

The Haverhill Social Democrat.

NO. 11. VOL. I.

HAVERHILL, MASS., DECEMBER 16, 1899.

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Christmas is Coming!



With flying feet, and we have just received an array of magnificent Holiday Gifts. The counters contain everything for man that the fondest fancy can conceive, and catering as we do exclusively to the men, we are beyond doubt the best qualified to sell you precisely what you want. This is your opportunity and you can't afford to wait until the eleventh hour.

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GOOD INCREASE

In Social Democratic Party Vote in Tuesday's Municipal Elections. Newburyport Elects a Councilman and the First Woman Social Democrat Elected to Office in the United States to the School Committee—Boston, Chelsea, Lynn, Everett and Worcester Also Make Encouraging Progress.

NEWBURYPORT.
Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 12, 1899.
Haverhill Social Democrat:
The smoke of Newburyport's first municipal struggle has cleared away and the victorious victor is now standing to her credit while a substantial beginning has been made in every ward in the city. The unexpected strength developed by the Social Democratic candidate for mayor, Mr. Charles W. Johnson, came as a great surprise, his vote surpassing the number which even sanguine Socialists dared predict, easily giving him second place in the mayoralty contest.

George W. Hussey, Social Democratic candidate for councilman in ward 5, led all other aspirants for the same honors in his ward, receiving a total of 192 votes, while in the election of Mrs. Elizabeth G. Porter to a position on the school committee, Newburyport has elected the first woman Social Democrat to office in America.

Instead of openly combining, as in Haverhill, the republicans and Democrats decided to omit caucuses, allowing all candidates to run upon nomination papers thus favoring a condition in a manner calculated to divert the charge of fusing to defeat the Socialists.

The struggle is now fairly inaugurated in the old sea-port city of Newburyport. The comrades here are becoming fully aroused to the importance of the situation locally and around the world. Another year far greater exertions can, and will be made, and other victories may be looked for from the home of Garrison. Socialism marches steadily on.

WINFIELD P. PORTER.
That letter in brief tells the story of the result of the election in Newburyport last Tuesday. The Social Democrats of that staid, conservative town are justly elated at the splendid showing they have made and now that they have broken the ice of capitalist politics in Newburyport, we can expect to see them do greater things a year hence.

The vote for mayor was as follows:
Thos. Muse, R. Ind. Nom. Paper, 1264
Chas. W. Johnson, Dem. Social, 744
Nom. Paper, 744
Albert F. Hunt, Ind. Cit. Nom. Paper, 396
Chas. W. Hidden, No. License, 44
Nom. Paper, 44
In the state election, our candidate for governor received 278 votes, making an increase of nearly double.

In the vote for alderman-at-large, Sewell H. Noyes polled 288 votes. For alderman from ward 5, Ernest C. Lang polled 318 votes, and from ward 6, Alfred L. Binley polled 302 votes. George W. Hussey was elected councilman from ward five polling 192 votes. The vote for councilman in other wards was as follows: Ward 1, J. Albert Stevens, 135 votes, ward 2, Louis A. Thibault, 51 votes, and W. G. Wood 59 votes; ward 3, David Southern, 156 votes; ward 4, Charles E. Couter, 81 votes; E. F. McLean, 88 votes; C. E. Peeples, 48 votes; ward 5, Frank Hudson and Charles E. Marble each polled 65 votes. In ward 6 Thomas H. Chiswell and P. W. Dow polled 84 and 132 votes respectively. Mrs. Elizabeth G. Porter was elected on the school committee from ward 2 for a term of two years, receiving 145 votes to 128 received by her opponent, Mr. Jones.

BOSTON.
The Social Democratic vote in Boston shows a fine increase over the vote a month ago. Our candidate for governor on Nov. 7, polled 659 votes, John Weaver Sherman, the mayor's candidate, on Tuesday polled 512 votes, an increase of 263. The candidates, an alderman and councilmen all polled creditable votes, considering this being the first time municipal candidates were in the field.

CHELSEA.
Here again was there a fine vote cast for the first Social Democratic ticket ever put up in the city. The daily press acknowledged that our vote was a decided surprise to the old party politicians. The vote for mayor was as follows:
James Gould, R. 2454
Chas. R. Green, S. D. 209
Chas. E. Rome, rep. 2196
Majority for Gould, 354.

