

# CHINA IN CALIFORNIA

## MEMORIALS OF THE EXCLUSION CONVENTION TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

**T**O the President and the Congress of the United States: Pursuant to a call officially issued by the city of San Francisco, there assembled in that city on the 21st day of November, 1901, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the State of California, a convention composed of representatives of County Supervisors, City Councils, trade, commercial and civic organizations to the number of three thousand, and without dissent it was resolved to memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States as follows:

Soon after the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty in 1868 large numbers of Chinese coolies were brought to this country under contract. Their numbers so increased that in 1878 the people of the State made a practically unanimous demand for the restriction of the immigration. Our white population suffered in every department of labor and trade, having in numerous instances been driven out of employment by the competition of the Chinese. The progress of the State was arrested because so long as the field was occupied by Chinese a new and desirable immigration was impossible. After a bitter struggle remedial legislation was passed in 1882 and was renewed in 1892, to run for a period of ten years. Your memorialists, in view of the fact that the present so-called Geary law expires by limitation on May 5 next, and learning that you have been petitioned against its re-enactment, believe that it is necessary for them to repeat and to reaffirm the reasons which, in their judgment, require the re-enactment and the continued enforcement of the law.

The effects of Chinese exclusion have been most advantageous to the State. The 75,000 Chinese resident of California in 1880 have been reduced, according to the last census, to 45,000; and whereas, the white settlement of California by Caucasians had been arrested prior to the adoption of these laws, a healthy growth of the State in population has marked the progress of recent years. Every material interest of the State has advanced and prosperity has been our portion. Were the restriction laws relaxed we are convinced that our working population would be displaced, and the noble structure of our State, the creation of American ideas and industry would be imperiled if not destroyed. The lapse of time has only confirmed your memorialists in their conviction, from their knowledge derived from actually coming in contact with the Chinese, that they are a non-assimilative race and by every standard of American thought undesirable as citizens. Although they have been frequently employed and treated with decent consideration ever since the enactment of the exclusion law in 1882, which was the culmination and satisfaction of California's patriotic purpose, they have not in any sense altered their racial characteristics and have not socially or otherwise assimilated with our people. To quote the Imperial Chinese Consul General in San Francisco: "They work more cheaply than whites; they live more cheaply; they send their money out of the country to China; most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, and they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

### Physical Assimilation Impossible.

Until this year no statute had been passed by the State forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian does not possess the virtue of either, but develops the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.

It is well known that the vast majority of Chinese do not bring their wives with them in their immigration because of their purpose to return to their native land when a competency is earned. Their practical status among us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our own race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes, they support no institutions—neither school, church nor theater; they remain

steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently foreign element. The purpose, no doubt, of enacting the exclusion laws for periods of ten years is due to the intention of Congress of observing the progress of these people under American institutions, and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they cannot, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people and be molded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.

We respectfully represent that their presence excludes a desirable population and that there is no necessity whatever for their immigration. The immigration laws of this country now exclude pauper and contract labor from every land. All Chinese immigration of the coolie class is both pauper and contract labor. It is not a voluntary immigration. The Chinese Six Companies of California deal in Chinese labor as a commodity. Prior to the exclusion they freely imported coolies, provided for them, farmed out their services and returned them, and if they should die their bones, pursuant to a superstitious belief, to their native land.

America is the asylum for the oppressed and liberty-loving people of the world, and the implied condition of their admission to this country is allegiance to its Government and devotion to its institutions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chinese are not even bona fide settlers, as the Imperial Chinese Consul General admits.

We respectfully represent that American labor should not be exposed to the destructive competition of aliens who do not, will not and cannot take up the burdens of American citizenship, whose presence is an economic blight and a patriotic danger. It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled workman. The Chinese are skilled and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit canning, matchmaking and woollen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4000 white men in these several employments in the city of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men. But this country is not solely concerned even in a coldly economic sense with the production of wealth.

### Grave Danger of Over-Production.

The United States has now a greater per capita of working energy than any other land. If it is stimulated by a non-assimilative and non-consuming race there is grave danger of overproduction and stagnation. The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese, living on the most meager food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whether they invariably return, cannot in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate nor are they reinvested—contrary to those economic laws which make for the prosperity of nations. For their services they may be said to be paid twice—first by their employer and then by the community. If we must have protection, is it not far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade? Our opponents maintain that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production, but the distribution of wealth and not its production is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced every one that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them. These requirements can

never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese.

