

A. I would answer that question by saying—about the Eastern cities—that I, like many other business men in San Francisco, will contribute money that the city can be circulated in the editorial and other papers, showing the benefits of the State, to get the Eastern people to come out here—make a boom for the State. Yes, sir; I spend a great deal of money for that.

Q. Aren't you just a little bit ashamed of yourself to persuade people to come out here among these thousands of men unemployed.

A. No. I am not spending money in the East to get labor to come out, but people to take the land and build up our State.

Q. You didn't have in mind that sort of thing, did you, when you advertised for specific persons such as mentioned here?

A. Do you mean do I advertise in any Eastern papers for help wanted?

Q. Yes.

A. No, I don't.

Q. Is this \$3600 or \$4000 dollars a month all you spend for advertising or help wanted?

MR. MOORE: You don't have to answer that.

A. I don't want to answer that.

MR. LIVERNASH: I think the Arbitration Committee will rule otherwise, but I don't want to bother about it. I think it is important to know what this man pays for advertising in the market that he represents to be congested. That is all.

MR. MOORE: That is all.



Lager

God knows the Contractor is Right

WORDY WAR AT THE HEARING

Criticism of the Labor Unions by a Witness Causes Long Wrangle.

SAYS WORKINGMEN ARE DRIVEN OUT OF CITY.

Case of the Company to Be Completed To-Day and the Matter Will Go Before the Board at an Early Date.

At the carmen's arbitration hearing yesterday retorts courteous and at times discourteous were exchanged with great frequency. The trouble began when Attorney Moore, for the United Railroads, presented in evidence the statement of Herbert V. Ready of the firm of Murray & Ready, employment agents, to the effect that the supply of labor in the San Francisco market is greater than the demand and that on one week's notice 1000 men, capable of running street cars, could be easily obtained for work in this city.

Attorney Livernash objected to this statement being offered in evidence unless the affiant was subjected to cross-examination. He stated that he believed Ready to be an unscrupulous man, who conducted his agency on unbusinesslike lines, and that he was distinctly an enemy of trade-unions in this city.

Moore stated that he would produce the witness, and Ready was on hand at the afternoon hearing, evidently primed for a wordy encounter with the irate attorney for the carmen. After a little preliminary sparring Livernash started the trouble.

"Your establishment is the headquarters in this city for 'scabs,' is it not?"

inquired the attorney.

"I don't know what a 'scab' is," replied the witness. "I wish that you would tell me."

"Well, never mind about that. The fact of the matter is that you are at present under arrest for defrauding persons seeking employment by misrepresenting conditions in order to cause them to go to work, are you not?"

SAYS HIS IS A TEST CASE.

"No, I am charged with violating a so-called law because I got men to work for the Union Lumber Company in Mendocino county, where there is a strike or a lockout at present. The unions caused my arrest and I am testing the law."

"How many men go into your office seeking work in a day?"

"On an average from 3000 to 4000."

"Are you speaking the absolute truth when you say that?"

"I am as truthful as they make them," calmly replied Ready.

"Well, you sometimes need the police to manage a crowd like that, do you not?"

"Well, we only need the police when demagogues and walking delegates come around the place. They make a business of making trouble."

"You do not know what a 'scab' is, but you do know a demagogue when you see one?" demanded the attorney.

"Sure, I know what a demagogue is," admitted the witness, looking steadily at Livernash.

Finally after a statement from Livernash that he believed the witness thought him to be a demagogue, Ready said that so long as the attorney admitted it, he believed he was.

"And you think labor agitators want to run everything, do you not?" asked the carmen's attorney.

"Well, pretty much."

"Are they bad citizens?"

LABOR SUPPLY EXCEEDS DEMAND.

"A good many are not citizens at all," replied the witness.

Livernash waived the matter, and inquired of the witness if the supply of ordinary labor in San Francisco exceeded the demand, to which he received an affirmative answer.

"Well, what do you consider the reason for that?" asked the attorney.

"The reason is due to unions. A man cannot get work in this city unless he belongs to a union, and to join one he has to pay from \$10 to \$15. When he tries to go to work on a job he is told that only union men are employed and that he cannot have work. The result is that thousands of working men are each year forced to go into the interior to get work, when they are eager to find work in this city. Millions of dollars are lying idle in the banks because the investors refuse to use their money for

business purposes unless they can do business without being interfered with. It is for this reason that, while there is a great influx of men from the East and from the interior of the State to San Francisco, the newcomers find that they cannot get work and are driven back to the farms, section work on the railroads and other interior occupations. To-day there are more men seeking work in San Francisco than there were at this same time one year ago, and the cause of it all is unionism."

"You evidently do not believe in unions," said Livernash with sarcasm.

UNIONISM MAKING HIM RICH.

"They are making me rich," declared the witness, in a voice that could be heard all over the building, "but it is at the expense of the working people of this city. Every year I get work for 45,000 men, because it is known that I am boycotted for considering one man as good as another, whether he belongs to a union or whether he does not. I believe that any man who wants work is entitled to it, and as a result the corporations come to me for help. But the unions are so strong in this city that to every thirty men that I get work for here I am obliged to send 600 to the country."

"And with 4000 men coming into your office each day asking for jobs; how many union men do you get work for?" inquired Livernash.

"Well, I get a few union jobs each day. To-day I got three; and I do not average any more than that."

The witness went on to explain that he believed in unions, so far as they went toward helping the workmen at their trades, but that he thought that in this city the labor organizations were completely in the hands of unprincipled men, who used them to their own advantage. In response to questions by Livernash the witness said that the unions were boycotting all who opposed them, and hurting business generally, in such a way that they hurt the interests of the workmen.

REFUTES CARMEN'S TESTIMONY.

Most of the morning session of the hearing was taken up by the introduction of a variety of statements as evidence. Attorney Moore read one which he had compiled himself, showing that when the carmen were testifying to the prices of certain commodities the daily papers of the city were advertising the same commodities at a much lower rate. For instance, when the carmen claimed that creamery but-

GIVES HIS IDEA OF DEMAGOGUES

Employment Agent Says They Are Usually Foreigners.

Street Railway Arbitration Proceedings Somewhat Enlivened.

At the arbitration proceedings between the carmen and the United Railroads yesterday a statement from Herbert V. Ready of the firm of Murray & Ready, employment agents, was read. In it he stated that between 3000 and 4000 idle men visited the employment office every working day in the week, and that he could secure in two days 1000 men willing to work as motormen and gripmen in this city.

Attorney Livernash objected to the filing of Ready's statement on the grounds that it was incompetent and irrelevant. Livernash also said that Ready was an unscrupulous man, opposed to trade unionism. He wound up his objection by requesting that Ready be produced at the afternoon session for cross-examination.

The employment agent was on hand as requested and Livernash's first question was:

"Your place is the headquarters for scabs, is it not?"

"I don't know the meaning of the word 'scab,'" answered the witness, seemingly bristling for a fight.

"Well, you will know before I get through with you," Livernash assured him.

THOUSANDS ASK WORK.

"I must admit I have heard the word used on the street," said Ready.

Continuing under cross-examination, Ready said that between 90,000 and 100,000 men called last month at his employment office. Livernash tried to get Ready to retract this statement, but the employment agent could not be shaken.

"Well, if you have so many men calling there, I suppose you need quite a force of police to keep them in order," said Livernash.

"No, I have no trouble with the men at all," replied Ready. "Once in a while, however, I have to call a police officer and get him to remove a demagogue from the sidewalk."

"What do you call a demagogue?" asked Livernash.

After deep study Ready replied: "I think a demagogue is a man that raises trouble. He does not know his own business, and tries to meddle in other people's."

"I like to see a man work by the sweat of his hands and brow," continued the witness. "I like to see a man make an honest living by work, even if it is by the pick and shovel."

"When did you last work with a pick and shovel?" asked Livernash with a sneer.

"I struck San Francisco sixteen years ago with just \$1 in my pocket," replied Ready proudly. "I had a roll of blankets and I worked for a while with a pick and shovel in the streets of San Francisco for \$2 a day."

USUALLY NOT CITIZENS.

Livernash turned back again to the many thousands of men that visited Ready's office looking for work. He wanted to be informed how the place was kept in order with such vast crowds of men visiting there.

"Oh, I told you before," said Ready, "the only trouble we have is with demagogues and occasionally some poor, old drunk that floats in."

"Well, you must think the demagogues pretty bad citizens, do you not, Mr. Ready?" he was asked by the carmen's counsel.

"The trouble of it is that a great number of them are not citizens at all," was the witness' quick reply.

Ready was on the witness stand all the afternoon and bitterly complained of trade unionism as a hindrance to the State. He said that thousands of men were forced out into the country and compelled to work picking fruit and doing rough railroad work, when they would like to remain in the city. He said that these men were forced out of the city, as they were unable to put up the \$10 or \$15 necessary to gain an admittance to a trade union.

UNIFORMS ARE CHEAPER.

Ready said also that the officials of the Union Lumber Company at Fort Bragg had sent to him for men to take the place of the locked-out millmen and that he had no difficulty in getting men to go up there and take the places of the strikers. He also said that, could he be assured police protection, he could get at any time 1000 men to take the places of the carmen in this city. He said that should he advertise for 1000 carmen thousands of farmhands and others employed in the country would come to the city at once.

EMPLOYMENT AGENT ON THE LABOR QUESTION

Herbert V. Ready Tells Arbitration Commission How He Proposes to Raise 1,000 Platform Men in This City.

Admits He Was Recently Arrested on Charge of Fraudulently Misrepresenting Labor Conditions in Mendocino.

Herbert V. Ready, an employment and labor agent of this city, testified before the street carmen's Arbitration Commission yesterday in support of the contention of the United Railroads that the supply exceeds the demand for the quality of labor performed by the platform men in the company's employ. There was introduced in evidence a written statement by Ready setting forth that from 3,000 to 4,000 idle men visited the offices of Murray & Ready daily in search of employment. The witness gave it as his opinion that with a week's notice he could raise 1,000 men competent and willing to take the places of platform men who might be unwilling to work at the present rate of wages.

Congressman Livernash, representing the carmen, demanded that Ready be produced for cross-examination. He objected to the statement offered in evidence on the ground that its author was "an unprincipled and unscrupulous man, whose employment agency is conducted along lines unfriendly to trades unions." The company's counsel, Mr. Moore, acceded to Mr. Livernash's demand and produced the witness in person.

After some preliminary questioning upon the number of applicants for work to be found in the establishment conducted by the witness at various hours of the day and night, Mr. Livernash inquired: "Is not your establishment the headquarters for scabs in this town?" This opened a two-handed discussion. Ready declared with emphasis

that he did not know the meaning of the word used by counsel. He called upon heaven to witness that he made no distinctions between men, were they members of a union or not, but that his offers of employment were open to all who could "fill the bill." The fact that he had been arrested within the past six months on a charge of swindling customers by misrepresenting the labor conditions in Mendocino county ought not to count against him, he thought. He was prepared to show by his attorney that the courts had no jurisdiction of that matter. It was not true, he said, that he had told an "Examiner" representative there was no strike at Fort Bragg. "The Examiner" man applied for work in the Mendocino lumber camps and was told he could go to work for the L. E. White Company. "He was engaged by my brother," said the witness, "and was informed there was a strike up there."

"How do you know he was told that?" asked Congressman Livernash.

"Because my brother told me so, and my brother's word is as good as the gods in heaven," replied the witness with much fervor.

THE WHOLE POPULATION.

According to figures supplied by the witness from 25,000 to 28,000 idle men applied to him every week for employment. By arithmetical computation Mr. Livernash discovered that about one-third the population of San Francisco visited the witness in his business capacity during the month, while the total for a year must reach seven figures. Ready did not dispute the accuracy of these calculations. He was asked:

"With such a crowd as that you must need the police around to clear the streets?"

"No, we don't need them, except when labor agitators and demagogues come around. Then we have them removed by the law," was the reply.

The witness denied that he was an enemy of the unions. He explained that he regarded trades-unionism as all right, when freed from labor agitators, demagogues and leaders. He defined a demagogue as a person who didn't know his own business but was always meddling with the affairs of others. "Unions are all right when they band together for the good of their trades and give themselves better service, but when they interfere with your business and mine they are all wrong, sir," declared Ready. He was aware his employment agency was not looked kindly upon by the unions, but he regarded that as rather fortunate than otherwise. "They are advertising us," he said. "They are turning the wealth of the employers into the hands of Murray & Ready, sir."

The cross-examination lasted all afternoon. Congressman Livernash elicited the fact that while the witness declared he could get 1,000 men for the United Railroads in two days in the face of a boycott, he had so far secured but 300 men for the lumber camps at Fort Bragg.



(From *The Bulletin*, Nov. 4, 1903)

Ten Per Cent to Employes of Two Years' Standing and Five to Those of Less.

NEW YORK, Nov. 4.--The decision of the commission in the San Francisco street railway wage arbitration, handed down today, awards an increase of 10 per cent in wages to employes of two years' standing and of 5 per cent to those of less service. Hours were left unchanged and the wage rate was deemed effective from May 1, 1903, to May 1, 1904. The award was written by Oscar Strauss and assented to by W. D. Mahon, Colonel Patrick Calhoun declining to concur.

The award finds that the wage standard on the Pacific slope and in San Francisco is higher than elsewhere in the United States, and that there has been an advance in the cost of living since April, 1902. Referring to the findings of the Anthracite Strike Commission, Commissioner Strauss expresses his hope and expectation that the award will be binding for many years to come.

The case was of far-reaching importance, interesting directly more than 3,000 employes of the United Street Railways of San Francisco and indirectly employes and trades union men throughout the country.

MORE MONEY FOR STREET CAR MEN

Board of Arbitration at the East
Adjusts Differences Between
the United Railroads Com-
pany and Employes.

HIGHER WAGES, BUT
HOURS ARE THE SAME

Union Leader and Railway Peo-
ple Declare That They Will
Abide by Findings Handed
Down by the Board.

Peaceful settlement of the differences between the United Railroads and the carmen under their employ marks an epoch in the labor situation in the West. It is looked upon by students of the situation as the beginning of the end of strikes on this Coast. The acceptance of the situation amicably by both employers and men is regarded as a healthful indication in the vast and complicated problems that assail the relations of capital and labor today.

Neither side got what it asked for, so the arbitration is what its name signifies, a compromise. It took three months of heated argument and of expert testimony before both sides were willing to submit their cases to the board. The hearings were held in this city, and while they continued the public was daily instructed as to all details of wages and living among conductors, gripmen and motormen of the city. The prices of food, clothing, fuel, rent and other necessities was carefully considered. The railroads submitted elaborate tables showing the costs of operation as well as the items of income.

A. A. Moore conducted the case for the railroads, and the men were also represented by counsel, who spent about \$4000 in prosecuting their claims. They asked for a flat raise of 33 1-3 per cent, with a reduction in working hours from ten to nine. The reasons for asking for the raise were the general advance in the cost of living in San Francisco, the relative higher standard of wages among skilled labor and the general increase in the prosperity of the country and city. The railroad combatted their contentions by showing that the United Railroads paid higher wages to its men than were paid elsewhere in the United States to similar labor with the exception of the wages got by the carmen of Butte, Montana. Their attorney spent many weeks advancing a line of argument which he later abandoned and which evidently had no weight with the Arbitration Board. He advanced several radical socialistic ideas, claiming that the men should share pro rata in the income of the company.

Three commissioners were appointed, one by the railroads, one by the men and a third by these two. The railroads selected Patrick Calhoun, of New York, a rich attorney who owns a large block of stock in the San Francisco company. These two decided upon Oscar S. Strauss, one of the best known men in the public life of the East and a man of unexampled fairness and integrity. The fact of his great wealth was not considered an adverse reason for his choice, as he has frequently proven himself a sound thinker along the lines that concern the relations between capital and labor. He had been appointed United States Minister to Turkey by President Cleveland, and, though a Democrat, was continued in that office by President McKinley. He is an author of ability and at present is a representative of the United States upon the International Peace Tribunal. It was he who returned the decision.

Though the carmen spent \$4,000 in prosecuting their case, the money all going legitimately for witnesses and attorney's fees, which were necessarily heavy, the United Railroads spent about twice as much, and in the same way. The carmen raised their money by subscription and public entertainments, while the railroad appropriation came from the general treasury.

The agreement of both sides when they submitted to the arbitration was that the decision of the board should be final and operative for one year, from May 1, 1903, to May 1, 1904. The railroad agreed to make the award retroactive, so that now the men will receive back pay at the advanced rate, beginning May 1. This will mean from \$30 to \$49 for each man.

The carmen's wages up to the present time have been 25 cents an hour, or \$2.50 a day for ten hours work. They will now receive \$2.75 a day, if they have been in the employ of the company two

years or more, and \$2.62½ a day if employed less than two years.

The whole feeling of the men may be summed up in the expression of President Richard Cornelius, who said this morning, when it was observed that some concession, at least, had been made to the men:

"Concession! Do you think it concession to give a man what he earns? They have not even made that 'concession' yet"

BY ARTHUR HOLLAND,

President of the United Railroads.

Assuming the correctness of your press dispatch, which I will say substantially confirms our official advices, I can only say that, while it will add greatly to our expense account, and will tend to a policy of retrenchment, we shall, of course, unhesitatingly comply with the terms of the decision.

BY TIREY L. FORD,

General Counsel for the United Railroads.

The railroads will abide by the decision. You may put that down as absolute and final. Whatever had been the decision the company would have stood to it.

BY A. A. MOORE,

Attorney for the United Railroads.

I have nothing to say of the company's relation to the decision. I conducted the case for them and do not believe in speaking of my client's business. They will settle the matter now as it seems best to them to do. The carmen of San Francisco are already paid more than those of any other city in the United States, with the single exception of Butte, Montana, which is high up in the Rocky Mountains, where it is difficult to work and where all wages are abnormally above the ordinary standards. I think the carmen are exceedingly fortunate in securing any advance.

BY R. CORNELIUS,

President of the Carmen's Union.

We are men of honor and shall, of course, abide by the decision, as we said we should. It is not what we expected. We asked for a 33 1-3 per cent increase in pay with a reduction from ten to nine hours. What they gave us—a raise of 10 per cent for two year men and of 5 per cent for others—is but a nominal increase and but little affects the point at issue. We asked for a just reward for our labor, commensurate with the money we earned for our employers. We have not been given it. However, we shall abide by the decision. It gives each of the boys a little back pay—perhaps \$30 to \$40—and that will be welcome. If we had it to do over again we would not choose Mr. Strauss as the arbitrator. He is a rich man, a multi-millionaire. Besides he lives in the East where conditions are utterly different from what they are here. He could not be expected to have any sympathy with the carmen of San Francisco. Yet we do not make any bitter complaint. I only hope the company will not discriminate against the four-year men. They could easily be discharged, when new men are to be paid a cent an hour less. But I don't think Manager Chapman will do that. He has too much business sense. If he does so we will combat him. We will use the only weapon we have and tie him up.