WORCESTER.
In Worcester the vote increased from 128 for governor in the state election to 134 for mayor the candidate being Chas. W. Saunders. That

there was not a greater increase is due to several local causes, unnecessary to mention here. In the vote for alderman Addison W. Barr ran ahead of the ticket receiving 806 votes, our other candidates, Thos. W. Carpenter and Dr. H. A. Gibb receiving respectively 419 and 276 votes. There were three Socialist tickets in the field, both factions of the Socialist labor party being represented and considering every thing the Worcester Social Democrats are pleased at the race their candidates made.

LYNN.
The Social Democratic vote in Lynn increased appreciably over that cast in the state election and the comrades there feel that at last their work is beginning to bear good fruits. The vote for Porter for governor last month was 244. Ernest W. Timson, candidate for mayor, on Tuesday polled 457 an increase of more than double. The vote for members of the city council were also encouraging.

EVERETT.
The Social Democrats of Everett were also in the field for the first time having, however, only two candidates for aldermen and one for councilmen, Isaac B. Hart and A. H. Hoffman polled 185 and 124 votes respectively, and Francis P. Finegan, the councilman candidate polled 32 in ward 5, the elected candidate receiving 200 votes.

THE FINAL HEARING.
Before the State Gas Commission for a Reduction in Price.

The final hearing before the state gas commission on the question of a reduction in gas rates by the Boston gas company was held in Boston on Wednesday. Evidence on the petition of Mayor Chase for a reduction was completed and arguments were presented for both sides.

The commissioners have all the evidence and also have the books introduced and a decision should be rendered in the near future.

THE FIRST TO GO.

After a brief and sudden illness William Hearn, one of the oldest and most highly respected citizens of Haverhill, died on Saturday last at his residence on Hilldale Avenue. He was 65 years of age had lived in Haverhill many years, and was known throughout the length and breadth of the city. He left a wife and two sons. The funeral was held at St. James' church on Tuesday morning in the presence of a large number of friends. The local branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, of which Mr. Hearn was the oldest member, participated in the ceremonies and accompanied the remains to St. James' cemetery. The deceased was also an ardent believer in the principles of the Social Democratic party and a large number of the active workers in the party were present at the funeral, among them being Mayor Chase, Representatives Carey and Scates, Aldermen Flanders and Bean, Councilman Bellefleur, Louis Moffett, Sandy Hayman, William Mally and others. Floral designs were sent from the A. O. H., the Social Democrats and private friends. Division 14, A. O. H., performed escort duty, the South Groveland drum-corps leading.

Two years ago Mr. O'Hearn left his political land marks and became a Social Democrat and never hesitated to express his opinions on the subject. He was highly pleased at the victories gained by the party on Dec. 5, and was proud to the last of having assisted in re-electing Mayor Chase. He was a good man and an upright citizen. He is the first to go of those who fought a great fight for human rights and liberty.

ORGANIZED LABOR CONVENTION

The Annual Meeting of the American Federation of Labor Reported by Correspondent Max Hayes—Largest Attendance in Its History.

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 11, 1899.
The nineteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is now in session. It is the largest in point of attendance and representation of unions that has ever been held, there being 185 delegates present and the number will be increased to 200 before the end of the week. The increase of members of affiliated unions and bodies chartered direct was 142,000 and financially the showing is also favorable.

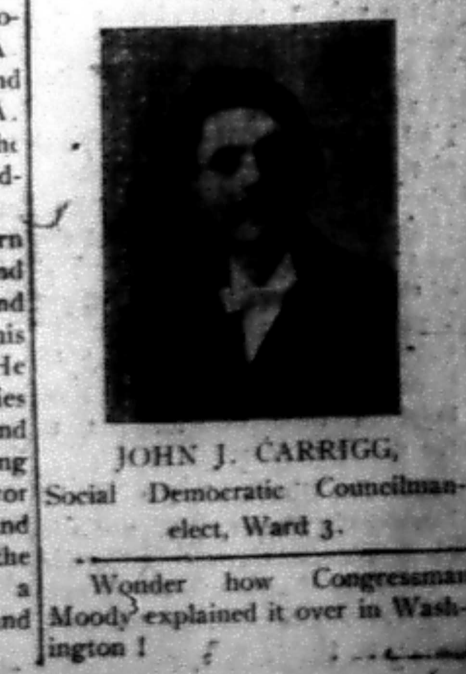
Some interesting fights are expected on the floor later in the week, notably the long standing controversy between the woodworkers and piano makers and the difficulties existing between the printers and machinists, the row between the brewery workers and engineers, and so forth.