The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress then to an improved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have greater growth, but never greater development. It was estimated by the Commissioner of Labor that there were a million idle men in the United States in 1886. Certainly the 76,000 Chinese in California at that time stood for 76,000 white men waiting for employment, and the further influx of Chinese in any considerable numbers would precipitate the same condition again. If not indeed make it chronic. If the United States increases in population at the rate of 12 per cent per decade it will have nearly 230,000,000 people in 100 years. Our inventive genius and the constant improvements being made in machinery will greatly increase our per capita productive capacity. If it be our only aim to increase our wealth so as to hold our own in the markets of the world we are not, without the aid of Chinese coolies, capable of doing it and at the same time preserve the character of our population and insure the perpetuity of our institution? It is not wealth at any cost that sound public policy requires, but that the country be developed with equal pace and with a desirable population which stands not only for industry but for citizenship.

### Chinese Crowding Out Americans.

In their appeal to the cupidity of farmers and orchardists the proponents of Chinese immigration have stated that the Chinese are only common laborers, and by this kind of argument they have attempted to disarm the skilled labor organizations of the country; but we have shown you that the Chinese are skilled and are capable of becoming skilled. As agriculturists they have crowded out the native population and driven the country boy from the farm to the city, where he meets their skilled competition in many branches of industry. But shall husbandry be abandoned to a servile class? Shall the boys and girls of the fields and of the orchards be deprived of their legitimate work in the harvest? Shall not our farmers be encouraged to look to their own households and to their own neighbors for labor? Shall the easy methods of contract employment be encouraged? We are warned by history that the free population of Rome was driven by slave labor from the country into the city, where it became a mob and a rabble, ultimately compassing the downfall of the republic. The small farms were destroyed, and under an overseer large farms were cultivated, which led Pliny to remark that "great estates ruined Italy."

The experience of the South with slave labor warns us against unlimited Chinese immigration, considered both as a race question and as an economic problem. The Chinese, if permitted to freely enter this country, would create race antagonisms which would ultimately result in great public disturbance. The Caucasian will not tolerate the Mongolian. As ultimately all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country will not without resistance suffer itself to be destroyed. Economically it was thought wise at one time to employ negro slaves, but the accumulated wealth of the South was wiped out by an appalling expenditure of blood and money, precipitating conditions which bore with terrible force upon a people which were once considered great and prosperous. The cornerstone of their structure was slavery, and the cornerstone of any structure based upon the employment of Chinese coolies is servile labor. It is repugnant to our form of society and to our ideas of government to segregate a labor class and regard it only as its capacity for work. If we were to return to the ante-hellum ideas of the South, now happily discarded, the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work incessantly, they are docile and they would not be concerned about their political conditions, but such suggestions are repulsive to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title to rights, and the Government being ruled by majorities is largely controlled by the very class which servile labor

would supersede, namely, the free and independent workmen of America. The political power invested in men by this Government shows the absolute necessity of keeping up the standard of population and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

### Question Involves Our Civilization.

But this is not alone a race, labor and political question. It is one which involves our civilization, and that interests the people of the world. The benefactors, scholars, soldiers and statesmen—the patriots and martyrs of mankind—have builded our modern fabric firmly upon the foundation of religion, law, science and art. It has been rescued from barbarism and protected against the incursions of barbarians. Civilization in Europe has been frequently attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marathon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to the two centuries of Athenian life, from which we first learned our lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, we can see how necessary it was to keep the Asiatic from breaking into Europe. Attila and his Asiatic hordes threatened Central Europe when the Gauls made their successful stand against them. The wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. The repulse of the Turks, who are of the Mongolian race, before Vienna finally made our civilization strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of extinction by a military invasion from Asia passed away. But a peaceful invasion is more dangerous than a warlike attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe under our generous laws would be in possession of the citadel before we are aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be for all purposes an invasion by Asiatic barbarians, against whom civilization in Europe has been frequently defended fortunately for us. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.

In an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized we are not prepared to overlook the welfare of the Chinaman himself. We need have nothing on our national conscience because the Chinaman has a great industrial destiny in his own country. Few realize that China is yet a sparsely populated country. Let their merchants, travelers and students then come here as before to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments. Let American ideas of progress and enterprise be planted on Chinese soil. Our commerce with China since 1880 has increased more than 50 per cent. Our consular service reports that "the United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation, and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain, not including the colonies, and is far ahead of that of any other country."