BY W. GOLDKUHLE,

Vice-President of the Carmen's Union.

The men have put this through with their best energies and have no dissent to make from the decision, although it does not award us all we asked for. The present scale is operative until next May and it is safe to say there will be no difficulty until that time, if then. We are sorry that other men than Mr. Strauss was not the deciding voice. If we knew all we know now before we went to New York there would have been a different man. But it is decided and that ends it for the present.



UNION HOUSE.

TRY A KNOCKIM
COLD COCKTAIL

WALKING
WELSHMAN

DRY GOODS

UNION
STORE

CLOSES
7 1/2 P.M.

Commission on Arbitration Awards Carmen of This City An Increase in Their Wages

NUMBER OF HOURS TO WORK LEFT UNCHANGED

W. D. Mahon and Oscar
Straus Reach Their Decision,
Though Colonel Calhoun for
Railroad Declines to Concur.

[Special by leased wire, the longest in the world.]

NEW YORK, November 4.—The decision of the commission in the San Francisco Street Railway wage arbitration handed down to-day, as was told in yesterday's "Examiner," awards an increase of 10 per cent in wages to men employed for two years prior to April 1, 1903, and of 5 per cent to those of less service. Hours were left unchanged, and the wage rate was deemed effective from May 1, 1903, to May 1, 1904. The award was written by Oscar Straus and assented to by W. D. Mahon, Colonel Patrick Calhoun declining to concur. The award affects members of the union only.

The case was of far-reaching importance, interesting directly more than 3,000 employees of the United Street Railways of San Francisco and indirectly employers and trades union men throughout the country.

After a strike in April, 1902, the street railway company and its employees decided to refer the demands of the men as to wages and hours presented in March this year to arbitration, and a commission was appointed, consisting of Colonel Patrick Calhoun, named by the company, W. D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, named by the men, and Oscar S. Straus of New York, selected by the other two. The

men asked for an increase from 25 cents per hour for a ten-hour day to 30 cents per hour for a nine-hours.

COMPANY URGED REDUCTION.

The company urged a reduction from the prevailing scale on the ground that it was already the highest in America for services of a similar nature, four Montana cities alone excepted. The men conceded this fact, but declared that the cost of living in San Francisco had increased 30 per cent since the 25-cent scale went into effect and that wages in San Francisco are generally higher than in other parts of the country. The company claimed the increase was but 3 per cent. An immense mass of testimony was heard, the hearing lasting three months and arguments were heard in this city last month. For the employees Congressman E. J. Livernash advanced the argument that the company's ability to pay the increase should be considered.

The award finds that the wage standard on the Pacific Slope and in San Francisco is higher than elsewhere in the United States and that there has been an advance in the cost of living since April, 1902, referring to the findings of the Anthracite Strike Commission. In conclusion Commissioner Straus expresses the hope and expectation that the award will be binding for years to come.

ARBITRATION FOR LABOR A FAILURE

RICHARD CORNELIUS, president of the local Street Car-men's Union, who returned from New York Tuesday night, had this to say regarding the decision of the arbitration board:

"I was present during the entire session of the arbitration board. Mr. Moore, counsel for the United Railroads, bitterly attacked the street carmen's organization in San Francisco and organized labor in general. Among other things he said that the street carmen in San Francisco were extravagant in their manner of living; that they were indolent, that they had built a wall around themselves and defied any one else to come in. In fact, he showed throughout his whole ar-

UNION STABLES

OPEN SHOP STABLES
RIGS READY AT ANY TIME



WALKING DELEGATE. (to non-union stableman)—“What do you know about animals? You can't tell the difference between a horse and a jackass.”

gument the most bitter hostility to organized labor in general.

Congressman Livenash, counsel for the Street Car-men's Union, made one of the most brilliant arguments in behalf of the street carmen, but Mr. Straus, the third arbitrator very plainly showed that he was prejudiced against the street carmen.

I am convinced that arbitration, so far as the workingman is concerned, is a failure, because the companies will never accept a workingman as the umpire. Therefore the workingman must accept an employer, who of necessity will be in favor of the employing class. Therefore, I say, that so far as the street carmen of San Francisco are concerned arbitration is a thing of the past. We have spent a vast amount of money, we have clearly established our right to the increase that we asked, but Mr. Straus, being an employer of labor himself, throws aside our evidence that cost so much time and money to accumulate, and if the reports of the newspapers are correct has given us only a fraction of what we should of right have had.

My trip East was one of hard work. From San Francisco I went to San Antonio and tried to adjust differences between the railroad and its employees. I was under orders at that time from the national president, Mr. Mahon, to investigate the conditions in San Antonio and to report my findings to the general executive board, which was in session in Detroit. I arrived in Detroit on October 7th and sat with the executive board until October 11th. From Detroit I went to New York to participate in the arbitration proceedings between the United Railroads and the San Francisco union. While in New York my time was principally occupied with Congressman Livenash, who was arranging the briefs to be submitted to the arbitration commission."

CALHOUN SAW NO GROUNDS FOR RAISE

Dissenting Member of United
Railways Arbitration Board at
New York Files an Opinion
Giving Reasons.

NEW YORK, Nov. 16.—Patrick Calhoun of this city, a member of the Arbitration Commission which recently awarded the union employes of the United Railways of San Francisco an advance in wages, today filed his dissenting opinion, giving his reasons why no advance should have been granted. The award, however stands, the company and the men having agreed to accept the decision of the majority of the commission. Mr. Calhoun says that he believes there was nothing in the evidence to justify any increase of wages and continues:

"When it is admitted that the United Railways are already paying a high rate of wages; that this rate of wages is higher than that paid for the same service in the great cities in which living is more expensive than in San Francisco, and that there is an abundance of labor in San Francisco seeking employment at the present high rate of wages, it seems to me there is no ground for further advancing the wages."

He claims that testimony showing an advance in cost of living of 30 per cent was unreliable, that this advance, based on statistics of Professor Plehn of the University of California of the five months of 1903 over the corresponding months of 1902, was not more than 3 per cent, and that this was more than covered by the advance of 10.8 in wages granted by the company in April, 1902.

MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY,
MURRAY & READY.

MURRAY & READY, 634 and 636 Clay St.
PHONE MAIN-5848.
5848 PHONE.

Leading Employment and Labor Agents.



TO EVERY EMPLOYER OF
WHITE MALE HELP—We can supply you
With white male help of all kinds
Free of Charge.

No syndicate too large, no firm too small
for us to supply; no objection to distance;
we ship good help; phone, telegraph, write
or call in person and procure your help from
MURRAY & READY.

We gave employment

- In 1897 to upward of 17,000 men.
- In 1898 to upward of 19,000 men.
- In 1899 to upward of 21,000 men.
- In 1900 to upward of 38,000 men.
- In 1901 to upward of 37,000 men.
- In 1902 to upward of 45,000 men.

IN 1903 TO UPWARD OF 60,000 MEN.

Office open 7 A. M. daily.
Sunday, 8 to 12 A. M.

Help wanting work—hundreds of places
awaiting your selection. Come, read our bul-
letin boards.



Words are good, but only so when backed
by deeds.

TO OUR PATRONS:

We respectfully wish to call your special
attention to the present condition of the
labor market.

We were confronted, early last spring
with a great scarcity of good, in fact, any
class of labor, skilled or unskilled.

The great demand for help had a tendency
to make labor stubborn, consequently we
were unable to give our patrons such excel-
lent service as we have in former years.

MURRAY & READY
RETURN THANKS.

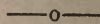
We are much indebted to all employers who
thoroughly understand the labor market and
helped us to share somewhat the burden put
upon us.

GOLD CANNOT BUY HONOR.

The burden was not confined alone to the
labor market. Our entire business was at-
tacked by unscrupulous labor agitators and
demagogues, who demanded that we should
not supply certain employers with any help.
"What can we offer you," asked these agi-
tators, "financially or otherwise, to discon-
tinue supplying them with help?" Our an-
swer: "Gentlemen, there is nothing in this
world you or any one else has that would pur-
chase from us the freedom the 'Constitution
of the United States' has given us. We will
forever supply all employers of help with
whatever help they may so desire. Likewise
we will give to all applicants for positions
any position he is competent to fill. Creed,
religion or politics shall never be mentioned
in our office, and when you get through agi-
tating and return to honest work or go into
business for yourselves, come to us and we
will never discriminate, but will try to make
a man of you. A man amongst men, for all
are equal before God and the law. That's
all, gentlemen. Good day."

WE BELIEVE IN
JUSTICE TO ALL.

Then they placed a boycott on our business,
continued it for four months; but when they
found every employer of help, large and
small, rushed right to us with their orders
for help and stood as solid as the rocks of
Gibraltar, seeing we doubled our business,
employing fourteen clerks, sent out 60,000
men-year 1903—they held up their hands,
took off the foolish boycott and declared that
they could not hurt "Murray & Ready."
WHO ARE TRUE FRIENDS OF LABOR?
Procure not friends in haste, nor break the
ties of friendship needlessly.



—EMPLOYERS—

YOU WELL REMEMBER
DAY AFTER DAY
WEEK AFTER WEEK,
MONTH AFTER MONTH.

Many other San Francisco employment
agents tried to help these labor agitators by
distributing leaflets among the workmen,
reading as follows: "Notice—We do not sup-
ply any employer, firm or corporation who has
a man strike on him." Advertised same in
all S. F. papers. Result: They soon found
many large and small employers of help had
closed their business relations with such
employment agents.

NEVER AGAIN WILL THESE WEAK-
KNEED EMPLOYMENT AGENTS RECEIVE
THE PATRONAGE OF ANY EMPLOYER
WHO BELIEVES ALL ARE EQUAL. ALL
HAVE A RIGHT TO WORK FOR A LIVING
WITHOUT THE DICTATION OF WALKING
DELEGATES, AGITATORS OR DEMA-
GOGUES.

IT'S AN ESTABLISHED FACT THAT
No employer of help knew or knows any
moment they will have trouble, as these labor
agitators make a business of making trouble.

No; they could not hurt us, because you,
our customers, stood so manfully at our back;
and for such we are ever grateful; hence this
letter of thanks.

SPRING HAS OPENED.
SPRING HAS OPENED.

After an exceptionally unprofitable winter
to the great mass of skilled and unskilled
laborers, we still find upward of 12,000 idle
men and boys in San Francisco.

CAUSE.

It became evident early last fall to most
employers of labor to either close down or
curtail the employment of as much labor as
they possible could to remedy, if possible,
the great labor troubles which will take
place in the year 1904.

UNDISPUTABLE FACT.

At all times the supply and demand regu-
late and govern the labor market

BUT NOT THE AGITATOR,
WALKING DELEGATE AND
UNSCRUPULOUS LEADER
OF LABOR.

He is bad, not that he was born bad, but
because he became bad very soon thereafter.

NOW THIS YEAR—1904

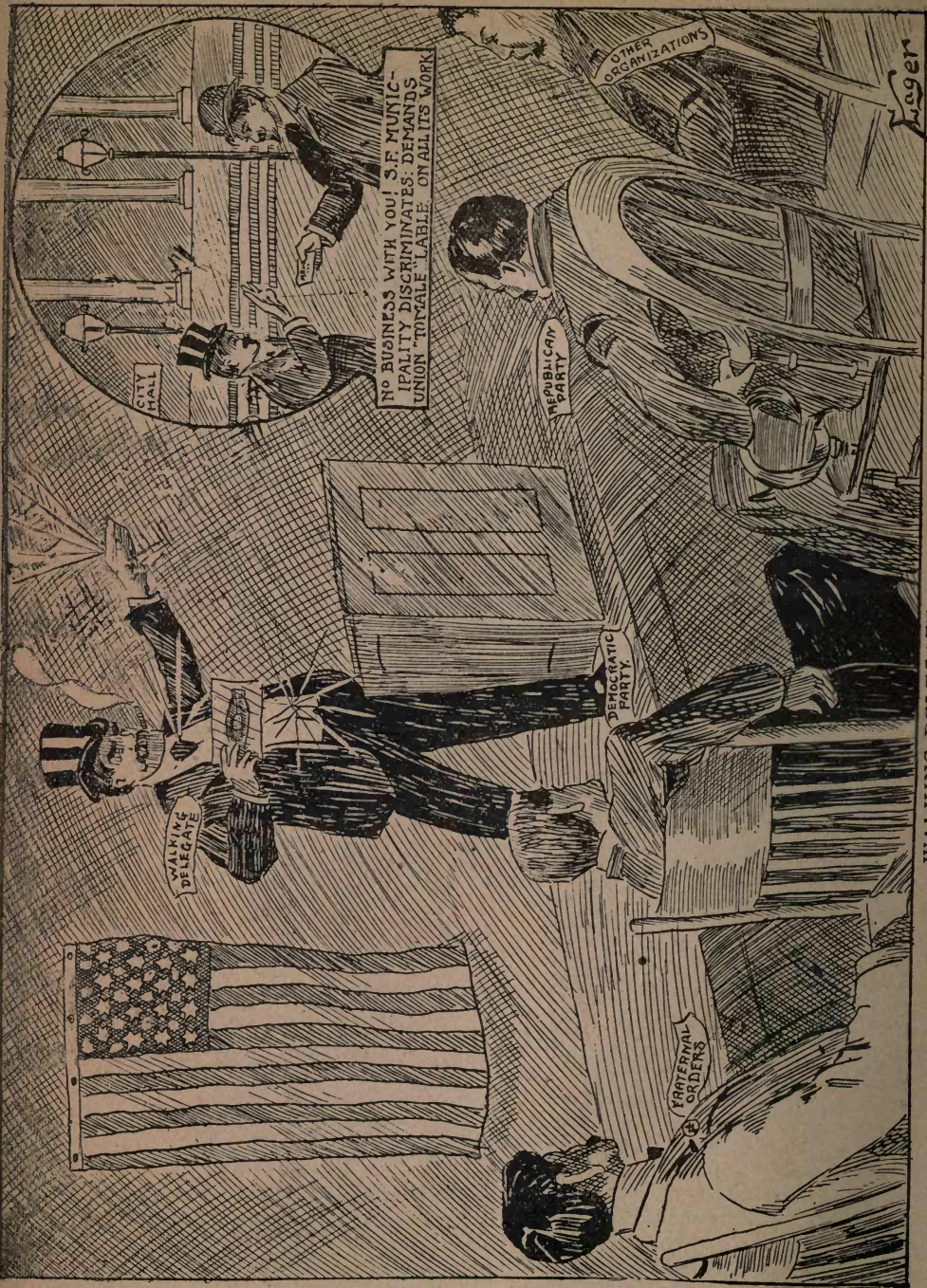
We find him fighting for life or death.

HE MUST PASS

Away for the benefit, not of the minority, but
for the majority—GREAT MAJORITY—who
are NON-UNION MEN.

JUSTICE.

ALL MEN ARE EQUAL BEFORE GOD AND
THE LAW. NO MAN IS ABOVE THE LAW,
AND NO MAN IS BELOW IT. OBE-
DENCE TO THE LAW IS DEMANDED AS
A RIGHT, NOT ASKED AS A FAVOR.



WALKING DELEGATE IN HIS GLORY

Forces Law through Legislature (which are unconstitutional) city and county municipalities.

United Railroads Refuses to Grant Demands of the Carmen

Employes Quit Breaking in Students and Both Sides State Positions in Relation to the Controversy.

DEVELOPMENTS in the street-railway situation yesterday included a refusal on the part of the management of the United Railroads to accede to the demand of the Carmen's Union that no more students be broken in as platform men pending negotiations regarding the wage scale and other proposals on the part of the men, the submission by the company of a new wage contract carrying out the terms of the arbitration commission's award, and a reply to the union's proposals, rejecting them in every material particular.

With this came a clear-cut statement from the company that it had reached the limit in concessions to its employes, and plainly declaring that the time had come when it must take a firm stand against encroachments upon its rights and responsibilities. In a statement given out by General Manager Chapman last night, defining the company's position and declaring that it is not the desire of the United Railroads to disrupt the union, and that it wants only peace and fair treatment, there is added the following very significant statement: "While we do not expect trouble, we are not unprepared for the worst." It is also stated that the conditions of the company's offer must be accepted as a whole.

The Carmen's Union held an executive meeting last night, at which it was agreed to stand pat on their determination not to break in any more students and to await some action on the part of the company relative to this refusal before bringing matters to a head.

It was also agreed to go on with the conference relative to the union's proposals and the agreement submitted by the company in reply, provided no effort be made by the company to instruct students. It was stated at the meeting, however, that at least one student had received instruction during the day, from inspectors of the company, and this was stated by the officers of the Carmen's Union to be fully as objectionable as the breaking in of men through union employes. It was stated that developments would be awaited in this line; that the company has about twenty-five inspectors and that it made no difference whether the company broke in men or members of the union did so.

The union officials claimed last night that no men had been broken in by union employes since noon of yesterday, and that the students had been put off the cars by the members of the union.

Secretary Bowling said: "We control the situation. It is now up to the company to take some action. None of our men have been discharged or laid off for not breaking in students."

The officers of the union gave out a statement last night relative to the reply to its demands, submitted by the company yesterday. They express regret at the company's attitude and take up in detail the points raised.

President Richard Cornelius and Secretary-Treasurer J. H. Bowling of the Carmen's Union called upon Manager Chapman yesterday morning in accordance with the instructions received by them Tuesday night, and made a demand that no more students be broken in pending negotiations. The company declined to consider this demand, and at noon orders went out from the union that its members should refuse to instruct students. These orders were not entirely obeyed. In a number of in-

stances new men sent out for instruction were kept on the cars throughout the afternoon, but there were also several instances where instruction was refused by the regular men on the cars. These cases were reported to Manager Chapman, but no immediate action was taken.

During the forenoon there was one instance of conflict over the attempt to break in men. On a Valencia-street car, near Twenty-fourth, John Herman, a student, had been put on the car for instruction. The gripman started a controversy over the matter of strike-breakers, and a number of union sympathizers crowded into the grip space and assisted in hustling Herman about and making matters generally uncomfortable for him. One passenger, a big fellow, reached over and punched Herman several times. A policeman standing on the corner in full sight of the assault made no attempt to interfere.

THE COMPANY'S REPLY.

Yesterday afternoon the company forwarded to the union's officials, President Cornelius, and Secretary-Treasurer Bowling, its formal reply to the proposals, together with the new contract agreement. The reply is as follows:

Gentlemen:
Referring to your letter of the 2d to the president of this company, and to the conditional form of agreement that accompanied it, we join you in the hope that serious controversy may be avoided and that our relations during the coming year may be unstrained and pleasant.