Aside from the internal affairs, shadows are gathering on the trade union horizon. About 20 Chicago delegates are here and they by no means treat lightly the threatened trouble in the windy city, where the organized employers are marshaling their forces for an onslaught on the budding trades' unions, and it is even intimated that the fight will become national in scope. The negotiations have been watched with some apprehension during the past few months by most of the delegates to the Federation, and the general feeling is that if a struggle comes with the beginning of the new year it will be a desperate one, and will put to a severe test all the resources of the Chicago unions, as well as those of the entire country.

In his annual address, President Gompers reviews the trouble in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, at considerable length, condemning the government in strong terms. It is expected that the matter will cause an exhaustive debate. It may not go further, however, than the mere adoption of the usual whereases and resolves to "frown upon" such heinous offences of Capitalism.

About the usual number of Socialist delegates are present, and just what fate will await a resolution committing the A. F. of L. to the Socialist movement is difficult to predict at this writing. There is manifestly a growing liberal sentiment among many of the delegates, which may crystallize into something tangible before long. All are more or less deeply interested in the problems of labor-saving machinery and the centralization of industry, and it is largely the fear of being repudiated by their constituents that prevents them from going on record in favor of collective ownership.

—Max S. Hayes.



It would afford us great pleasure to show you our Holiday Display.

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LOCAL NOTES.

Mayor Chase, Aldermen Bean and Young, President Huntington and Councilman Gillen composing the special committee on grade crossings met at the City Hall on Tuesday evening and discussed ways and means relative to the xetford before the superior court. Mayor Chase brought up the question of employing a lawyer to represent the city. This matter, as well as the employing of a consulting engineer was left in the hands of the Mayor. City Engineer Evans will proceed to secure data concerning the question locally. The mayor and city solicitor will appear in the superior court next week at Salem and urge an immediate hearing on the appointment of a grade crossing commission.

The recount of votes cast in the municipal election was concluded by the board of registrars on Tuesday night. There was no material changes in the results. Mayor Chase lost four votes, Mr. Pingree 20, making Chase's plurality 730. Berry's vote remains the same. The board of aldermen for the year will consist of four socialists and three Social Democrats. The common council will consist of eleven conditionists and three Social Democrats.

Mayor Chase and Representative Carey spoke at Boston on Friday of last week on behalf of the municipal campaign of the Social Democrats. Representative-elect MacCartney and Mayor-elect Coulter also addressed the same meeting. Sunday night Chase and Carey addressed a meeting in Lynn and on Monday night were in Newburyport. Tuesday night Representative Carey spoke in Westboro, and on Wednesday left for a few days visit to Manchester, N. H., where he will take a short rest.

A ratification gathering to celebrate the recent social democratic victories in this city will be held next Thursday evening at the city hall. The affair will be in the nature of a concert and there will also be short speeches by Mayor Chase, Representative James F. Carey and Mayor-elect Coulter of Brockton. An admission fee of 25 cents will be charged the proceeds of the evening going for the benefit of the Haverhill Social Democrat

band. Every social democrat should turn out with their friends and help make the evening a success, socially and financially.

Comrade Elizabeth H. Thomas left Haverhill for her home in New York city on Thursday evening where she will resume her labors for the Social Democratic party in that city. In the municipal campaign, Comrade Thomas performed an immense amount of clerical work which was of incalculable assistance to the Social Democrats. It is no exaggeration to say that she has endeared herself to the local workers and that they will always remember her as an interesting personality in an exciting and memorable campaign. May the years before her be many and full of good deeds for the cause of labor.

The eight hour law for municipal employes which was accepted at the municipal election, will go into effect next Wednesday, after the aldermen have officially declared the returns of the election.

Three electric car loads of Haverhill social democrats went down to Newburyport on Monday night and participated in the social democratic parade. The band went along and everybody had a good time. The crowd was a jolly one and a good deal of harmless fun was indulged in during the trip. On one of the cars a new poet suddenly developed among the crowd and the manner in which he adapted his verses to the topics of the day furnished much amusement. The trip was a very enjoyable one all through.

THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB.
A New Organization to Assist the Social Democratic Party.

A Women's Social Democratic club has been organized in Haverhill with the following officers: President, Mrs. Kate Corrigan; vice president, Mrs. Retta Bailey; secretary and treasurer, Mrs. Anna Young. The club will meet weekly, and is arranging a series of entertainments to raise funds to carry on the Social Democratic Party's programme. The first of the series will be a concert and ball which will be given on Jan. 30th, and which all Social Democrats should attend. The next meeting of the club will be held at the residence of Mayor Chase, 5 Beacon street, on Wednesday, Dec. 21st. All Socialist women are cordially invited to attend, and to become members of the club. We anticipate a great deal of good from this new organization which will no doubt be powerful auxiliary to the Social Democratic Party.