Commerce is not sentimental and has not been affected by our policy of exclusion. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessities of the situation, being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our attitude as an unfriendly act. Indeed, our legislation has been confirmed by treaty. Nor are the Chinese unappreciative of the friendship of the United States recently displayed in saving possibly the empire itself from dismemberment. So, therefore, America is at no disadvantage in its commercial dealings with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion.

Therefore every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization and the perpetuity of our institutions impel your memorialists to ask for the re-enactment of the exclusion laws which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which, were they relaxed, would imperil every interest which the American people hold sacred for themselves and their posterity.

### Rev. P. C. Yorke Delivers an Address.

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tones alike to the anarchist and to the criminals of Europe and to the filthy and brutal spawn of China. You cannot enter here. (Applause.) It is a well-known fact that the physical characteristics of the Chinaman prevent his assimilation with our people. He must always be foreign to us, even if in our midst. Not only the laborers, but those Chinamen skilled in some art or trade in their peculiar way interfere with the industries of our country. The Chinaman is content to live in narrow quarters, unfit in an American's eye for the habitation of a horse or a dog. He is content and satisfied to work for the bare sustenance of his brute-like life. All of these things enable him to work for a pittance compared with the pay of the American laborer, who properly says, "I am content to work at home and to procure for his children an education."

In conclusion I say none, not one in the least of degrees can be excused from doing his duty by the American people and by the people of this coast on the plea of what unrestricted Chinese immigration means to this land or to

### SLAVERY IN CHINATOWN.

THE newspapers of this city have paid a great deal of attention to the question of slavery, and the public have come to know through the efforts of the press that here in this free land, in the city of San Francisco, under the very shadow of the flag that is the hope, the inspiration and the glory of all who love liberty and rejoice in freedom, human chattels are bought and sold, bartered and exchanged—yes, in the very market place. And there is no Federal law on the statute books to reach and remedy this evil, and so the new Chinese exclusion law must be framed to wipe out the last vestige of slavery on American soil.

To learn this may astonish many, but it is a fact nevertheless. At present there is no law relating to the question of slavery, unless it relates to negroes, mulattoes or foreigners; therefore with reference to Chinese slave girls who claim to have been born in the United States there is no penal statute by which their owners can be prosecuted—Except from speech by Duncan E. McKinlay at the Chinese Exclusion Convention.

### J. S. TAYLOR SPEAKS FOR AMERICAN FARMERS

He Says They Are in Sympathy With the Laboring Classes in Their Battle.

J. S. Taylor of Sappa, past lecturer of the State Grange, followed with an address in behalf of the farmers of California. He said:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Chinese Exclusion Convention—It has been requested to address you as a representative of the farming interests of this State as to what effect the free and unlimited immigration of Chinese would have on our farmers and have chosen for my subject "The Chinese Coolie and the American Farmer."

Gentlemen, where in the world would you find a greater contrast than that between these slaves of the Orient and the free and independent farmers of America? The coolie is, to all intents and purposes, a slave. He is owned, both body and soul, by that powerful corporation, the great trust of China, known here as the Chinese Six Companies. His fare is paid to this country and an extension of our trade with the Chinese Empire; they do not act upon the principle of the "greatest good to the greatest number," but their motto is "the greatest good to the least number." For this paltry foreign trade they would destroy the greatest market in the world, our own home market. What makes this

### TELLS OF UNSANITARY STATE OF CHINATOWN

Dr. Williamson of the Board of Health Reads an Interesting Paper to Delegates.

Supervisor Charles Wesley Reed suggested that the Rev. Peter C. Yorke be invited to address the convention. The suggestion was greeted with applause and Mr. Reed was appointed a committee to bring the clergyman to the convention.

Dr. Williamson of the San Francisco Board of Health then read the following paper:

In presenting views upon the subject assigned to the committee on arrangements, the writer feels it incumbent upon himself as a representative of the municipal government, to limit fluences exerted by the Chinese upon the general health of this community. At the same time an attempt will be made to show in what principal respects the race in question is an undesirable element, especially when colonized in cities and towns. Industry or social conditions will not be considered, as these features can be more thoroughly dealt with by those whose study and research of the problems involved have qualified them to discuss the subject with both intelligence and understanding.