We now make formal reply and should be pleased to hear from you in answer, either in writing or in conference with your committee, or in both ways, as you prefer. Your proposed agreement is in ten sections. The first and second propose arbitration in regard to grievances or complaints. The third does away with the wage scale recently fixed by Messrs Mahon and Straus, and the third also relates to badges, suspensions and uniforms. The fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and ninth propose different runs, time tables, hours and wages from those fixed by the award referred to. The eighth section makes it obligatory upon all employes eligible to the union to join your union within sixty days, and makes it obligatory upon the company to discharge all non-union men who are eligible to the union. The tenth provides that no employe of this company shall suffer a reduction in his wages because of or through the operation of this proposed conditional agreement.

While we are again willing to leave to the arbitration at present provided the interpretation of the meaning of any clause of the contract we may enter into, we can not leave to any form of arbitration matters affecting employment and discharge; and while the company will treat directly with the duly accredited officers of the union under the recognition given last year, the

company can not treat with complaints that involve the abdication of the management and legal obligations of its business, but must stand by the present agreement.

WILL NOT UNIONIZE ROAD.

The clauses in relation to arbitration, as well as the clause obliging employes to join the union within sixty days, involving the abdication of this company of its rights and duties in the management of its business, cannot be acceded to.

The company, as stated last year, has no lawful right to yield to others the selection and dismissal of its employes, and cannot indirectly divest itself of a duty imposed by law, nor arbitrate away, nor surrender the powers necessary to perform those duties. It is our duty, as we have stated, to select steady, sober and trustworthy men to operate our cars, to make all useful rules and regulations to govern their conduct, and to provide satisfactory service to the traveling public. And while the company recognizes the right of every employe to belong to a union, the demands of the association limiting or restricting the company in the performance of its duty in the selection, retention or dismissal of employes are respectfully declined. And we extract the following from the report of the Anthracite Coal Commission on this subject:

The Commission adjudges and awards: That no person shall be refused employment, or in any way discriminated against, on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization; and that there shall be no discrimination against, or interference with, any employe who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization.

As to section 3—all employes can now ride free on their division on badges, and can ride free throughout the city when in full uniform, and the company does not see its way to change this liberal provision nor to go further in respect to uniforms than to permit, as at present, platform men to buy wherever they please, provided they conform to the specifications of the company.

In section three you further ask that in case of the reinstatement of a member of the union for alleged violation of any rule of the company he shall be paid for time lost, provided he is found "not guilty" of such violation. This is the rule as provided by section seven of the present agreement, but you further ask that a board of arbitration may decide whether any of the company's rules have been violated. This would take from the company the power to conduct its own business, and to this we can not consent, but must abide by the present agreement in this respect.

POSITION AS TO WAGES.

Clause ten will be gladly acceded to by us, provided the proposition with regard to wages made by us later in this letter is accepted. Clauses four, five, six, seven and nine in your proposed agreement cover wages, hours, runs and time tables, all of which have been lately passed upon by Messrs. Mahon and Straus in their award, and the company can not accede to the union's request.

in these respects

In view of the short time remaining under the present contract, and of reports of a lockout and reduction of wages on our part, we desire to make an open statement of our intentions as regards wages and as regards the late award.

Before announcing our intention in this respect, it is fitting to state concisely the history of the past two years bearing upon our relations with each other.

When the United Railroads took control of its several properties on April 1, 1902, it found the wages paid on the Market-street line 22 cents an hour, with a bonus for long service. This scale was one of the highest paid anywhere. The other lines taken over by the company were paying a lower rate and the company then stated that these lower wages would be raised to the higher Market-street scale. Nineteen days thereafter a strike occurred, and a demand was made that the wages be raised to 25 cents flat, that being the highest rate paid under the Market-street graduated scale. The company conceded this demand in full, although a lower basis would—it was and is sure—have been practicable. This increase was made (without any effort at a compromise figure) for the purpose of securing entire contentment among the men, and to insure a prolonged period of peace. This expectation was not realized—within six months further trouble arose, and on March 13, 1903 renewed demands were made asking for a minimum rate of 33 1/3 cents per hour up to 50 cents per hour. The company considered this demand most unreasonable, but agreed to submit the same to arbitration. Investigation showed that the average wage paid in 370 American cities was but 18 1/2 cents per hour.

HIGH WAGES PAID HERE.

Thirty-seven days were consumed in taking the testimony in the arbitration proceedings and three days spent in argument in New York city. On November 3d a decision was rendered by the arbiters, Messrs Mahon of Detroit, president of International Carmen's Union, and Straus of New York. The other arbiter Mr Calhoun of New York dissented from the award.

The arbiters found that the carmen's wages then being paid in San Francisco were from 10 to 15 per cent higher than those paid elsewhere in America, except on a few small lines in the State of Montana but in spite of that finding to insure prolonged industrial peace, the award gave to the carmen the increase herein mentioned.

These wages are unusually high, but the award said

I have been largely influenced by the desire and purpose to establish a permanent peace between the company and its employes, to encourage a spirit of mutual confidence, etc.

The increase volunteered by the company when it first purchased the properties was intended to secure industrial peace.

The increase three weeks later to a flat rate of 25 cents, being all your union demanded, was conceded to secure industrial peace.

The increase granted by the arbiters, which constitutes our present scale, was granted for the expressed purpose of securing prolonged industrial peace.

The award of the arbiters is but a few months old. We entered into a solemn convention to arbitrate our wage differences and though the result of that arbitration was a great disappointment to the company and imposed heavy additional burdens upon it, and while since that time wages have been and are being reduced throughout America, yet with the award, so lately made, itself pleading for its continuance and for industrial peace, it would be trifling with the public to now seek a fresh adjustment of this scale because it failed to comport with our own ideas, and thus precipitate a controversy that must work great injury to the city and inconvenience to the public.

COMPANY DESIRES PEACE.

Three times this company has given evidence of its desire for industrial peace and its willingness to pay for it. We have passed through the experience of making a voluntary tender of increased wages without any demand having been made therefor. It failed.

We have passed through the period of yielding to the men every cent of wage demand they asked for. It failed.

We have passed through prolonged arbitration, in which an increase was given to secure prolonged industrial peace. It failed.

During the last few months conditions throughout the country have greatly changed; reductions in wages have been widespread. As testifying to this we extract the following from John Mitchell's recent advice that the miners of bituminous coal accept a reduction of 5 1/2 per cent rather than strike to maintain the existing scale.

Mr Mitchell said:

It is conceded on all sides that the apex of industrial activity has been reached and we are slowly moving toward an industrial depression. The operators came into the joint convention asking for a reduction in wages of 15 per cent. Their proposition was opposed by us with all the information and skill at our command. As an ultimatum from which they could not be moved they offered us a reduction from present scale prices of 5 3/4 per cent.

We know how hard it is to be compelled to accept a reduction in wages, but it is better to accept a slightly lower rate and hold your organization intact, ready to take advantage of any improvements which the future of the trade may show, than to be forced to accept a greater reduction at the end of a disastrous strike that may leave our organization so weakened and demoralized that it would be unable to cope with the vast combinations of capital now engaged in the coal trade.

The maintenance of our present high scale of wages does not comport with these conditions. The company, however, for the purpose of securing industrial peace, avoiding interruption of its service to the public, of securing steady



REFUSED men, who pleaded with money in hand to pay an exorbitant initiation fee, the right to join the union of their craft, on the pretext that they had many members out of employment, YET refused the same men the right to work at their trade or craft, BECAUSE they did not belong to the union. Competent to work, they were turned down by the AGITATORS. Murder is bad—to

employment to its men, of preserving its deserved reputation as a liberal paymaster, is willing to continue the award of Messrs. Mahon and Straus, and in a most liberal spirit, though resulting in some additional burden on this company over the present scale.

HAS REACHED LIMIT.

The company states explicitly that the limit has been reached and that no higher wages will be paid; that the condition of the offer is that it must be accepted as a whole, and that it brings about the desired industrial peace. The failure of either of these conditions will relieve the company of any obligation to pay the wages under the present award after April 30th next.

The award of Messrs. Straus and Mahon gave no advance to men who entered the company's service on or after April 1, 1903.

Under a strict interpretation of the award the wages from April 30, 1904, to April 30, 1905, would be as follows:

No platform men entering the company's employ on or after April 1, 1903, would receive more than 25 cents an hour. Men employed between April 1, 1901, and April 1, 1903, would receive 26¼ cents, and men employed prior to April 1, 1901, would receive 27½ cents.

It might be said that the passage of another year should, in fairness on a graded scale, bring promotion to a higher grade. Taking that view of the matter, platform men employed on and after April 1, 1904, should receive 25 cents an hour; platform men employed between April 1, 1902, and April 1, 1904, should receive 26¼ cents an hour; and platform men employed prior to April 1, 1902, should receive 27½ cents an hour.

A sliding scale based upon the date of employment rather than the arbitrary date of May 1st would be decidedly to the interest of the men. The 25-cent men would thus gradually pass to the 26¼-cent grade, and, in turn, the 26¼ grade to the 27½-cent class. This would result as follows: All employes to work at 25 cents an hour during the first year of their employment. Those employes who have been in the service more than one year and under three years, to receive 26¼ cents, and those who have been in the service more than three years, 27½ cents.

THE COMPANY'S OFFER.

The company will stand upon the scale of wages fixed by the award and give still more liberal construction, and will, after April 30th next, put into effect the wage scale as follows.

All platform men in the employ of the company for a period of one year and under shall be paid 25 cents per hour.

All platform men in the employ of the company from one to two years shall be paid 26¼ cents per hour.

All platform men in the employ of the company over two years shall be paid 27½ cents per hour.

All those in other departments whose wages were affected through length of service by the award to have their wages readjusted on the basis of the award.

We have reached a place now where we must respectfully refuse to consider any demands looking to an increase of wages beyond this.

We ask our employes to consider wisely and well all that has gone before, and we submit the case to them and to an unprejudiced public with entire confidence that their verdict will be that we have acted fairly and generously with our men, and believe they will agree that we have reached a point beyond which we cannot go.

DOES NOT SEEK TROUBLE.

We do not welcome a labor disturbance—we have already made heavy sacrifices to avoid it, and to avoid the public inconvenience and the distinct harm that must follow.

It is the desire of this company not to be misunderstood. This offer of a continued high scale during an era of wage reductions is made to secure industrial peace and avoid public inconvenience, and, failing in that, the offer falls.

Under this arrangement 255 platform men now receiving 26¼ cents would immediately enter the 27½-cent class. Before eleven months expired a total of 562 men would be so promoted. Immediately this scale goes into effect sixteen men of the 25-cent class are promoted to the 26¼-cent class. During the next six months 195 more are promoted and during the next six months 221 more 25-cent men would secure similar promotion. This is a matter every man may figure out for himself and we invite them to study well the effect of this proposed scale.

The company is convinced that this proposition should be accepted as a whole by its employes, and that this frank and full statement will result in a continuation of the present award, broadened in its scope, as stated, and as shown by the contract annexed.

The company further suggests that this proposed contract be submitted to all of the men, to be voted upon by them by secret ballot, that a fair and full expression of their opinion may be secured. The company feels sure that wisdom should prevail and that the proposed contract should be ratified.

CHAPMAN'S STATEMENT.

General Manager Chapman gave the following statement last night:

The carmen to whom had been assigned the breaking in of students refused to instruct them after 12 o'clock. This is, of course, a willful disobedience of the company's instructions and a clear violation of our contract. Last year they refused to sign the cards of students who had been "broken in;" this year they refuse to break them in at all. We were compelled to suspend a number of good men last year in consequence of their insubordination. This matter will have attention in due time.

The answer and wage proposal of the company was handed to Messrs. Bowling and Cornelius to-day. In their original interview and letter these gentlemen asked that the company go into a conference with the officers of the union over the proposed contract for the ensuing year, and this conference or a written communication we expect in a few days.

In view of the very generous application of the Straus award which the company has announced, it is difficult to see how the men, if given an opportunity to express their views, can reject the company's offer.

In their letter to the company the carmen expressed the hope that the "industrial peace" spoken of by Mr Straus would be continued. Mr Straus, in giving the carmen an increased wage, said he had "been largely influenced by the desire and purpose to establish a permanent peace between the company and its men," and said it was his expectation that the scale named by him would continue for a longer period than one year and that he hoped it would continue "for years to come, beyond the period specified." Compare this plainly-stated and broad-minded sentiment with the rather misleading language of the carmen. They express a strong desire for the character of industrial peace hoped for by Arbitrator Straus, whom they then suddenly desert and set up an entirely new and more onerous set of terms as the peace basis.

MUST END SOMEWHERE.

Surely this sort of thing must end somewhere. The award gave the increase for "permanent peace." We have been paying, and paying well, for "permanent peace." Now it appears that the elusive thing called "peace" has disappeared. The men, accepted the award upon the terms stated in the award and a resolution of the union has declared, "the members of the Carmen's Union have received \$125,000 additional money under the award." They do not propose that "permanent industrial peace" shall extend longer than five months, for only five months ago the award was written.

The public should not be misled into believing the position of the union leaders to be accidental. It has been under way and preparing ever since the award was published. From all sides we have heard threats to "do us up in spring," and though at first inclined to discredit these tales we were finally forced to believe that a socialistic minority were determined at any cost to renew hostilities in the spring, and these are the same men who are now complaining that the company is endeavoring to "disrupt the union," and demand that we stop "breaking in" students.

No fair conception of the conditions we have been living under can be conveyed to the public in a single interview.

At no time within my knowledge has this company been free from attacks. After conceding all the men demanded in 1902, the attacks broke out almost immediately and continued up to the arbitration. While arbitration was in progress we were told what would "happen to us" in the spring. While it was being argued at New York, the arbiters were told that the San Francisco carmen were "restless" and "apt to make trouble and precipitate an industrial war." When we were at great extra expense, attempting to work out the increases due to the men for back pay under the award, we were charged with unnecessarily annoying the men by purposely delaying.

A VOLUNTARY OFFER.

The men had this back pay coming because the company voluntarily offered that whatever the award of the board should be it should date back, and for this, in a letter dated April 13, 1903, the union said, "We thank you for promising that whatever wages shall be finally agreed on shall take effect as of May 1, 1903." Then its officers not only permitted these attacks but encouraged them.

We have not had a month's peace within my knowledge, and the constant nagging the company has been subjected to can only be ascribed to the element that is misrepresenting labor union principles and trying to make it appear that we are hostile to all labor unions.

Our statements have been misconstrued and given a meaning never intended. Words and expressions have been attributed to the company that were mere inventions, and it is apparent there will be no peace so long as this element and not strict union men act as the representatives of trades unionism.

With these conditions staring us in the face a few leaders of the carmen seek to vest in themselves the right to hire and discharge our employees, for their request in this connection is just about the same as the demands of last year, except that they are more carefully worded. The public was shocked a year ago at the demands.

They now ask that if a man be discharged on the complaint of any passenger—man or woman—that if the employe feels that he has been unjustly discharged, the citizen must be brought before a court of arbiters to tell his or her side of the story. Just imagine this condition of affairs. No one would dare complain—no matter what the offense might be.

CARMEN'S PROPOSAL.

Section 8 of the carmen's proposed contract in effect says:

- 1—Men who have been expelled by the union for non-payment of dues or other reasons cannot remain in the company's employ.
- 2—Men who are refused admission to the union cannot be employed over sixty days.

By this section the leaders could exercise a supervision over every man the company might hire and veto the hiring by refusing to permit such men to join the union, and might dismiss any man they chose from the company's service by merely suspending him or them from the union.

To yield to such a demand would be to subordinate the public service to a control that could never be held responsible for its mistakes, would place the company in the position of shirking its bountiful legal duty, would disrupt the service and produce results, the evils of which must be apparent to every man or woman who will give the matter a moment's thought. Street railway service is like no other service in this respect.

In conclusion, I can only say we do not expect serious trouble, nor do we want it. We do not expect to not do we want to disrupt the union, we do want peace, and we do want fair treatment. While we do not expect trouble, we are not unprepared for the worst. We are willing to give up to the award of the arbiters and have even offered to broad-

en its scope, notwithstanding the fact that wages are being reduced all over America, and this, notwithstanding the fact that we are paying the highest wages paid on earth on any equally large system to men in similar employment.

REPLY OF UNION.

At midnight last night the executive committee of the Carmen's Union gave out the following statement of its side of the convention:

The reply of the United Railroads to the proposition submitted by the Carmen's Union is decidedly disappointing. The union had hoped that the conciliatory attitude it had assumed and the moderation of the terms of the agreement submitted by it would have the effect of inducing the company to cease all warlike preparations and accept at least the principle clauses in our agreement and proceed to dispose of the minor matters in conference. Instead, the company has declined to accept any of the new conditions proposed by the Carmen's Union, and in its very lengthy statement giving its reasons for refusing to approve the union's proposition, indulges in considerable sophistry with the evident design of misleading the public on the merits of the issues involved.

In declining to approve of the arbitration plan proposed by the union, the company tries to make it appear that the union is endeavoring to infringe upon the employer's right to hire and discharge. The provision submitted by the union is not intended to destroy the admitted rights of the company in this respect and does not warrant the strained construction placed upon it by Mr. Holland. Had the officials of the United Railroads dealt exact justice to their employes during the last year there would have been little or no necessity for this arbitration provision; but such has not been the case. The severity of the discipline enforced has invariably been measured by the standing of the accused in the union, and the union, in proposing the arbitration measure, was actuated solely by a desire to put into operation some measure whereby the employes might be insured exact justice when charged with infractions of rules or when they presented grievances regarding working conditions that were worthy of redress. The provision covering this matter was so drafted as to preclude the possibility that it would be abused, or invoked at all except in important cases.

UNION RECOGNITION.

The refusal of the company to effectively recognize the union by accepting the provision which removed all barriers to the union exercising full jurisdiction over employes destroys the value of everything the officials have said heretofore and repeat in this statement concerning their professed good will toward the union. The company's general manager and president have repeatedly said that they recognized the right of their employes to join the union, but, as a matter of fact they have for some time past openly and formally refused to consent to the exercise of that right, even going so far as to require applicants for work to sign an agreement not to join the union.

Under such circumstances it is hardly to be wondered at that the members of the union seriously question the sincer-

ity of the general statements Messrs. Holland and Chapman make regarding "recognition" of the union and of the right of their employes to affiliate with it.

In view of the known practice of the company in refusing recently to hire men who would not profess anti-union sentiments and sign contracts not to join the union the quotation from the award of the Anthracite Coal Commission declaring against discrimination because of the union or non-union affiliation of employes, savors of effrontery.

The provisions of Arbitrator Straus' award creating three classes of employes aroused more criticism and created greater dissatisfaction among the men than any other feature of his decision. Once broken in and accepted as a competent employe, a platform man commences to render service to the company equal in value to that given by his associates in the service, and no fair reason exists why he should not receive like remuneration. This fact is so evident that extended argument to establish it seems entirely unnecessary.

FULL WAGE FOR FULL SERVICE.