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WILLIAM HALL, Editor Entered at the post office at Haverhill, Mass., as second class matter November 8, 1895.

Haverhill, December 16, 1899.

TRUE AND FALSE SOCIALISM.

"The only way for us to do now," says one of the republican leaders of Massachusetts, "will be to adopt some of the best of the Socialist ideas, just as we have been ready to lift democratic ideas that the voters were ready to accept."

This paragraph contains in a nutshell what will undoubtedly be the policy of both the old parties and at the same time constitute a danger to the progress of Socialism.

It should be clearly understood as well, and better, now than at any other time, that the Social Democrats expect and are prepared to see both old parties insert in their platforms, planks included in that of the Social Democratic party. Those of us who have watched politics, and especially capitalist politics, know that whenever an issue or question becomes popular with the people, the men who make politics a business for profit, are quick to take advantage of the popular clamor to grasp that issue and upon that secure the votes of the people to prolong their own existence in office. Socialism will be no exception to that rule. But the brand of Socialism will not be the same Socialism the Social Democratic party preaches. It will be a very mild and very soothing kind of Socialism our old party bunce steers will advocate, "municipal socialism," if you please, or "public ownership of public utilities."

They will say, as the Gazette saith, "that is there more in this issue of public ownership or control of utilities which depend for support upon various communities than many individuals are willing to admit." And then they will tell the people, as the Gazette does, that the republican party will institute these reforms. When it has been shown unmistakably, as it has been Haverhill unmistakably that the people want Socialism then the politicians will change their tactics to some extent, will pretend to advocate Socialism and attempt to deceive the people. The thought of being consistent never enters the head of a capitalist seeker for the spoils of office. All that concerns him is holding office and catering to his masters' whims and wishes and to achieve those purposes every other consideration of consistency, truth and honesty take flight.

There is, and will be, this great difference between the "Socialism" of the republican and democratic parties and the Socialism of the Social Democratic party. The former will mean public ownership, or control by business men, who will operate the public utilities they speak of as they run their own business—for profit. Not for the convenience of the public, not to better the condition of workers employed upon those different utilities, but to provide jobs for their own kind and to facilitate the process of skinning the working people. They will have in mind the lowering of the tax rate even at the cost of an improved service and of the labor employed at wages for the municipality. They will talk much of economy and retrenchment and at the same time build up their own fortunes at the public expense.

The Socialism of the Social Democratic party means, and will continue to mean, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, the land,

the railroads, the mines, oil wells, factories and all other sources of wealth, productions; which are in the possession of a class, the class that controls the old political parties and to whose interest it is to retain possession of those things. The Social Democratic party is the movement of the working class, the dispossessed, for the political control of this nation in order that the people collectively can come into possession of the means of production and distribution. And this means an entirely new system—the co-operative commonwealth.

This is our aim and nothing short of that will satisfy the Social Democrats. Bear that in mind, now and always.

The first step towards the accomplishment of that aim is municipal ownership of all the things operated publicly inside the municipality—the street railroads, the gas plants, electric lights, etc. When one builds a house, the roof is not constructed first, but a foundation is laid broad and deep and the building is erected upon that foundation, stone upon stone, piece to piece, until the finishing touch is placed upon it. In the municipality the working class will lay the foundation for the noblest, grandest building of the ages. From the control of the municipality they will proceed to the control of the state, and from the state to the nation. This they will do through the agency of a party of their own class—and that party is the Social Democratic party.

Socialism cannot come through the democratic party, because that, principally, represents the middle class, who are trying to preserve their places in the social scheme by the aid of palliatives upon the present system. That party will try to inaugurate "reforms," as Mayor Quincy has done in Boston, to save the small business man from sinking in the quagmire of bankruptcy, reforms which while placing certain benefits within the reach of the working class, still do not interfere with the subjection of labor to what has been called "the level of bare subsistence," and to the point where the perpetuity of the laborer is threatened. The middle class desires Capitalism perpetuated because they believe the existence of their class depend upon it.