What may be said concerning the Chinese of San Francisco will apply with almost an equivalent amount of force to any community upon the Pacific Coast in which people of the Chinese race may be found, and it can be asserted by those who are conversant with the contributing factors to the many reasons which justify and even demand the re-enactment of the exclusion act.

Taking the habits and customs of the Chinese as typical of those exhibited by them when grouped in any American community, it can be alleged without danger of contradiction that the section of the city inhabited by them has given more concern to the

### Senator Bulla Speaks for South.

authorities than all the rest of the city combined. Violations of sanitary laws and indecencies of many descriptions are no sooner suppressed or abated than they are almost invariably repeated. The Chinese, exclusive of the official and mercantile classes, appear to revel in dirt and wallow in filth in preference to becoming and remaining clean.

During the past five years the Chinese have been compelled to spend many thousands of dollars for sanitary plumbing to replace that of antique and inefficient character which has been an acknowledged fact that unless a strict rule was maintained some of the occupants of the premises where improved sanitary plumbing had been placed would willfully break and damage the same.

Properly owned in Chinatown, who would otherwise be perfectly willing to follow the directions of the Board of Health, have often complained against the attempt to put forth large expenditures for modern plumbing, claiming that as soon as it is installed it will be buried beyond repair.

In the Chinese quarter of San Francisco open sewers have been found running through underground living apartments. After these have been closed by the authorities they have been repeatedly reopened by the persons living in the premises, who seem to regard an open sewer as a convenience instead of a nuisance. In the Chinese quarter there are places where tunnels have been dug leading to inhabited basements beneath the street as far as the city limits have been reached. The purpose of these tunnels is to afford ready access, for what particular purpose the Chinese alone can say. On one occasion the Chinese have been found in a tunnel just on the verge of an open sewer.

The utter contempt for the simplest principles of sanitation has resulted in the deliberate breaking or obstructing of drain pipes which allow the sewage to flow into the streets. It is permitted to discharge their output into cellars and other excavations, where it saturates the soil and continues to give forth offensive exhalations. Opium smoking, once a purely Oriental vice, has become so much attention in this city that little reference is necessary, except it be to point with disgust and indignation to the reading of the habits of the Chinese, as demonstrated by a considerable number of whites who after reaching their appropriate level of degradation find in the crowded and unhealthy quarters of Chinatown a haven of uncleanness admirably adapted to their debased instincts.

Police vigilance has been limited to a great extent the prostitution in the quarter which the population is so densely packed, and the venereal diseases and it is not long since the district was cleared of many white girls who were being sold among the Chinese exclusively.

As a result of poorly ventilated and overcrowded apartments, the utter disregard of ordinary principles of cleanliness and the universal neglect of personal hygiene, the number of deaths occurred among the Chinese. Estimating the population of Chinatown at 15,000, the death rate of 39.44 per thousand; the number of deaths was 19.72 per thousand. In the following year 1899, when the population of Chinatown was 15,000, the death rate was 38.81 per thousand. During the last fiscal year 1899, the death rate among the Chinese was 31.22 per thousand; the city's rate was 19.46 per thousand. These figures show the death rate among the Chinese to be nearly in excess of the general death rate in the city of San Francisco. The diminution during the last fiscal year is due without question to the fact that many sick Chinese left the city during the quarantine excitement and their deaths took place at different points of the interior.

### SANITARY LAWS VIOLATED.

TAking the habits and customs of the Chinese of San Francisco as typical of those exhibited by them when grouped in an American community, it can be alleged without danger of contradiction that the section of the city inhabited by them has given more concern to the authorities than all the rest of the city combined. Violations of sanitary laws and indecencies of many descriptions are no sooner suppressed or abated than they are almost invariably repeated. The Chinese, exclusive of the official and mercantile classes, appear to revel in dirt and wallow in filth in preference to becoming and remaining clean, when the cleanliness is provided and paid for by the landlord, the city or the State. In the Chinese quarters open sewers have been found running through underground living apartments. After these have been closed by the authorities they have been repeatedly reopened by the persons living in the premises, who seem to regard an open sewer as a convenience instead of a nuisance.—Excerpt from Dr. Williamson's address to Chinese Exclusion Convention.