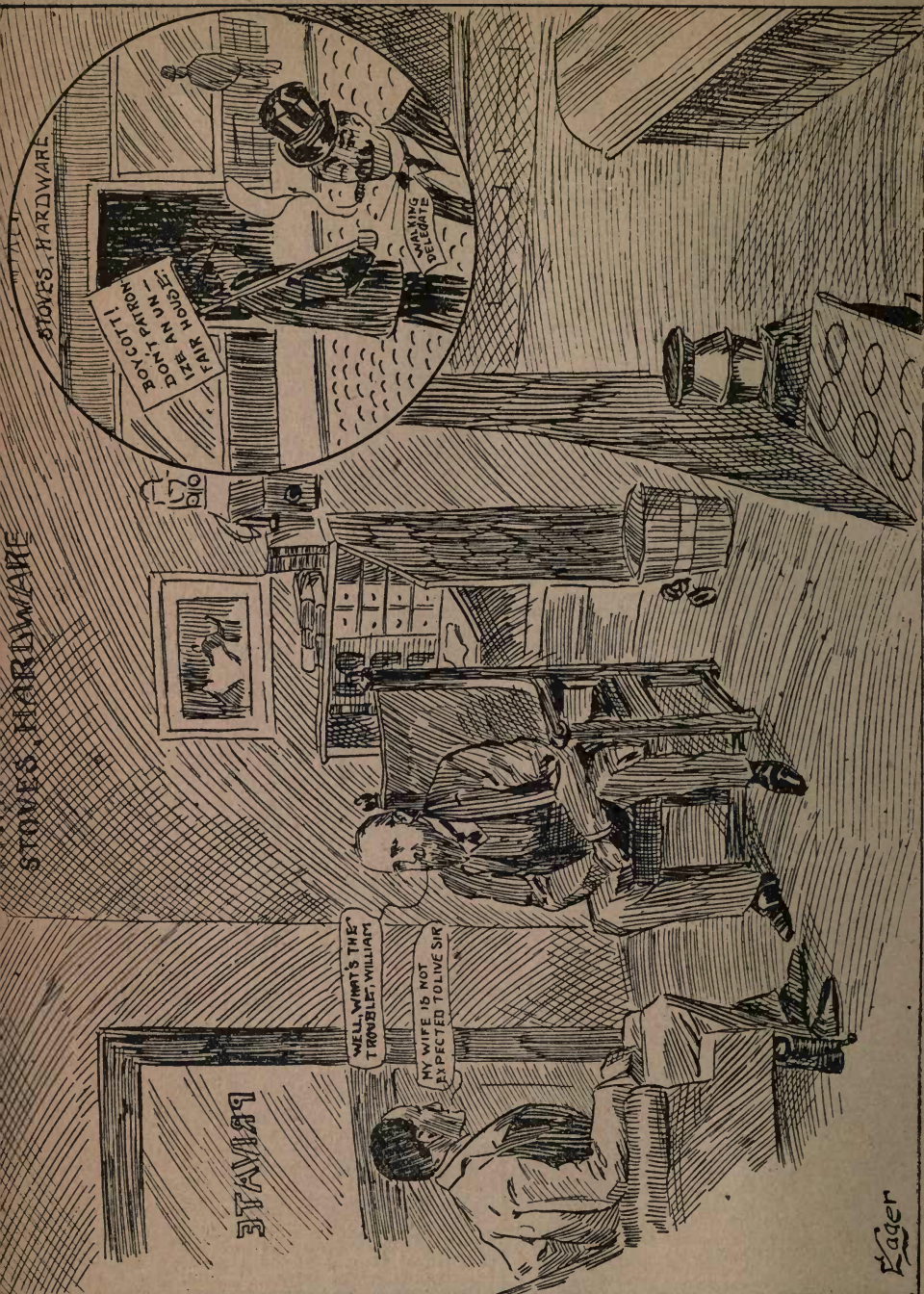
In our proposition to the company we merely asked that all men performing like service should receive equal wages—and in fixing the rate of wages we accepted Arbitrator Straus' figure rather than those we formerly contended for. It will be remembered that the testimony given before the arbitration board last year showed that the cost of living had advanced at least 10 per cent (to quote a very conservative authority), and the wage rate proposed by the union is exactly a 10 per cent increase over that in force one year ago, although, as pointed out in our statement of yesterday, the number of men who would receive an increase in the present rate of wages is less than one-fourth of the company's employes.

The company lays stress on the fact that wage reductions have recently been made in various industries, and quotes John Mitchell's advice to the coal miners, to accept 3 1/2 per cent reduction in their wages. These reductions were avowedly made because of a fall in the prices of the products of the concerns making the cuts in wages. How can the United Railroads fairly claim that similar conditions affect its revenues? As a matter of fact, the company's profits are daily increasing and conditions promise with certainty that they will continue to increase for some time to come.

The amendments of clauses in the existing agreement proposed by the union are of minor importance. The changes are very slight and that the company should unequivocally refuse to accede to any of them is indeed surprising. The first amendment relates to the privileges granted employes of riding free on the cars. They are now permitted to do so on their own divisions when in full uniform. The union asked that this privilege be extended so that employes might ride on any of the lines on showing their badge to the conductor.

WAGES FOR TIME LOST.

In regard to paying wages to men for time lost while they were suspended, if it was found that they had been guilty of no offense, a similar rule exists now. The present agreement provides that a suspended employe shall be paid wages for time lost if the officers



The WALKING DELEGATE forces men who for years were employed and held peaceful relations with their employers to fight them. This San Francisco merchant, whose charity toward his employes in health, sickness and death was boundless, was insulted by them in front of his place of business by order of the WALKING DELEGATE.

Lager

of the company decide to order his reinstatement. The union proposed that the same order be followed if an arbitration board should order his reinstatement.

On the uniform question, the rule now is that the men shall purchase uniforms made according to specifications formulated by the company. The union asked that these specifications be made by representatives of the company and the union in conference.

The proposition regarding time tables is merely the incorporation in the

agreement of a provision repeatedly made by the officials of the company during the last year or so.

The attitude of the union on the "student" question was clearly set forth in our statement of yesterday, and there is nothing more to say on that subject except to reaffirm our intention not to assist the United Railroads to educate strikers to take our places. We have ceased breaking in "students," and will maintain that position until negotiations regarding a new agreement are concluded. No serious

friction has yet arisen, we are pleased to state because of our action in this matter, and we sincerely hope none will arise.

In conclusion, we desire to state with emphasis that if the professors of the United Railroads in favor of peace are as sincere as are those of the union, there is little danger of a strike. We earnestly desire to avoid a rupture in our relations with the United Railroads, and our actions in all negotiations with the company will be governed by this desire implicitly

PROPOSITIONS OF THE COMPANY

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into this — day of — one thousand nine hundred and four (1904) by and between the United Railroads of San Francisco, a corporation duly organized and existing under the laws of the State of California, hereinafter designated "the company," and the Carmen's Union of San Francisco, known as the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Division No. 205, and hereinafter designated, "the union."

Witnesseth, That the agreement heretofore entered into between "the company" and "the union," and which by its terms is to continue in force until the first (1st) day of May, 1904, is hereby expressly renewed and agreed to by the parties thereto, and said agreement and all the terms thereof are hereby expressly continued in force until the first (1st) day of May, nineteen hundred and five (1905), with the following exceptions, additions and changes, namely:

1 Platform men shall receive the following wages

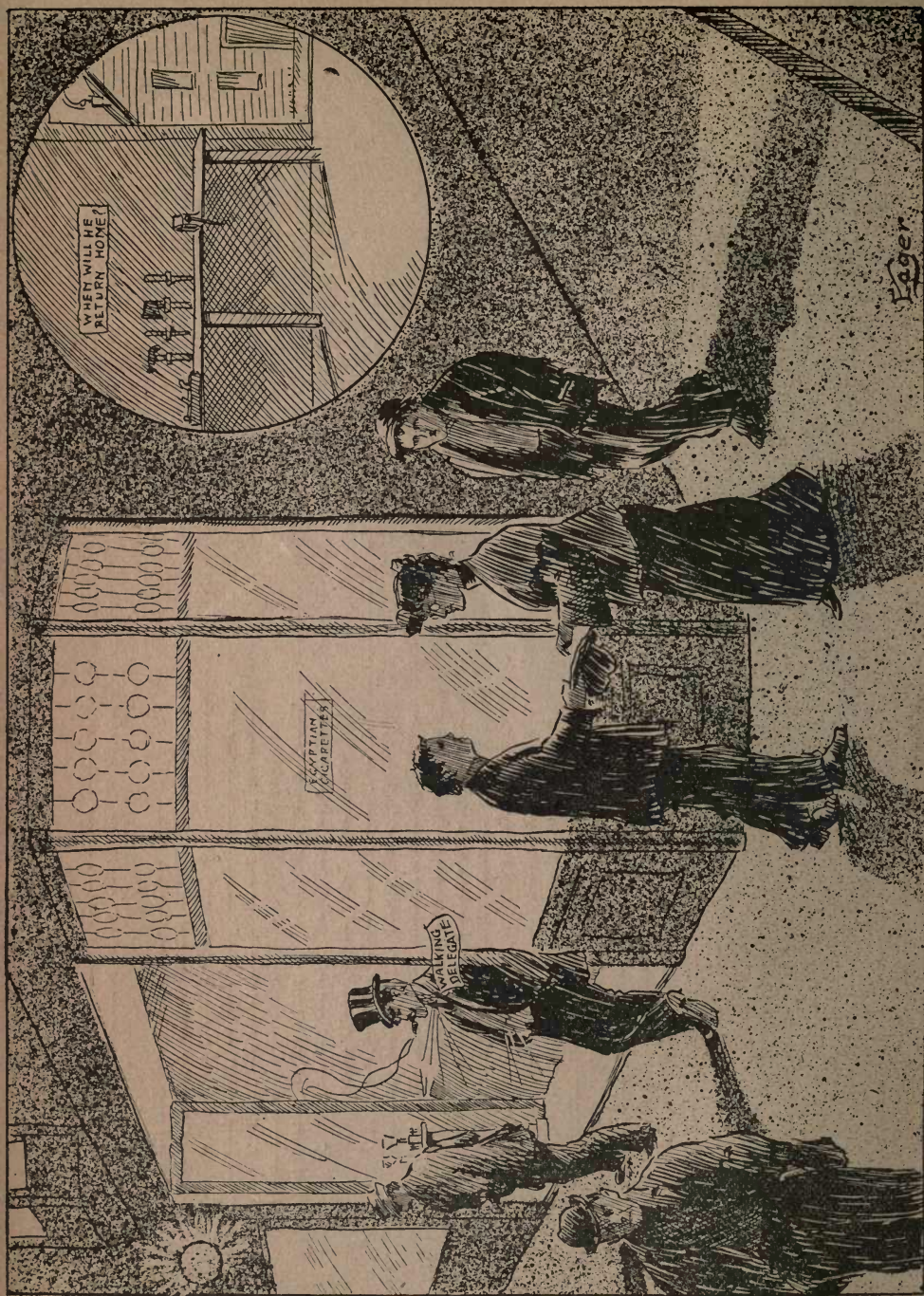
- (a) For the first year, twenty-five cents (25c.) per hour; overtime, thirty cents (30c.) per hour.
- (b) For the second year, twenty-six and a quarter cents (26¼c.) per hour; overtime, thirty-one and a half cents (31½c.) per hour
- (c) For the third year, and thereafter, twenty-seven and one-half cents (27½c.) per hour; overtime, thirty-three cents (33c.) per hour.

2. All members of "the union" other than platform men shall receive the wages awarded by the percent board of arbitration, readjusted as to length of service, in the manner above set forth in respect to platform men.

3. Nothing in this agreement shall be so construed as to lower any rate of wages now being paid by "the company" to any member or members of "the union."

4. Section twenty-eight (28) of the agreement above referred to and continued in force, by this agreement is hereby stricken out of said agreement and shall no longer continue a part thereof. Said section twenty-eight (28) relates to interest on deposits made by carmen, which deposits are no longer required by "the company."

5. This agreement shall continue in effect until May first (1st) one thousand nine hundred and five (1905), and the wage rate herein agreed upon shall be deemed to be in effect as of May first (1st) one thousand nine hundred and four. (1904).



WALKING DELEGATE turns a once honest hard workingman into a hobo. (No work, man soon loses ambition.) With a good home, work bench, and tools, why is he begging—Unionism.

Eger



AN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE,

THE SAN FRANCISCO CALL,

APRIL 25, 1904.

THE END IN SIGHT

THE PRESENT IMITATION OF UNIONISM, MUST PASS AWAY

Within a short time this city will be plunged into the greatest labor trouble to be history of this or any other city.

What will be the outcome? Sherman said, "War is hell." If he were alive to-day he would consider the anionism of San Francisco worse than war.

The majority of leaders of labor unions are so unscrupulous in all their dealings as to be easily recognized as full-fledged anarchists in everything but name. Their sole aim and desire seems to be to pull down and destroy rather than build up and foster. They care nothing for either the safety or convenience of the public or the welfare of those dependent upon the ones under their control.

What do strikes bring men to? They tear the honest, hard-working man away from his loving wife and family to do the bidding of these unscrupulous agitators, even to defying the laws, both of God and man; waylay the honest non-union man, taking him by force when honestly employed in his occupation, laying his barred arm upon the sidewalk and jumping upon it until it was broken and trodden to a pulp, using threats and other violence, and in some cases even murder; starves the innocent wife and children; destroys man's business and forces him into bankruptcy; practically kills all commercial business and advertises world wide the anarchistic tendencies for which they are noted.

The great majority of labor has time and again proclaimed, "Give them rope enough and they will hang themselves."

"We will wait and see them do it," has been the motto of the non-union man, for after all the non-union men are the conservative men of this country, who have always gained the sympathy of the public, and public opinion can never be dethroned.

Whatever may be the catastrophe to either Capital or Labor, in the forthcoming strikes and consequent lockouts we openly declare ourselves, before God and man, that we will never discriminate.

To the employer so unfortunate as to have these agitators and walking delegates force a strike upon them, our office will be ever open day and night to supply you with help you need.

To those more unfortunate because, when held in the grasp of these unscrupulous agitators they were compelled to do their bidding by striking on their employers, we extend an earnest desire to make men of them and by so doing we will place you side by side with non-union men.

MURRAY & READY.



CARTOON 1.—WALKING DELEGATE demands that milkers strike
Cows unable to milk themselves, suffer untold torture.



CARTOON 2.—WALKING DELEGATE forces milk wagon drivers
to strike thereby causing the new born babe, lying at side of mother with
no milk in her breasts, to die of starvation.



CARTOON 3.—Babe is dead. WALKING DELEGATE stops funeral at roadside and would not allow drivers to proceed to the cemetery.



CARTOON 4.—Father of babe, assisted by friends, has dragged the abandoned hearse to cemetery. WALKING DELEGATE again interferes by refusing to allow grave diggers to bury the dead. Father's appeal to WALKING DELEGATE has no effect.

THE



CALL

SAN FRANCISCO, TUESDAY, APRIL 26, 1904.

Almost Unanimously the Operators on Cars in City Vote to Reject the Company's Terms

By an overwhelming vote the car operators on the system of the United Railroads voted yesterday that the final terms offered them by the company were not acceptable. This does not necessarily mean that a strike is imminent, according to W. D. Mahon, international president of the union. After the result had been announced he said that the matters in dispute would be resubmitted to the company in the hope that a more favorable ruling could be obtained from the United Railroads. In case all further overtures for industrial peace are rejected he says, the employes of the United Railroads will quit in a body. When General Manager Chapman heard the result of the vote he declared that the United Railroads would always be glad to go into conference with the accredited representatives of its employes, though the terms offered them were unalterable.

OPINION APPEARS DECISIVE

*Vast Majority Say
That They Are
Wronged.*

*Ballot Test Gives a
Chance for Ex-
pression.*

With a negative vote that is almost beyond the necessity of mention, the men who are running the street cars

on the United Railroads of San Francisco determined yesterday that the terms offered them by the company were unacceptable. The result of the secret ballot was 2031 against acceptance and 141 in favor.

The result was easily forecasted in the afternoon from the remarks of the voters as they filed into line. Still, even the most hopeful of the radicals did not look for such an overwhelming majority in favor of a rejection of the offers of their employers.

This vote does not necessarily mean that a strike of the street car employes is inevitable. International President Mahon said, after the result had been announced, that he and other representatives of the union would go into conference with the officers of the United Railroads and try to obtain some concession on the disputed points.

He declared it was not the intention of the union to force a strike and that every effort would be made by himself and the local representatives of the organization to obtain a peaceable

SAN FRANCISCO
CITY HALL.

JUSTICE

CHRONICLE, May 2, 1904.

WILL EMPLOY NO NON-UNION MEN

Board of Electricity Decides That Its Employees Must Be Members of Unions.

At a meeting of the Board of Electricity, held last night, in the rooms of the police commission, a bill of justice complaint was heard from the International Union of Electrical Workers that a number of men, not members of any accredited union were being employed by the department. With the exception of one case where non-union men were alleged to be employed as laborers, the Board some time ago that only men of good standing in some union should be allowed to work for the department.

The Board, after listening to the complaint, resolved that the chairman should investigate the matter. At the same time, it passed a resolution that "All temporarily employed men of the Board of Electricity must be members of good standing in their respective unions."

SIGNERS OF
DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE
..... WE HOLD THESE
TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT
AND THEY ARE THAT ALL MEN
ARE CREATED EQUAL
AND THAT THEY ARE ENDO
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ON AND THAT WHENEVER FORMS
GOVERNMENT FAIL TO PROTECT
THESE RIGHTS THE PEOPLE HAVE
THE RIGHT TO ALTER OR TO
ABOLISH THEM AND TO INSTEAD
OF HAPPINESS

WALKER

San Francisco; it is a Dangerous attempt to Triumph over the Constitution of the United States.

settlement of the existing difficulties. When asked if the operators of cars were still unsatisfied on April 30, the date when the annual agreement with the company is ended, what the end of the trouble would be, he said:

"They will quit work, I suppose."

General Manager Chapman, who is the accredited spokesman of the United Railroads, listened calmly when the result of the vote of the union was announced to him. When asked whether or not any further negotiations would be entertained from representatives of the union he said:

"We have taken the public into our confidence in many printed statements and generally it knows what our position is on this last trouble. I am not in a position to discuss the future action of the company, but as I have always said, we are willing to entertain in all situations suggestions from our employes and their accredited representatives."

MEN GUARD BALLOT.

In the morning hours a number of benches sufficiently protected the ballot box from interference. Two men sat constantly before the cylinder in which the ballots were deposited and carefully scrutinized the credentials of the men who offered their votes. Before them they had lists of the various operators on the different car lines of the city and the election clerks invariably checked these off. Some came to vote who had not paid their April dues and their ballots were promptly rejected. Each man put his ballot in the box with his own hands. When he had voted his union card of the current month was stamped "Voted," and this precluded any chance of two votes for one member.

Generally speaking, there was no rush of the voters. In the early afternoon many of the men found it convenient to visit headquarters and deposit their ballots.

CROWDING AVOIDED.

When it became apparent that crowding was threatened, a rope was stretched from the swinging doors of the hall to the stage, and along this the voters filed singly until they reached the booths. Ten of these had been erected for the occasion, differing in no way from the usual provisions of the Australian ballot system. Most of

the men appeared in uniform, and before 7 o'clock it became apparent that a particularly heavy vote had been polled. At that hour according to the talliers, more than 2100 out of 2350 employes had cast their ballots.

During the night most of the voters came in citizens' clothes. Almost without exception they were intelligent looking men who dressed well and would be presentable in any walk of life.

GO FORTH BRAVELY.

No soldier ever went into battle in better spirit than these street car men went to the polls. They were entirely willing to abide the issue, whatever it might be, and give a laugh in the face of defeat or victory.

As far as could be judged publicly no effort was made by any of the officers of the union to influence the result. International President Mahon spent most of the afternoon and evening in the secretary's headquarters, but he declined to see any one. When the vote was being counted he stood inside the railing and kept close tally on the result. Outside of this he took no active part in the balloting.

Richard Cornelius, local president of the union, was also inconspicuous during the casting of the vote. When the count commenced he put in an appearance and kept a close watch on the talliers.

SING AS THEY VOTE.

During the balloting there was always some member of the union who got busy with the piano on the platform and many joined in singing the popular songs of the day. These added largely to relieve the tedium of the election officials.

Three prominent officers of the union were present all during the balloting to supervise and pass on credentials. Altogether they comprised four shifts, consisting of W. G. Burton, W. L. Jackson and G. J. Becht for the first relay; P. Marks, W. S. Shafer and A. B. Hardy on the second relay, A. B. Harris, G. A. Mitchell and R. Henry on the third relay, and F. Buckley, S. Prout and B. D. Whiting on the fourth relay. After the ballots were cast W. A. Hughson and C. P. Hanlon were delegated to watch the work of the talliers.

CONCLUSION.

The reader who has perused this far has undoubtedly formed some opinions of his own. A proof of the many-sidedness of human nature is to be found in the diametrically opposed opinions of supposedly fair men who have heard the same testimony at the same place and at the same time.

Many of the carmen undoubtedly are perfectly honest in thinking that they are justified in receiving a greatly increased wage. But we venture to hazard the remark that all these men who think thus are imbued with the cheap socialism current in so many quarters.

That view of life being demonstrably incorrect to any but the crudest and most ignorant thinkers, causes a man to look at things from a wrong standpoint, and there we believe lies the reason of the diametrically opposed conclusions. Such men as those believe capital has no rights; they have heard the street-ranters say that labor produces everything, and believing that they think labor should receive everything. With this class of men there is no use reasoning, the only hope lies in the chance that advancing years will moderate their views as they do for even the most impetuous of men.

In this connection, the words of the late Vicar of Christ have a peculiar significance. None are there who will not pay attention to the words of one who, though the Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, had a sympathy that extended to all men beyond the petty limits of creed, race, or social status.

Extract from Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical Letter Rerum Novarum, May 15, 1891.

"To remedy these wrongs the Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, are striving to do away with private property, and contend that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. They hold that by thus transferring property from private individuals to the community, the present mischievous state of things will be set to rights, inasmuch as each citizen will then get his fair share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their contentions are so clearly powerless to end the controversy that were they carried into effect the working-man himself would be among the first to suffer. They are, moreover, emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring State action into a sphere not within its competence, and create utter confusion in the community.

"It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the impelling reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and thereafter to hold it as his very own. If one man hires out to another his strength or skill, he does so for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for sustenance and education; he therefore expressly intends to acquire a right full and real, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of such remuneration just as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and, for greater security, invests his savings in land, the land, in such case, is only his wages under another form; and, consequently, a workingman's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his full disposal as are the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in such power of disposal that ownership obtains, whether the property consist of land or chattels. Socialists, therefore, by endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community at large, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, since they would deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thereby of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life.

"What is of far greater moment, however, is the fact that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation, for the brute has no power of self-direction, but is governed by two main instincts, which keep his powers on the alert, impel him to develop them in a fitting manner, and stimulate and determine him to action without any power of choice. One of these instincts is self-preservation, the other the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which lie within range; beyond their verge the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by their senses only, and in the special direction which these suggest. But with man it is wholly different. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of the animal being, and hence enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal kind, the fruition of things material. But animal nature, however perfect, is far from representing the human being in its completeness, and is in truth but humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and to obey. It is the mind, or reason, which is the predominant element in us who are human creatures; it is this which renders a human being human,

and distinguishes him essentially and generically from the brute. And on this very account—that man alone among the animal creation is endowed with reason—it must be within his right to possess things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living things do, but to have and to hold them in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things that perish in the use of them, but those also which, though they have been reduced into use, remain his own for further use.

"This becomes still more clearly evident if man's nature be considered a little more deeply. For man, fathoming by his faculty of reason matters without number, and linking the future with the present, becoming, furthermore, by taking enlightened forethought, master of his own acts, guides his ways under the eternal law and the power of God, whose providence governs all things. Wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice not only as to matters that regard his present welfare, but also about those which he deems may be for his advantage in time yet to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the very soil, inasmuch as from the produce of the earth he has to lay by provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; although satisfied to-day, they demand fresh supplies for to-morrow. Nature accordingly owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail, affording the daily supply for his daily wants. And this he finds solely in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth.

"Neither do we, at this stage, need to bring into action the interference of the State. Man precedes the State, and possesses, prior to the formation of any State, the right of providing for the sustenance of his body. Now to affirm that God has given the earth for the use and enjoyment of the whole human race is not to deny that private property is lawful. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry, and by the laws of individual races. Moreover, the earth, even though apportioned among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all, inasmuch as there is no one who does not sustain life from what the land produces. Those who do not possess the soil contribute their labor; hence it may truly be said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some toil, some calling which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself, or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth.

"Here, again, we have further proof that private ownership is in accordance with the law of nature. Truly, that which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well-being, is produced in great abundance from the soil, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and expended upon it his solicitude and skill. Now, when man thus turns the activity of his mind and the strength of his body towards procuring the fruits of nature, by such act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his individuality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his very own, and have a right to hold it without any one being justified in violating that right.

"So strong and convincing are these arguments, that it seems amazing that some should now be setting up anew certain obsolete opinions in opposition to what is here laid down. They assert that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and its various fruits, but that it is unjust for any one to possess outright either the land on which he has built, or the estate which he has brought under cultivation. But those who deny these rights do not perceive that they are defrauding man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its conditions: it was wild before, now it is fruitful; was barren, but now brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved the land becomes so truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's own sweat and labor should be possessed and enjoyed by any one else? As effects follow their cause, so is it just and right that the results of labor should belong to those who have bestowed their labor.

"With reason, then, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have contended for the opposite view, has found in the careful study of nature, and in the laws of nature, the foundations of the division of property, and the practice of all ages has consecrated the principle of private ownership, as being pre-eminently in conformity with human nature, and as

conducting in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquility of human existence. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws—laws which, so long as they are just, derive from the law of nature their binding force. The authority of the divine law adds its sanction, forbidding us in severest terms even to covet that which is another's:—*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; nor his house, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything which is his.*"

To men who admit that capital has some right to receive a just return on its investments, who think that those who provide the funds wherewith to finance great undertakings, and employ thousands of men have a right to receive liberal reward, it can be proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that the United Railroads are in the right. Should the seeming wave of insanity which has wrecked labor unionism in Chicago reach San Francisco and cause the carmen to strike, we venture to predict that in a very short time Cornelius and his fellow grafters will be compelled to flee to escape the vengeance of their deluded victims. The places will be filled in a week or less, and the truth of Mr. Ready's statement on the witness stand that he could fill every place vacated by the carmen in a few days will be proved. The United Railroads can stand the strike indefinitely if they choose, or if they should conclude to throw the road into the hands of a receiver, the trouble of the carmen would be just beginning. The fact is the unionists, as has been said before, have lost their greatest ally—public sympathy—without which no cause can succeed whether right or wrong. Truth will prevail, in the long run. It will be a blessing in disguise for both the Carmen's Union and San Francisco should they declare a strike. For the carmen because they would get so soundly whipped that the word strike would make them squirm for the rest of their life, and for the city because of the assured advent of a long period of industrial peace. The men to take their places, two for each position left vacant, are here now, whilst many a farm boy who toils from dawn to dark for a dollar would hasten here to secure \$2.50 a day with easy hours and more congenial occupation.

Manager Chapman's moderation has been commented on everywhere in terms of praise, whilst the coarse invective of Cornelius has everywhere excited contempt. A small man mentally, if not physically, pitchforked by a series of accidents into a position where he actually attempts to dictate to a company that once dispensed with his services, he does not realize the contemptible figure he holds in the public eye. He will shortly disappear into the slime from which he emerged. This fellow is actually bragging at this moment of boycotting the *Post* because of the courage of its editor in printing an editorial advising the carmen to go slow, very slow.

In the midst of all this turmoil the police department of this city has been pursuing the even tenor of its way. To the object of attack by the extremists on both sides, in a city governed by a union labor Mayor, the task is no easy one. Criticism is cheap, any demagogue who can sling a pen can pour forth a tirade of abuse, but such alone by its very intensity defeats its own object.

In the last five years tens of thousands of soldiers have been discharged at this port. Of this vast number a considerable percentage has remained. Thousands, after a brief period of treading the primrose path, have been left destitute and friendless. It is no libel on our gallant army to say that of this class a number have resorted to crime in various forms to get money. There are black sheep in every flock, and the army is not exempt. Sensationalists have taken advantage of this fact to point to a seeming increase of crime. The termination of the teamsters' strike also threw many of the deluded strikers on the streets, and these added their quota to the record. This great metropolis, at which sooner or later every crook and desperado arrives, has a force of considerably under a thousand police to protect its citizens and uphold its laws. Chief Wittman, burdened with the responsibilities of a position under which his paid detractors would sink, has simply proceeded unostentatiously to do his duty. Neither courting praise nor dodging censure, he has to-day the complete confidence of all who desire to see the law supreme and crime suppressed.

There is not a thinking citizen of this metropolis who does not know that our Chief of Police, especially of late years, has had his powers curtailed in a great measure by a hostile element who have attained to great influence in municipal affairs. This hostile element, seeing the total eclipse of its power in the immediate future, is the source of most of the uncalled-for attacks on Chief Wittman.

The demagogue, the crimp, the footpad, and all the vast number of criminals and their associates know full well that the police department is their bitter

foe. Those, too, who glory in the riot and lawlessness incident to a strike instinctively recognize in the present Chief a deadly enemy to their desires. All these classes inspire whatever denunciation they may be capable of, aided by a few cheap yellow journalists seeking financial recuperation.

The great silent body of respectable citizens who are too busily engrossed in the affairs of life to spend their days in doubtful barrooms are with the Chief heart and soul, and the support of this body of men is worth that of all the blatherskites and demagogues who ever infested the United States. We believe the Chief intends to see that all classes are equally protected in their chosen vocations, and that the real working man stands on the same basis before him as the capitalist or the professional man.

The police department is the servant of the people, and in its efforts to enforce the law, to which end each and every individual member has sworn to forfeit his life if necessary in so doing, they ought to have the undivided support of every American.

If in the immediate future disturbances of an industrial origin are again forced upon this abused community and any destruction of property should result, because of the arbitrary action of the allies of the anarchistic elements temporarily boosted into power, the great body of voters will hold them to account.

Every visitor to our city remarks on the fine appearance of San Francisco's policemen. The famous Broadway squad of New York and the colossal policemen that parade Regent Street, London, can be duplicated right here.

The work and responsibility that the Chief is shouldering every day, and the ability and forethought necessary to direct the operation of this important branch of the city government, would, if expended in mercantile or professional pursuits, insure a stipend vastly in excess of that which is attached to the office of Chief of Police.

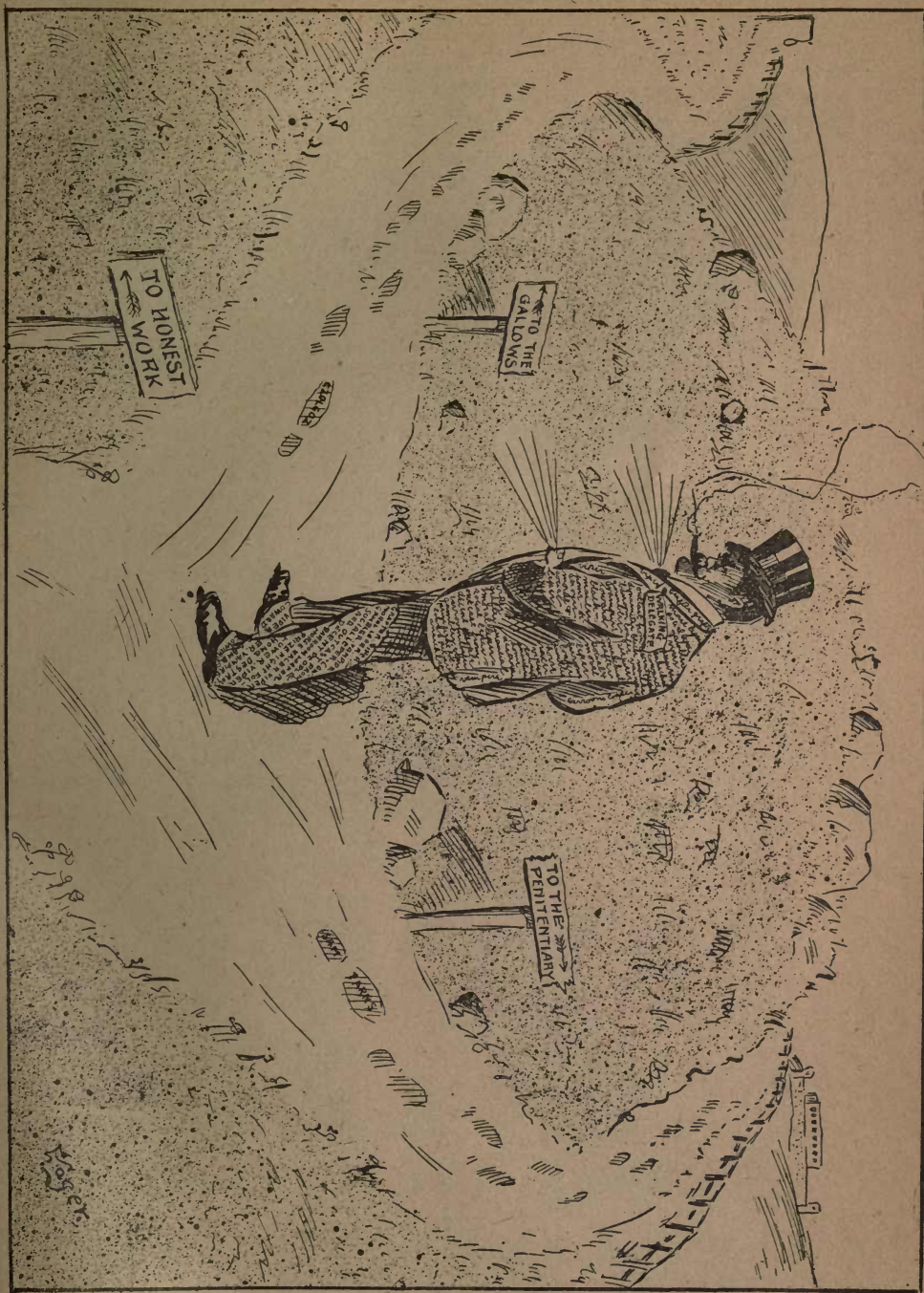
A man or a paper is known by the enemies he or it makes, and we congratulate the *Post* on the enmity of Cornelius. That editorial endorsed the unionism of the real labor leaders like Gompers, Powderly, Arthur and John Burns of England. These men, fit for the exalted position they occupy, are chary indeed in the matter of ordering strikes, the knowledge they have of the past history of labor, showing the futility of this proceeding unless as a last resort. It is a very interesting fact that a class of men who must be endowed with some intelligence to conduct even a street-car, should allow themselves to be led by a cheap jawsmith like this man, who to judge by his speeches, should be emptying ash-barrels into a scavenger-wagon and thus earning an honest living. The bees kill off their drones, the parasitic inhabitants who toil not and yet live on the labor of others periodically; one would think the carmen would take similar action, and officially kill such parasitic appendages as the president of the Carmen's Union. That done we do not think the carmen will have much trouble with Manager Chapman. We venture to say that if the vote to strike or not to strike were left with the wives of the carmen, it would be rejected by a vote of 99 to 1. The feminine contingent will realize the suffering incident to an idiotically conceived strike. However the time is short, the next few days will show whether conservatism and good judgment will prevail, or whether the anarchistic element will overawe the good judgment of others and plunge the city into another strike. Whichever conclusion is arrived at, we stand ready to do our duty. Threats have no effect on us, and should the carmen strike, we will be prepared, when the trouble is over, to receive them and extend the same courtesies in securing positions for them as we do for others.