### PRESSMEN PASS SOME STRONG RESOLUTIONS

G. M. Benham Presents Them to the Members of the Exclusion Convention.

G. B. Benham, representing the Printing Pressmen's Association, delivered a stirring speech and read the following resolutions which were adopted by the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24:

Whereas, The constant and menacing influx of Chinese into the United States is essentially detrimental to the interests of the entire working class, and especially to the organized workers of the Pacific Coast.

Every trade and occupation is indirectly interfered with by the Chinese, and many trades (notably the shoe workers and the cigarmakers) have been irretrievably injured by Chinese competition.

Whereas, After investigation by a committee from the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24 of San Francisco, seven Chinese printing offices are found in San Francisco, and others are known to exist in other coast cities. These offices are all doing English printing, are executing all label printing and cigar-box printing for the Chinese cigar trade and for some white manufacturers, and are also doing lithographing, lowering the price of all, and are rapidly making inroads in other specialties in the printing trade, thus directly endangering

### LABOR IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO CHINESE.

American citizen we are willing to sacrifice every dollar of it. We take this ground. That if the United States can't trade with China we can trade with California; that if California can't sell her products to Chinese she can sell them to Californians. There are plenty of people within 100 miles of the United States to take our products, if they can only get the wherewithal to buy them.

Senator Davis then introduced the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Whereas, We recognize in the character and rapidly increasing numbers of Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants a menace to the industrial interests of our people; and whereas, we believe that the time has arrived when cognizance should be taken of this condition, therefore be it

Resolved, by the California Chinese Exclusion Convention that the question of Japanese and other Asiatic immigration be referred to the executive committee of this convention, with instructions to devise and pursue such steps as may be necessary and advisable to

our means of livelihood and (as in every other occupation entered by the Chinese) upon the general lowering of the standard of living of the American workers. The committee finds these conditions largely due to the restriction in the printing trade given by the Christian missionaries to their Chinese converts, and the apparent laxness in the enforcing of the now existing laws against Chinese emigration.

In view of these facts, and the deplorable moral and material results to be seen from the presence of Chinese in our midst, be it

Resolved, by the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24 of San Francisco, as a measure of protection for its members in their occupation, and in the interest of all organized workers, that we demand the enactment of a law positive in its restrictions against Chinese and all Asiatics; that the exclusion law known as the Geary act be rigidly enforced until its violation; that in furtherance of our desires we pledge our more financial and political support to such candidates and political parties as signify their desire to stop the further inroads of the Chinese upon American soil, and in this we ask the support of all who wish to defend the interests of the American producers; that we will oppose by every means at our command any candidate for public office, any political party and the continuance of the Chinese in our midst; and that we favor any and all legislative or executive action favorable to the Chinese laborer, and that we favor, an emigration ruinous to the morals of the people, detrimental to American producers and disastrous to the well-being and happiness of the American workers.

G. B. BENHAM, GEORGE MOLONEY, JOSEPH ROWAN, Anti-Chinese Convention, November 21, 1901.

J. C. Millan spoke in behalf of the Cigar-makers' Union.

Senator John F. Davis of Amador presented the report of the committee on memorials and resolutions. It was received with cheers. He then moved that the memorial and the resolutions be signed by the officers of the convention, be forwarded to the President, members of the Cabinet, members of Congress and California's Representatives in Congress. In seconding the motion W. MacArthur spoke as follows:

A statement was made in the convention by one of the speakers yesterday that we wanted the people of Europe to come to this country. It is the position of the organized labor movement of the United States that there are people enough in the business of excluding Chinamen to make room for the pauper labor of Southern Europe or other sections of the world. In regard to the commercial interests, which are the position of organized labor is that we are willing to lose every dollar of our trade with China to preserve our citizenship and the ideals of American life. It is to preserve that trade we have to endanger the welfare of a single

### Labor Is Strongly Opposed to Chinese.

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

Fantastic stories have been written of which the future was revealed. If such a thing were possible many a bright-faced bride would shrink from the revelation of herself, stripped of all her loveliness. If there is one thing which would make a woman shrink from marriage it is to see the rapid physical deterioration which comes to so many wives. The cause is generally due to womanly diseases. Lost health and lost comeliness are restored by the use of Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription. It cures irregularity and dries weakening drains. It heals inflammation and ulceration, and cures female weakness.

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