Herbert V. Ready

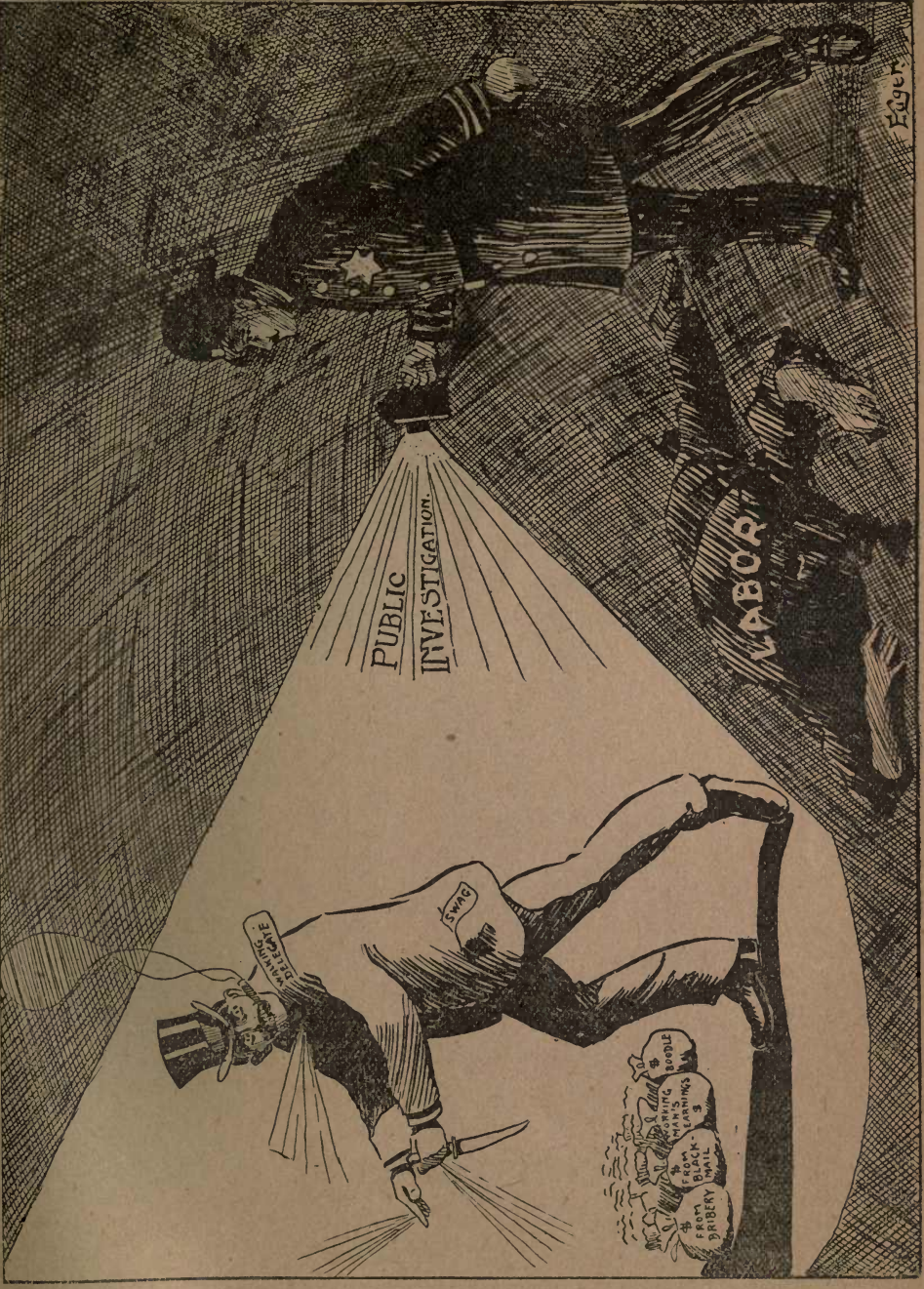
ADDENDA

In the near future it is our intention to publish a more pretentious work on labor and its environment, in the United States and all European Countries.

Mr. H. V. Ready spent more than a year traveling abroad with sole object of gaining information on this most important of all questions. We promise the reader a wealth of information will be contained in this coming work, usually inaccessible to the average citizen.

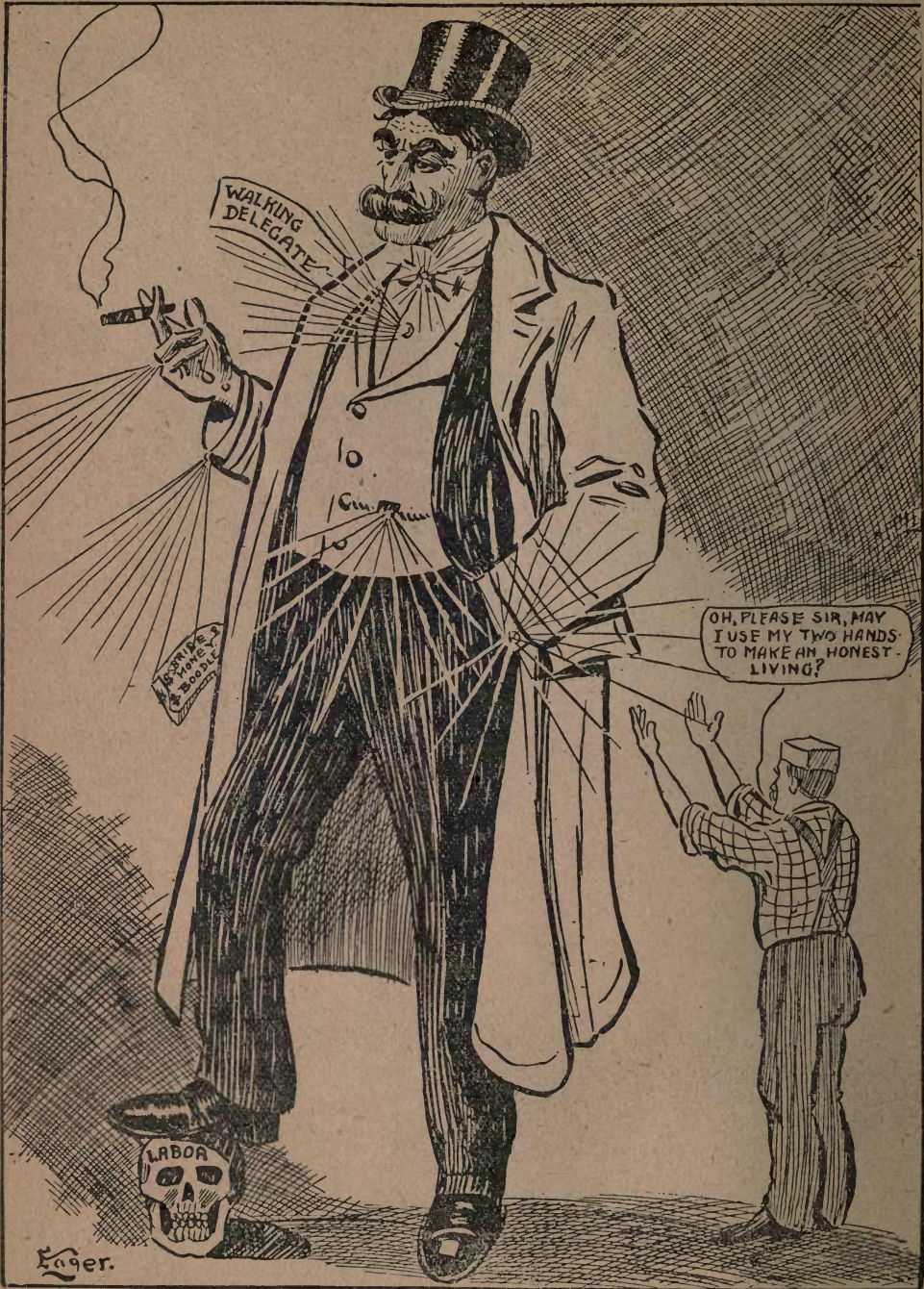


Which one will be chosen?



O that the Gods some gift would gie us, to see ourselves as others see us.—Burns.

THE UNCROWNED KING.



King Solomon in all his Glory was not arrayed like one of these—Walking Delegates.

Owing to the unprecedented demand for this pamphlet, the first and second editions of which (consisting of 72 and 80 pages, respectively) were exhausted within twenty-four hours of the dates of their publication, the author has concluded to issue a third edition of 20,000 copies, with an addition of sixteen new pages.

The end for which it was published has been attained. Everywhere it has created discussion and argument. Orders have been and are pouring in from interior points for more copies from employer and employe alike. A condition of affairs in the labor world of which many of our friends in the interior were unaware, has been revealed to them, and a sentiment that such a condition must be abolished has received a strong impetus.

Some unionists, professing to believe that the conditions set forth in the preceding eighty pages are entirely fictitious, and a figment of the author's imagination, have remarked upon the absence of specific cases to back up the assertions herein set forth.

Ignorant socialists and cheap demagogues have spouted on this subject. In the following pages we propose to entirely settle all doubts. Authenticated cases of union interference upon pretexts so trivial as to cause speculation as to whether or no their promulgators were sane are here set forth, and for the benefit of our readers we will say that we have in our office the proofs of what we print in black and white.

"Orators" who, if they worked a tithe as hard with their arms as with their tongues, would be rich, have ranted on the street corners for the last two weeks on the subject. The writer has been called every name and vilified in every possible way by these bellowing jawsmiths, and he glories in it. The letters which have been received set forth very distinctly the element which is arrayed against fair play. Unsigned scrawls, almost undecipherable, reeking with obscene language and filthy abuse have been received, and but serve to encourage the recipient to persevere in his course. Such enemies are to be desired above all things. A man who hides under an anonymous communication is not worthy of being replied to. He is a cowardly whelp who is allied to the thug who seeks to assault helpless women, or who prowls in our streets to rob or murder defenceless citizens. Our statements and arguments are published to the world under our own name; we are responsible for every word written there, and are prepared to prove their truth also. If any one differs from us, and there are undoubtedly many, that is their privilege and right. To such, who have written in a manly fashion stating their views and signing their names *as men do*, the writer returns thanks. Honest difference tends to progress, without it we would stagnate. On the other hand, we have received an immense number of letters from employers and employes endorsing unqualifiedly our stand, and reciprocating our sentiments. These gentlemen we thank from the bottom of our heart.

In a multitude of council there is wisdom. As we proceed to publish in the following pages, absolutely authenticated cases of what seems to us, rank injustice, grotesque absurdity, and tragedy almost equally mixed, we invite honest unionists to investigate these things for themselves.

The rank injustice is seen in the artificial restrictions put upon American boys in learning a trade, in the absolute refusal to allow a plain American to work unless he be tagged, in the attempt to put all men on a uniform basis, and in a thousand and one other ways.

The grotesque absurdity is seen in the sympathetic strike whereby it is conceivable that the discharge of a member of the Potwashers' Union might result in the suspension of the business of a great community, were it not that the hard, common sense with which most Americans, union and non-union alike, are endowed, prevent such absurdities. Lastly, the tragedy is seen on all sides in the murderous assaults, the want and destitution of innocent people during a strike, in the arraying of class against class, race against race, and brother against brother. Are these things true? Are they demonstrable? Let the reader answer when he reaches the end of this book.

The greater number of these instances we cite occurred in this city and a number of them came under the personal observation of the writer.

In one of the largest provision stores here a number of men were preparing chickens for the market, picking the feathers, etc. Suddenly they were interrupted by the advent of a well-dressed man, who announced himself to his awestricken hearers as the President of the Chicken Pickers Union. This mighty man in his official capacity proceeded to interrogate the unfortunate merchant

who owned the store, about the afore-mentioned chickens. The awful fact loomed up under this president's keen questioning that in some way these chickens were scabs, and every man alive then and there dropped the cursed things and fled from the place as though it were stricken with the plague. Whether a board of arbitration solemnly passed upon the question, or whether they finally ended an inglorious career in some scab's stomach, feathers and all, is a mystery we cannot penetrate; but we are compelled to suppose that the Chicken Pickers Organization won out and that henceforth a scab rooster will die with his feathers on.

How those chickens got picked history sayeth not. The sympathy of every man in this great land, however, must go out to these boycotted roosters and unfair hens, and also to the unborn descendants who were scabs even in the egg. Some reader may feel skeptical about this statement, so grotesque and "raw" does it seem. But it occurred here in the present year of our Lord, and is an absolute fact.

The Scavengers' Union is also adding to the gaiety of San Francisco at present. Every day there can be seen on the principal streets a dilapidated old wagon plastered over to the effect that Bacigalupi, Spaghetti and others are "unfair." The horse that pulls this affair looks as though it worked longer than union hours. However, the fight is on to a finish, and the business of the city still continues.

Another case where a touch of the serious mingles with the ridiculous occurred in New York some time ago. A member of the Hatters' Union in the course of nature died, and his comrades were following him to the cemetery, where at least one would suppose "scab" and unionist were equal.

Some one in an unlucky moment discovered that the unfortunate individual driving the hearse was a "scab."

Consternation reigned supreme. Every last man climbed off his carriage and refused to proceed. The wretched cause of the trouble also got off. The procession, of course, was held up. Such a thing as a unionist corpse being escorted to the grave by a "scab" driver was a fact to appalling to contemplate.

Finally the trouble was averted; some other union driver was secured and the union corpse received a union burial, as it was first intended.

No one will deny that a man has a right to be buried by whom he pleases, but does it not seem rather far-fetched in the face of Death, the great leveler of all human differences, to go to such an extreme?

It is also to be hoped that when the union soul arrived at the pearly gates, St. Peter did not demand his union card. There, at least, the unions will cease from troubling and the "scab" will be at rest.

The cartoon on page 67 represents a darker phase of the same subject.

In Chicago during the late strike, as readers of the papers will know, burials were absolutely suspended and grief-stricken relatives were unable to bury their dead till some agreement was reached.

Such an event will never occur again. The sentiment of a great body of union men will never again permit such a proceeding. It is not necessary to say anything more on this subject.

Another instance, bringing us back to the laughable, occurred in our presence in this city.

In a private residence a group of friends, after dinner, retired to the smoking-room. The cigars were passed around and enjoyed by all, except one poor fellow, a union man, who, on examining his, found it was a scab cigar and declined it, saying he was afraid to smoke it.

A fifty-cent cigar of national fame was thus declined by the poor devil who sat uncomfortable and silent, whilst his fellow-guests enjoyed themselves, there not happening to be in the house a cigar with a tamale sign on it.

A sacrifice for principle, we can hear some one say; and our answer is that a principle that denies a man a good smoke in the house of his friends is not much of a principle.

Another case is that of a hotel proprietor not far from San Francisco.

This gentleman hired a painter and carpenter, both union men, to do some work for him. In the course of the work it turned out that a little plaster

was needed on one of the chimneys.

The hotel-man asked the painter to do it in the course of his work, and to his astonishment was informed that he dare not. The carpenter came out with the same story, and informed the hotel-man he would have to get a man from the city.

As the job would not take half an hour, the proprietor could not see the force of the argument, and informed his two employes that he himself would do it. To his unbounded astonishment they informed him if he did they would have to quit.

Here was a pretty state of affairs: a job half done and men willing enough to do the work, or to let him do it in his own house, but protesting they dare not, neither dare they let him do it, under pain of being expelled from the union.

Our hotel-man, however, was a man of resource. He bided his time, and when on Saturday night his two unionists came to the city to pay their dues, he himself did the job and painted it over with some of the union paint before the men returned. When they came back nothing was said, as both men were naturally of a good and accommodating disposition, but were held down by the imbecile rule of their union against doing even that paltry amount of work.

A quiet smile stole over the painter's face as he looked at his paint pot, and a wink from the carpenter, however, showed they were "next."

Another absurdity of a similar kind occurred near San Jose a short time ago. A contractor putting up a building was out of nails and telephoned to a store in San Jose. A boy was immediately dispatched with a supply, and on arriving at the building was asked to show a union card. He did not have one, and accordingly the carpenters refused to use the "scab" nails.

Instances of this kind can be produced ad infinitum. The poor contractor, between the devil and the deep sea, is simply blocked. His job must be finished in a certain time under penalties, and his men hold the whip hand on him.

An electrical contractor on Clay Street, San Francisco, secured a job wiring a house and hired a man who was competent to do the work, without asking whether or no he was a union man. After working a few hours with his man, a full-blown specimen of the walking delegate appeared on the scene and demanded to know who had the job. The contractor replied that he was the fortunate, or rather, as events proved, unfortunate man. Our delegate now turned his attention to the hired man and found he had a union card. Turning to the contractor, he informed him he could not work on his own job and that he must either hire another union man or let his employe work alone.

Thus it has come to this, that if a man takes a contract he cannot work himself, but must stand by and see some one else do it.

A partner in a bakery in this city drives one of his wagons, or rather used to, until a hold-up man called on him and threatened to tie up his business unless he hired a man to drive and remained idle himself. Yet this is America.

The horse, wagon and contents of the wagon belonged to this man, but an outside influence stepped in and forbade him to drive it.

Another instance is where the employer is compelled to report each week the new help hired, to the union. Needless to say the walking delegate promptly appears and if the new man is not a unionist he is out of a job in short order.

Another experience in our own business occurred last summer. In compliance with an order for twenty-five men we shipped them and procured passage for them on a steamer going to their destination. The sailors perceiving that this body of men were laboring men, inquired of several for their union cards and could not find any. That was enough. No self-respecting union sailor could think of piloting a non-union man to his destination or even allow him on the same ship. They refused to man the steamer.

Another particularly flagrant case of union unfairness happened in a prominent restaurant on Sixth Street a short time ago. The walking delegate of the Cooks and Waiters Union strolled into the place and peremptorily demanded that the proprietor sign the agreement for one year. The gentleman requested time to consider, which reasonable request was denied. "Sign right now," the delegate demanded, "or suffer the consequences." Finally the delegate left,

and the proprietor, thinking he was to have time to consider, went out for advice. On his return he found the place empty. The cooks and waiters had walked out and the sole occupant of the place was the girl cashier.

Such actions as these, devoid even of the first elements of fair play, has brought unionism into the disrepute in which it is held to-day, and the proprietor cannot be blamed if he holds strong prejudices against the union.

Sometimes, however, the exactions of unionism are felt by a union man. A union bricklayer who owned his own home was putting up a chimney, and his son, who was considerably under age, was helping. In walks the business agent, and, after exchanging the morning greeting, asks the father who the boy was who was helping him; whether he was a union apprentice, etc. The father replied that the boy was his own son, and that this was his own house, and that the boy was still going to school. The walking delegate to the union man answered, that the work the boy was doing, under the union regulations, called for a member of the Hod Carriers Union, and the boy had to stop helping his father and a hod carrier was sent for.

Another business agent of one of the local unions dropped into a saloon not far from Clay and Kearny Streets and upon interrogating the individual who presided over the destinies of the lunch counter, found that he did not possess that magic talisman, the union card. Here was a chance for a grand stand play. He scorned to drink in a place where such a contemptible wretch had the nerve to work, and walked out.

A few doors below this place, a little later, he was to be seen taking drink after drink from the hands of a so-called scab barkeeper. Is it possible that this sudden change of feeling was because in this latter case the drinks were not costing him anything?

But the lowest, most contemptible case of oppression engineered by these scoundrels on unfortunates who are handicapped in the struggle for existence by an affliction that should soften the heart of an Apache, has traveled across the continent, and blackened the fair name of California, we reprint from the *New York Sun*.

A BOYCOTT ON THE BLIND.

(From the *New York Sun*.)

The State of California maintains in the city of Oakland, just across the bay from San Francisco, an industrial home for the adult blind. There seventy men and women, deprived of their sight, live and earn a little money by making brooms. Their affliction reduces their productive capacity by about 50 per cent, and it would not be supposed that the output of their industry would constitute a serious menace even to the labor unions. Inconsiderable as the product of the home's inmates is, however, it has aroused the labor leaders of the State and they have declared a boycott upon the home and its manufactures, to drive them from the market. In this situation the inmates of the home have issued a statement in which they set forth their condition. They say.

Compelled by indigence or idleness we sought admission to the home as the only place where the blind could learn a handicraft and earn their clothing and comforts. Those who see can form no conception of the blessings of work to the blind. Without it we who live in darkness have nothing to divert us from the sadness and sorrows of our situation. With work we have happiness. Without work we have sadness and misery for our companions.

By the sale of the brooms the inmates of the home obtain their sole income. Working at their trade is their "greatest happiness," and when the boycott was declared, the blind broom makers appealed to the unions for mercy. Little of that quality did they find in the unions.

An appeal to them to be merciful to the blind has been made, but is unheeded. Retail dealers, under penalty of a general boycott on their business, do not dare buy the blind man's brooms, and now the same cold-hearted policy is closing our wholesale trade against us. Nearly all of us were laboring people when blindness fell upon us, and many of us were labor union men. We cannot now belong to a union. We are a community by ourselves, joined in bonds of a common misfortune.

The inmates of the home do not ask charity; they want only a fair field. Their product, only a fraction of one per cent of the total number of brooms consumed in the State, they want to sell on the open market; that is all, and that is denied them. They say:

The purpose of a labor union is declared to be humane. If this be so, our misfortune should make us first among the objects of that humanity. But instead of this we are treated by our brothers who see as if our blindness had outlawed us from human sympathy and set us among the beasts that perish.

Can it be that in these latter days the blind, stricken and forlorn, are to be punished by men as if their infirmity was a crime?

The right to sell the products of their industry implies more than a means of earning money to the blind. Productive activity means for them relief from awful imprisonment; "It is manhood and womanhood, health and happiness." It means harm to no person, injury to no industry, unhappiness to no one. The broom manufacturers of the country, the employers of labor, heartless and grasping as the labor unionists paint them, have not demanded the withdrawal of the blind broom makers' products from the market. They would not dare, nor have they the power to enforce or the will to inspire such a demand. It remained for the labor leaders to conceive and execute so wicked a plan.

The blind men and women appeal to Californians to buy and insist upon receiving home made brooms until the boycott is broken. If the Californians have the average portion of red blood and love of fair play, they will be enthusiastic to take up so honorable crusade and carry it to success.

But in the meantime is there no legal power to protect the business men of the State against a huge conspiracy to rule or ruin them? Must they submit to conduct their affairs to suit the ideas of an unincorporated secret society with no legal standing, or else retire from business? If the Masonic fraternity formally attempted to drive a Roman Catholic tradesman from business, conspiring to ruin him, would the law afford him no protection? Would the Odd Fellows be permitted to dictate what goods a merchant should sell and what he should not?

The inhumanity of the boycott against the blind is patent, and the time is not far distant when the criminals who institute such conspiracies will be brought to a short stop before the bar of justice.

(*In re* this outrageous case, the Labor Unions have denied it. They lie, and they know it!! We have the word of the manager of the Industrial Home for the Adult Blind that it is true in every detail. The case is complete, and the Unions stand convicted of the most infamous crime conceivable.—H. V. R.)

We have noticed in our business as employment agents another peculiar feature of a good many union men. During the great strike two years ago, when nearly all organized labor in the city was on strike and when it was a daily occurrence for "scabs" taking the places of strikers to be assaulted in murderous fashion, the strikers themselves applied at our offices for positions in large numbers. In accordance with our policy of hiring men regardless of union affiliations, as long as they are competent, we sent thousands of these men out to different positions; in fact, thirty per cent of our business that year was done with strikers.

Now, this is all well and good, and a striker has a perfect right to earn his living in any honorable manner, but it does seem a trifle inconsistent.

Let these men allow others the privilege of doing what they demand as a right. Wages in the country were cut in many cases by the same strikers who so loudly talked of scabs, etc.; in fact, many of these very strikers went to work at places in the country where there was a strike on, and helped to defeat their comrades in other lines of work whilst asking public support for themselves.

In this line it may also be mentioned that a large number of patrons of a drug store which has been boycotted with a malignancy rarely seen elsewhere, are union men and their wives. The proof of this is seen in the archives of the unions themselves, many of their members having been "spotted" and fined the customary five dollars for patronizing an "unfair" house.

Almost immediately opposite our place of business is a Japanese restaurant.

Strange to relate, this place is largely supported by union men, although in the immediate vicinity are union places. Forty to fifty union mechanics dine in this place daily, whilst their brother unionists of the cooks and waiters stand ready to cater to their wants within a stone's throw.



SAM PARKS.

THE CHAMPION WALKING DELEGATE.

Sam Parks, the greatest and most unscrupulous of the later-day Walking Delegates, died May 4th. The career of this man is so astounding in its boldness, so magnificent in its success to a certain point, so startling in the abruptness of its descent to ruin, and so humiliating in its disclosures of the weakness of human nature, as to place it amongst the most interesting of the times. No ordinary man was Sam Parks.

Born in County Downs, Ireland, he came to this country at an early age, and his natural aggressiveness brought him to the front of his associates. He finally entered the Housesmiths and Bridgemen's Union, and it was not long ere he was made the Walking Delegate of the Union. From that period dates his rocket-like ascension to fame with its subsequent extinction in the darkness of total dishonor. Sam Parks' keen brain soon "took in" the many opportunities for successful grafting, and he proceeded to take advantage of them.

His personality was such that his fellow unionists placed absolute confidence in him, and he rapidly became one of the important men of New York. In the year 1901 there was an immense amount of building going on. Any man at all skilled in his trade could secure abundance of work. Parks' first steps were to get all these men into the local unions and thus secure an absolute monopoly. This he did. Although he had but one vote in the Building Trades' Council, it seemed to be the only vote there; whatever he decided on was done.

One day Sam concluded he wanted a little ready money. He showed up at the office of the Hecla Iron Works, an immense industrial concern, and coolly walking to the Directors' room introduced himself by saying that some of the union rules were being violated, but that he would square the trouble for \$1,000. With soul-stirring emphasis he was told to go to Fort Yuma or some other place of tropical temperature, and he left the office.

The troubles of the Hecla Iron Works were just beginning. Shortly afterwards a strike was declared, every man dropped his tools, and the great iron works were silent. Sam Parks was getting back at the Hecla people. After a period in which the corporation spent tens of thousands trying to operate their plant, they realized what a lead-pipe cinch Parks had.

Another meeting was arranged, this time Parks was not begging for money,

but he accepted a check for \$2,000, and the men went back to work, completely successful in all their demands. So gratified did they feel towards Parks that they presented him with a magnificent diamond ring, engraved "Victory; Strike, Hecla Iron Works." Thus both sides contributed to his exchequer and Sam was showing other Walking Delegates how the thing ought to be done. Some members of the unions, honest men, men who wanted to work undisturbed at their jobs, opposed Parks in the meetings. These men usually lost their jobs mysteriously or got stretched out cold some night going home. The vast majority, however, were enthusiastic in their praise of Parks. His great personal force held them faithful. Rumors of his grafting propensities reached the union, but the majority, looking at the practical side of affairs, said they did not care whether he grafted or not, as long as he secured for them the top wages and the shortest hours. His control was absolute. Of \$60,000 collected by the union in 1901, subsequent investigation showed \$40,000 disappeared without an accounting.

By a strange play of fate, the W. P. Fuller Construction Company, the largest constructors of skyscrapers in this country, brought Parks from Chicago.

Rumor credits the Standard Oil Company with being interested in this corporation. The Lord only knows that Rockefeller did not have to do as Parks bid him.

Parks seems to have dictated the policy of this company as absolutely as if he had been president of the concern.

A great strike was declared, no one seemed to know exactly what for. There was no question of hours, wages, or recognition of the union at issue. All these points were absolutely conceded. After four months' struggle, after millions were spent uselessly, after untold suffering in the homes of the strikers, the strike simply wore out. Parks was arrested on a charge of bribery, one of many, and convicted. He secured a new trial, and was convicted again and sentenced to two years and three months in Sing Sing.

Consumption had marked him for her own, and he died in the prime of life, a convicted felon.

One of his lieutenants, Murphy of the Stone Cutters, who stole \$27,000, mourns his leader to-day in Sing Sing.

The simple statement of this man's kaleidoscopic career as a Walking Delegate is enough. These Frisco Walking Delegates are nickel plated affairs, nay, they are nothing, alongside of Parks. They lack his daring and his fertility of resource. They strike over the shoulders of others; Parks struck himself. He is the great original in the art of "bringing in the sheaves." He levied on both sides, and perhaps it is better that he died in prison, else, as the cartoon on page 75 indicates, he might have come to a worse end.

A union engineer running a train on a railroad operated by a mining company, saw a non-union man laying on the track in a drunken stupor, and deliberately ran the train over him, disemboweling and of course killing him. The mining company discharged him immediately. He demanded reinstatement, which was positively refused. That refusal precipitated a general strike, in which the strikers got badly worsted.

There is a young lady in this city, a strong union advocate, who has been keeping company with a young fellow, honest, sober and industrious, but who is as strongly against unions as she is in favor of them. She positively declines to marry him unless he joins the union of his craft. He refuses. We hope the fair one will not allow her unionist affiliations to prevent the course of love having its customary ending, but we also advise the young man to hold on to his convictions, even though he have to marry a "scab" girl.

The miners employed by a company in this State requested the superintendent to discharge one of their members who was behind in his dues to the union. The superintendent demurred, saying he interfered with no one's personal affairs. A strike was the result—strike lost. One hundred and ninety-five men sent by Murray & Ready in two days.

A local railroad company discharged a union employee lately for drunkenness and incompetency. His reinstatement was demanded and refused, and a strike resulted which was lost almost immediately. Murray & Ready sent 165 men in two hours.

A good union man strolled into a restaurant and ate a hearty meal. To his horror he found out that his union stomach was full of "scab" food. Not only did he refuse to pay for it, but he went outside, and, putting his finger down his throat, attempted to throw it up. The union stomach, however, did not propose to part even with "scab grub." At this moment a Delegate of the Waiters' Union stepped up and the wretched man explained the fearful condition he was in. The rage of the delegate was terrible to look upon. He preferred a charge against the man of patronizing a "scab" restaurant, and that unfortunate, besides filling his stomach with "scab" victuals also paid a fine of \$10.

A clerk was building a house, and the carpenters being through the painters came on the scene. Suddenly one of them felt a dislike to a certain door, and, on examining it, found out it was a non-union door. Instantly all work stopped. After some trouble the door was initiated into the union, or something; anyhow the painters went back to work. The cement men now appeared on the scene. They had no union cards. The painters quit again. The miserable owner tore his hair and used strong language, and do you blame him, reader? Finally it was agreed that the "scab" cement men should work after 5 o'clock, when the painters quit. But we make a guess that the owner will do some thinking before building again.

A large mine owner in the eastern part of the State has had a strike on his hands that resulted in disaster for his opponents and their allies. He hired from Murray & Ready 265 first-class non-union men and sent them to the mine. After the men arrived the hotels that make a living out of the workers at the mine refused to board the non-union men.

The mining man, who is widely known as a man of determination and resource, built his own hotels, and now not only his ex-employees, but also their allies, find themselves "up in the air."

A large English syndicate had trouble with its men and hired 45 men at this office to take their places. These men got as far as Milton, where they were met by a strong body of unionists, and were beaten and their baggage stolen. These unionists said they did not propose to have any b——y blasted Englishmen hiring whom they pleased. Another body of men was sent up and they took with them the American, English, German and other flags, according to their nationality. The U. S. mail was also distributed on the several stages, and when they met the unionists again, the new men openly jeered them and dared them to fire again. This strike was immediately lost.

At one of the big cigar stores on Market Street lately, a Business agent, not knowing that he was observed, bought a well-known brand of "scab" cigarette tobacco. A union man, a stranger to him, called him down for it, and, with an oath, the Business Agent replied that he smoked what he liked and he didn't give a d——n whether it was scab or not.

Good, sound sense, but poor unionism.

Some unions passed by-laws to the effect that the uniform number of members shall be maintained, and thus the only opportunity for an outsider to gain admission is when death makes a vacancy.

The president of one of the most powerful of the city unions has been seen to shave many a time in a ten-cent scab shop on this street and he seems to do it openly.

He might shave in the free barber college for all we care about it, but the chance is too good to let slip to show up the hypocrisy of some of these pre-tenders.

The speech of the silver-tongued orator, Tom Fitch, of Nevada, to the locomotive engineers at San Bernardino, Saturday, March 14, 1904, is printed here as an exposition of the aims and objects of the highest-grade labor organization in America.

WISDEST OF LABOR UNIONS.

"You are here in California, gentlemen, as the representatives of the wisest and fairest labor union in the world. If the members of all the other trade unions were to adopt your precepts and follow your example in dealing with

their employers, and with each other, and with all men, there would seldom be wasteful strikes in which the worker must, even if finally successful, labor three or six months in order to make up the losses occasioned by one month of idleness.

"I believe in labor unions. I cannot see why workers have not a better right to lawfully combine in order to obtain a higher price for their labor, than coal operators have to unlawfully combine in order to get a higher price for fuel. In my humble opinion the teamster who assaults another teamster because the latter has no union button, and the financial magnate who violates the anti-trust law, ought to be made to keep the lock-step of fellow convicts. My prejudices and sympathies are with the workers. Capitalists have never helped me to earn a dollar unless they deemed it to their interest to do so. I never was employed because I had a brother-in-law or an uncle in the board of trustees. No capitalist ever walked miles from his palace to attend a meeting where I spoke, as many a man and many a miner has walked from his cabin in the older golden days.

"Orderly, law-abiding trades-unionism, just such trades-unionism as you practice, gentlemen, is legitimate and honorable. The brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is as conservative a body as any chamber of commerce or board of trade, and in its business management it is a good deal more conservative than are the directors of some banks of which I have heard. Capital and labor belong together. Their interests are identical. There is, in this land of ours, no necessary conflict between them, and no conflict that is not forced and unnatural. The man with the hammer should not be at outs with the man that hires the man with the hammer.

"If you will analyze the utterances of some of the demagogic, blatant, cherubim and seraphim who 'continually do cry' about the 'conflict between the man and the dollar,' you will find that in many instances it is a conflict between the man who is without a dollar because he is too lazy, or too ignorant, or too dishonest to earn a dollar, and the industrious man who has saved his dollar, in which contest the dollarless man is endeavoring to get the other man's dollar away from him without giving him anything in return for it. It is the contest between the man who has a job and desires to keep it, and the man who is without a job and is afraid that he will find one. It is a contest between the bread winner and the tramp; between the man who can write his name, and the man who signs his name with a cross; between the depositors in the savings banks and the depositors in the faro banks; between the workers and brawlers.

"We live in an age of light, we live in an advancing generation,' and retrogressive, whining, wealth-hating, labor-shirking doctrines are out of joint with the times. Everywhere invention, discovery and science are pushing their mighty march up the mountains, along the valleys, and into the caverns of the earth. They are riding in great ships over the foam-crested seas. They are preparing to climb to the stars. Shall the United States alone among the nations seek to check their advance? Shall it succumb to the demands of calamity howlers, who cry out against the aggressions of capital and the tyranny of wealth owners?

THE POOR MAN'S LUXURIES.

"Where is the tyranny of the wealth owners to be found? In what form does it manifest itself? In Europe a laborer takes off his hat when he meets a lord. In America a man keeps his hat on when he meets a millionaire, unless the millionaire salutes him first. In Europe the teamster turns out for the carriage with a coronet on its panels. In America the carriage of the capitalist will lose a wheel if its owner does not turn out for a coal cart, provided the owner of the coal cart has the right of way. What at last do rich men obtain from life more than poor men? Toil brings hunger, and hunger is a better sauce than any compounded by a French chef. God gives his beloved as sweet sleep upon a cot as upon the downiest couch. Public libraries and galleries give their treasures of learning and art to the poorest. Music and drama can be enjoyed as well from the galleries as from the boxes. A trolley car gives a smoother and swifter ride than a carriage drawn by horses. There are no reserved seats in Nature's amphitheater. The ripple of the river, the verdure of the lawns, the shade of the trees and the perfumes of the flowers belong alike to the rich and poor.

"If some of the workers of California instead of reaching for the moon and following demagogues and dreamers, who promise it to them, would use their voting power to procure the enactment of just laws that would really benefit them, they would better illustrate their common sense than they sometimes do.

You cannot go into a barber shop or a saloon without finding half a dozen newspapers filled with various articles about the rights of labor and lurid diatribes against those who invade such rights. You cannot go through a political campaign without listening to a dozen spellbinders howling about the rights and wrongs of labor from Siskiyou to San Diego, and all the time the simplest and most obvious and most needed measure that might be enacted for the benefit of labor is never mentioned.

"Unlawful violence never accomplished any good for a cause. In former ages force and not reason ruled the world; now reason sits upon the throne, and under her benign sway, prosperity and peace and happiness abide. There is nothing more grand than a government which accords to its citizens perfect freedom, and requires of them implicit obedience to law.

"If you don't like the law, then use your votes to change it, but while it is law drop the club and knife and the gun and the dynamite bomb, and obey the law. If there is a worker who has what you consider to be bad taste and the bad judgment, and the selfishness not to belong to a labor union, you are not obliged to respect him or associate with him or to greet him with friendliness when you meet, but you are obliged not to assault or molest him. He may be, in your opinion, a scab, but he has a legal right to be a scab if he chooses. He has a legal right to work for whomsoever he pleases, at whatever rate of wages he pleases and for whatever number of hours in each day he pleases. Reason with him, plead with him, persuade him to stand by his fellow-workmen if you can. That is your right, but keep your hands off him, for it is not your right to assault him. You may be sure that if you attempt violence there will step to the front a deputy United States marshal who will say to you with the voice of seventy millions of people and with the bayonets of an army behind him: "Let that man pass to his labors." (That is true. If San Francisco is to be plunged into industrial anarchy to attain this end, let it come: the resulting peace will be worth the fight to the apprentice boys of this city. If one boy or ten million want to learn trades in America, especially San Francisco, we intend to fight legally for their right, until every Union is dead or their by-laws amended.—H. V. R.)



ELECTRIC.

In one of the largest department stores of this city one of the managers was assisting an electrician, that is, he was simply handing him his wires, etc., as he needed them. The delegate happening in, instantly saw what was going on, and stopped the electrician from working, saying that such work called for another man and that the manager must send to the union for another electrician. He was compelled to accede, and work in a busy department store was suspended over three hours till another man could be got.



BADLY BEATEN BY FOUR THUGS.

BECAUSE HE WOULD NOT STRIKE, FULLER IS BRUTALLY ASSAULTED BY UNION PICKETS.

J. W. Fuller, a driver in the employ of the Belmont Stables at 1629 Pine Street, was brutally beaten by four men at the corner of Lombard Street and Van Ness Avenue yesterday afternoon. Fuller was taken to the Central Emergency Hospital to be treated for numerous lacerations and contusions of the face and scalp, a dislocated finger and a possible fracture of the skull.

Later in the day Joseph ("Kid") Egan was arrested on suspicion of being one of the brutal assailants, and when brought to the hospital was positively identified by Fuller as one of the four men who attacked and beat him.

The assault was the result of the stablemen's trouble with their employers. Fuller, who is 50 years of age, refused to walk out when the strike was ordered and has since been under the ban of the union.

Yesterday morning he started for North Beach with a load of manure and at the place mentioned was set upon by four men. One dragged him from the wagon seat and then all four beat and kicked him. When he broke away from them he was pursued and struck over the head with a pitchfork and might have been killed had it not been for the interference of a citizen who begged the thugs not to kill the man.

On information given to the police Egan was arrested later and his identification by Fuller followed.

Egan, who has been acting as a union picket, was arrested last week for an assault upon a man about to enter a stable and charged in Judge Cabaniss's

court with assault with a deadly weapon and threats against life. Both of these charges were dismissed. At that time it was alleged that he had a piece of lead pipe two feet in length, but it was thrown away before the arrival of the police. He was drunk when taken into custody.

Egan was arraigned in Judge Mogan's court this morning on charges of drunkenness and assault with a deadly weapon. Fuller, the victim of the brutal assault, was unable to appear in court, and the case was therefore continued until next Friday. In the meanwhile Egan is in jail.

The twelve cartoons, starting opposite page 5 of this book do not present a fictitious problem, although it goes to the extreme limit of picturing the consequences.

Many and many a boy unable to get into a shop on account of restrictions imposed by the trade unions has given up in despair, or gone on the "road" and become a tramp. If he were lucky enough to be arrested and sent to some reform school where they are compelled to learn a trade, there is still a chance for him to make a good citizen. If, on the other hand, they "hobo" around during the most impressionable period of their life they are in grave danger of becoming candidates for the State's prison. This state of affairs we charge directly to the vicious apprentice rules of the unions. It is a strange statement to make, but a terribly true one, that the only way many boys can learn a trade is in a penal institution. This state of affairs, now that it is becoming generally known, will be speedily abolished and the only principle that free-born men should allow in its place, installed, that of a fair field to all and no favors.

At this present moment an electrician of this city is suing the union for damages on account of being absolutely unable to earn a living owing to the double-barreled cinch exercised by the organization on that line of business in this city. He is a non-union man and has even been followed into other towns, and there the same malignant persecution has had the same dire effect. Employers are afraid to hire him; if they did the consequences were hard to foresee.

Being unable to make a living at any other trade, with his sole means of existence literally denied him by an organized body, he is suing them for restitution. (See cartoon page 70.)

Of course we all know that no matter how competent this man might be, he could not work for the municipality of San Francisco, because by an extraordinary and nonsensical law passed at the instigation of the electrical workers, no man, not even Edison himself, could work here unless he were a union man.

We will add one excerpt from a Colorado exchange, published in a State which has passed through a baptism of blood in fighting this un-American unionism.

Perhaps we had better state that there is a strike on at the machine shops mentioned.

"Strange thing happened down at Trinidad the other morning—Tuesday, I believe. Very strange thing, indeed. There was a fire out at Hastings. It broke out at 6:30 o'clock in the morning in the machine shops of the Victor Fuel Company. It was a rather awkward hour and the local fire department worked like a band of Trojans to save the building. After the flames had been quenched some one going through the building found *every length of emergency hose in the building full of hard-tied knots!* Some freak of the flames—probably.—*Denver paper.*

BRINGING IN THE SHEAVES.

(See Cartoon on Page 72).

This cartoon we believe to be one of the most powerful ever drawn. Like all great cartoons, it is startlingly plain in its portrayal of its subject. The only one of late years which seems to us to approach it in realism, is the one which appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, drawn by Rogers, and directed against the grafting propensities of Tammany. That cartoon, entitled "How Far Up Does It Go?" unquestionably was a powerful factor in overthrowing Tammany. It preached a more powerful sermon, and indicated the source of the corruption more directly, than a thousand pages of printed matter could do. Our cartoon, though it does not appear in a weekly of world-wide reputation, is equally direct, and the idea around which it is built, could never have been evolved except by a man who has had almost unlimited experience with the cause of its existence—the Walking Delegate.

Honest people who can look the world in the eye and not quail, may recoil from its sinister implication. The shadow thrown by the rising sun of investigation resolves itself into a convict walking in lock-step to the prison.

The delegate on his way to the gambling house is to be seen carrying the sheaves of dishonest money wrung by "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" from the honest toiler. "Brete Harte's "Heathen Chinee" was a contemptible false alarm in the ways of graft alongside of these specimens of latter days. The fields of labor are bare, stripped almost to the last sheaf by these thieves. The rising sun of investigation throws the x-ray of truth on the picture and shows the Walking Delegate in his true light as a perjurer, gambler, and moral leper.

At the present moment over a large portion of this country he is still engaged in bringing in the sheaves; the sheaves of a crop he did not sow and yet harvests, the sheaves of blackmail levied on men whose continued peaceful pursuit of life depends on his absence, the sheaves of graft in its lowest form, the sheaves of wages that belong to the toiler's wife and children, the sheaves reaped by midnight assault and assassinations under cover in the name of labor, the sheaves rung from giant corporations who, rather than see their business in turmoil, have not had the moral courage to resist this moral parasite on the commercial body, the sheaves wrung by an industrial prostitute who coquettes with both capital and labor and steals from both, the sheaves extorted by a moral counterfeiter without convictions or ideas, who is first, last and all the time for sale to the highest bidder, the sheaves of boodle taken promiscuously from everyone by a human rattlesnake who cares for nothing or nobody so long as he thrives; in short, the sheaves of silver extorted by the kisses of betrayal of this modern Judas, who has for long years past crucified labor, but who, lacking the courage of Iscariot after the dread deed in Gethsemane, will not go and hang himself for the everlasting benefit of the American people.



Another case of flagrant discrimination is to be seen in the bricklayers, where a resolution was passed to the effect that any apprentice desiring to learn the trade must be a bricklayer's son. Think of that, ye free-born American citizens! Not much chance for your son to learn the bricklayer's trade.

No Standard Oil combination ever planned a more ruthless monopoly than that; no Pierpont Morgan in his most conscienceless moments ever attempted to grab as much as these enterprising bricklayers.

They simply propose to arrogate entirely and absolutely to themselves and their descendants an entire and important branch of industrial activity.



We print from the *Wasp* of April 30th an extract showing one instance, at least, in which two ruffians got their deserts in the shape of a good, stiff fine. All honor to Judge Cabaniss, who had the firmness to enforce the law where it is sadly needed.

GOT WHAT THEY DESERVED.

Judge Cabaniss recently taught two brawling union "pickets" an object lesson, which, it is hoped, will be followed by the other Judges when an opportunity presents, and with more severity. These brawlers, W. W. Smith and Alfred Taylor, who were picketed in front of a cloak dealer's store on Market Street, near Sixth, varied the monotony of insulting the customers by applying some of their remarks to two of the young women employes. This led to the arrest of the offenders. One of them was fined \$100 and the other \$30, and, not having the money, they were taken to jail. In imposing the sentence Judge Cabaniss informed the rowdies that they had gone too far—that people who were not members of unions have as much right to seek employment as have members of unions, and the law will protect them in this right. The Judge further stated that the next offenders brought before him would receive the full penalty of fine and imprisonment.



We cannot resist adding an interview with F. W. Fuller in the *Post* of the 17th, inst.

We hope the reader as he peruses this extract will remember that this poor unfortunate is a man with a family dependent on him and that, because he did what any man with a spark of manhood in him would do—attempted to provide for them—he suffered as depicted below.

RUFFIAN EGAN STILL IN JAIL.

THE VICTIM SPEAKS OF HIS COWARDLY ASSAILANT.

J. W. Fuller, the stableman who was so badly beaten up by the four thugs yesterday under the leadership of Joe Egan, has been removed to his home at No. 328 Third Street, and is now under medical care.

His left hand is swollen to twice its natural size, and the dislocated finger is in a bad condition.

The skin is broken and the flesh is torn at the base of the finger and the whole hand is so stiff and sore from the attempt to break his hand that to move it causes acute pain.

Both Mr. Fuller's eyes are blackened, the right one being much swollen, while a four-inch cut on the forehead and numerous cuts and lumps on the back of his head prove the brutality of his punishment.

FULLER SPEAKS.

Speaking of the assault this morning Fuller said:

"I went to work for Mr. Kelly two weeks ago and must say the firm has treated me well.

"The day after I commenced work one of the union men, whose name I do not know, came around and told me I had better quit, that the man who drove that wagon before me was now in the hospital, and I had better be careful.

"Well, I paid no particular attention to him, and he kept telling me every day or so to knock off, but I have a wife to support, and if I don't work we will starve. Anyway, I am a law-abiding citizen, and don't believe in unions or boycotts, and I worked anyway.

"Well, yesterday I was driving along when without a word of warning an arm was thrown around my neck and I was pulled backward off the wagon.

"They kicked me and cursed me, and then the leader, the one they say is Egan, ran back to the wagon and grabbed a pitchfork and hit me with that.

"Then one of them held my hand and tried to bend three fingers back, and not being strong enough he took the one and bent it until it laid back along the back of my hand, and he said he guessed I wouldn't do any more driving for a while.

PUT IN AMBULANCE.

"Then some one came up and they got me into an ambulance and to the hospital, but I wanted to come home.

"Now, I don't know how long it will be before I can go to work, but one thing"—and Mr. Fuller partially raised on his well arm—"I'll never, never join a union if I never work.

"A year ago, when I first came to the city, they said their unions were full and I couldn't join. Now they want me to, but I am in favor of law and order and I don't think unions are for anything but oppression and disturbance and I'll fight them all I can.

"Yes, I know the man who was the leader. I saw him plainly; you know they brought him here to be identified last night," and Mr. Fuller laid further back in his pillows and shook his head wearily.

COWARDLY ATTACK.

"You know," Mrs. Fuller broke in, "it would not have been so cowardly if one man had attacked him, but to have four, and for them to come on him from behind without a word of warning! Why, a highwayman will meet you face to face, but to think that in America, the land of the supposedly free man, a man cannot work for his daily bread," and she looked sorrowfully down at her husband, who smiled back at her in a reassuring way.

Citizens' Alliance stated that the Chief of Police had done his duty and had arrested men we did not think he would, but there is something wrong somewhere.

POLICE JUDGES.

"The police judges are very willing to let a case go over, and they do not seem to work to any advantage in keeping thugs down, else why would these men who are arrested and re-arrested for the same thing be allowed their liberty to go on with their underhand work.

"If Egan does get bail this time it will be a big sum, and if evidence, direct, uncontroversial evidence, will not convict him—well—we had better quit.

"And yet these unions that pretend to discountenance acts of any violence whatever, bail him out and supply him with money to live.

"And this Fuller case is one of many. We have plenty of cases where a man trying to earn an honest living is in some way abused by union men. We

Here is a typical specimen of San Francisco's Walking Delegate.

SAN FRANCISCO CALL, SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1904.

MOTHER AND CHILDREN LEFT TO WORLD'S MERCY

George W. Loring, Business Agent Retail Drivers' Union, Deserts His Wife and Babies---She Tells Most Pitiful Story of Her Distressing Plight

An alleged case of desertion and extreme cruelty is told by Mrs. George W. Loring, wife of George W. Loring, business agent of the Retail Drivers' Union, Local No. 278.

With two young children, Ruth, barely three years of age, and Beula, six months old, Mrs. Loring wept in her vacant rooms at 103 Leavenworth street yesterday and told how she had to depend for food on her neighbors, while there was left but one bed in the house; floors carpetless, no stove, excepting a small oil stove, brought to her by a kindly neighbor, on which to cook whatever might be sent in for her and her little mites.

Mrs. Loring, a refined and gentle woman, had this to say about her woeful plight:

My husband, George W. Loring, is business agent of the Retail Drivers' Union Local No. 278, and his cruelty toward me reached a climax when on Tuesday he brutally struck me and tore my dress.

Last Monday the furniture was taken to satisfy a mortgage of \$175. We were left with the one bed and not even having the necessary conveniences with which to attend my little one.

Tuesday my husband came in with a man named John Bosky. He asked for dinner. We had only the little stove and I was not prepared to cook a dinner. He struck me, and little Ruth, seeing her father's treatment, screamed until I feared the child would have a fit.

Bosky, who belongs to the same union as my husband, did not interfere in my behalf.

At this part of the sad recital the child chimed in and said with tears, welling up in her expressive eyes:

"Yes, papa beat mamma."

Mrs. Loring continued:

He then left the house and on Wednesday I

had him arrested and charged with battery. The hearing came up before Judge Fritz, but this brutal man was able to get off with a reprimand on his promise to look after his family.

Why should this be? Why should a man be given protection which his victim seeks but is denied? Is it politics, or what is it that a man can beat his wife and be allowed to go scott free?

I am smarting under the assault. I am beside myself in this all but empty house with my poor children. What aid am I given by the law? None, while he is able to get his liberty to assault again at his own free will.

I have been told to go to the California Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, but I would die sooner than part with my children, and that, I understand, they would propose.

A Sheriff came on Thursday evening, but on seeing the children and my position he had not the heart to turn us out on the street. My husband as business agent of the union is in receipt of \$100 a month, and think of his leaving even the children without sustenance and apparently caring little what becomes of us.

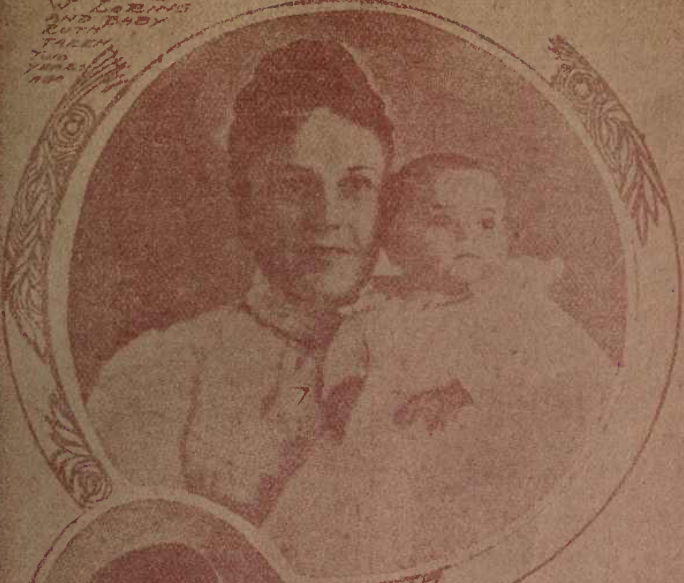
Mr. McElroy, agent of ex-Mayor Phelan's estate, of which our home is a part, has been exceedingly kind and good. His forbearance in not pressing us to the extreme was a generous act.

Robert McElroy, agent for ex-Mayor Phelan, said it seemed to him to be a deplorable case for a woman to be left as had Mrs. Loring.

Loring, he said, had not paid rent since last March. He expressed his deep sorrow for the plight in which he found her. He speaks in high terms of Mrs. Loring, who told him of the treatment she is subjected to at the hands of her husband.

The unfortunate woman hopes to be advised to-day as to the best thing she can do under the circumstances. She is almost beside herself in fear that she may be put out on the streets with her children.

Mrs GEORGE
W. LORING
AND BABY
RUTH
TAKEN
TWO
YEARS
AGO



GEORGE
W. LORING



BABY
BEULA
LORING

J.A. [unclear]

are doing all in our power to help such men out, and our organization is daily growing stronger, and we are going to win out in this case, as well as any others we take up." *S. F. Post.*

Enough said. That bold statement of Mr. Fuller's will yet bear fruit. There is justice left in the world although sometimes it seems slow, but let us remember

"The mills of the gods grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small."

The mills in these cases are just starting to grind.

These terrible actions cannot be laid to the men as a body. They are the result of the ever-present professional working man who, arrayed in fine raiment and gifted with a specious flow of language and an assumption of superiority, impresses upon the real worker the idea that this course of action must be pursued.

The great body of men everywhere are right meaning and right acting, and need but an honest leader to insure this community against such nonsense as this.

The blustering threats that lately formed such an important part of the stock in trade of the agitator are just now conspicuous by their absence. Even they are getting just a little restless under the somewhat ominous conditions that prevail. There is a feeling of expectancy in the situation. The hostile forces are lined up and a preliminary skirmish which would have ended in a complete rout for the unionists had it developed into a battle, has already occurred. No declaration of war has been made, but the scrupulous punctilio that obtains between two duelists on the field is maintained and each side is absolutely determined not to recede.

Labor conditions are improving all the time; the universal system of education that prevails is doing more to improve them than all the unions that ever existed. Wages everywhere are rising. In not a country on the globe have they a downward tendency. In the face of these self-evident propositions in regard to the condition of workers as a body, a small fraction of that body, known as "union men," form a species of close corporation and demands that the benefits arising from the advance of civilization accrue to them alone. Such a condition cannot obtain.

It is selfish, unnatural and cowardly. A large proportion of these unionists profess socialism, profess to believe in the absolute equality of all men, and revile their more fortunate fellow-citizens who have a few dollars in the severest terms.

They say nothing of their own action, however, in forming a clique that forbids the honest outsider who does not belong to them to exist.

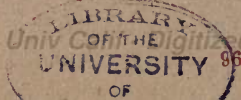
A parallel to their case is to be found in the action of the English judge, who, when a tramp was brought before him on the charge of begging, pleaded in extenuation of his offense that he had to live; to which the judge sententiously replied that he did not see the necessity of it. We contend that the action of these laborites is precisely similar. They, like the judge referred to, have corralled the means of a comfortable existence for themselves and do not recognize that others must live. They practically tell, by their arbitrary actions, a vast body of laboring men outside their organizations "to go off and die." But these men do not propose to go off and die, and as a result of their determination this vicious unionism is trembling under the onslaught that is being made on it all over the country. In conclusion we would say that from our point of view we have thoroughly proven our case. There is no room for a Scotch verdict. Figures may be distorted into apparent lying, but facts cannot be. And the facts, a measly few out of thousands at hand, have been presented. If an unprejudiced man can read this book and then say that violence and intimidation are not practised by these unions, then we would say that even though he were laid out with a brass-knuckled upper-cut at the hands of a picket he would still not believe.

Judge Cabaniss this morning sentenced Robert Hayes to pay a fine of \$25 for carrying concealed weapons. Members of the Stablemen's Union who were present promptly paid the fine. Hayes is a member of the notorious Joseph (Kid) Egan gang. Egan is awaiting trial on a charge of assault to murder on the person of J. W. Fuller. May 20, 1904.

The writer of these lines would take great pleasure in pulling on the rope that should stretch the necks of these moral lepers.

Herbert V. Ready.

The usual courtesies extended to the press.



He endeavors to blow out the light but succeeds only in creating a shadow. He will drop it when the wires give him the shock that's surely coming.





A local application of a sacred text. Matt. xxv, 41. Depart from me ye cursed in everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels.

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Ready. Labor problem.

Ready

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