Socialism cannot come through the republican party because that party is the party of the capitalist class and they desire Capitalism perpetuated because Socialism means the abolition of their class and class rule. The record of the Republican party everywhere is in line with that statement. As opposed to the working class interests those represented by the Republican and Democratic parties are really the same as was exemplified in the late municipal election. Only circumstances are needed to expose their true identity. Socialism can only come through the Social Democratic party because that party represents the working class whose historical mission is the abolition of class rule by obtaining control of the governmental functions in all departments.

These differences, plainly stated should be remembered in the future by the working class and their supporters, who, believing in Socialism, have commenced to travel the pathway that leads to the goal of their desires.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

Newspaper comments upon the Social Democratic victories in Haverhill and Brockton are interesting and amusing to those who know the real facts. The gentlemen of the press who earn their bread by practicing the art of constructing events to suit the taste of the capitalists, are engaged in a valiant attempt to explain "how it happened." Some of the reasons given are so wonderfully cute that the people hereabouts will doubtless be astonished at reading them.

There seems to be one point upon which nearly all our good friends agreed, and that, of course, is a wrong one. They seemed, as by some occult power, to have arrived at the conclusion that, as one puts it,—the Socialist vote is strongest in those cities

where the poorest wages are paid, and where there has been the hardest time in getting along in the past." Anyone at all posted on the Socialist movement in Massachusetts is aware that the Social Democratic vote is largest where the workers are highest paid and in a better condition than in other towns. Poor and small as have been, and are, the wages of the shoemakers, the wages of the mill workers in Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River and other mill cities have been still smaller and the conditions surrounding those workers are more miserable and degraded than in the shoe towns.

In the mill cities the worst kind of politics prevail, the rule seeming to be that the poorer the workers, the wider scope is given the gutter snipe politician, and the less chance there appears to be for the establishment of a healthy Socialist movement. The Social revolution must come from the ranks of a proletariat who can think. It must be an intellectual revolution, inspired by unjust economic conditions, but guided by a definite purpose, dominated by an ideal. The co-operative commonwealth cannot and will not be built upon ignorance or despair. In Lowell, Lawrence and other mill cities, the Social Democratic movement is gaining a foothold, but it is among the most intelligent of the working class and they will be the framers and shapers of the movement in their localities. The man who thinks with his stomach is invariably the victim of acute mental paralysis. Convulsions in human society are the result of pent up human emotions, passion, revenge, hatred, suffering, fostered by wrongful conditions. Revolutions are the culmination of evolutionary process in which agitation, education and organization are controlling factors. The brunt of the work in the Socialist movement is borne by intelligent, active and aggressive men and women who know what they want and are determined upon getting it.

An editorial writer on the Brooklyn Eagle takes consolation in assuring his readers that, "The theories which fail to work will die as the Populism of the West has died, and the chance to try them on will act as a safety valve for brains in which the supply of gray matter is below normal or lacks equilibrium." On reading this one should remember that nothing pleases a fool more than the belief that he is the embodiment of wisdom and that everybody else is the fool. If the extent to which Socialism is growing is a criterion to go by the number of those whose brains lack the normal supply of gray matter is not flattering to the citizenship of the United States. To remain a wise man one must needs vote the old party tickets, always, without cavil or protest.

The New York World coolly says that the election successes "will probably be heralded by the sanguine Socialists as a proof of the spread of their principles and of the progress of their cause," and that "these small local triumphs merely represent the success of a well organized labor vote protesting against boss rule and the prevalent municipal management." It is absurd, certainly for the Social Democrats to believe that an increased vote means the proof of the spread of their principles and the progress of their cause. Usually when the principles of a party are becoming popular with the people the votes of that party fall off. In future whenever a Social Democrat is elected to office our opponents should take it as a sign that the people believe in Capitalism, and are only voting for Socialism for diversion's sake. The World neglects to show why the Social Democratic votes should increase in state elections if the election of Chase and Coulter are "protest against boss rule and municipal management." We suppose the World never noticed this, or didn't want to. Some people become so accustomed to looking at things through somebody else's spectacles that they squint when they use their own.

The Baltimore Herald is a cheerful optimist and quiets its readers' nerves by telling them "the phenomenon will disappear, together with the causes which produced it." This is sound logic

nevertheless, as Socialism will only cease to be a phenomenon when the causes which produced it have disappeared and that can only be when Socialism has become a reality. The causes which produce the phenomenon are germane to the capitalist system, and how the Herald man would abolish the causes and allow the system to remain is a problem only such master minds as he can solve.

What is, perhaps, the funniest remark made about the Social Democrats is one contained in a dispatch from Boston to the New York Journal. Here we are characterized as "new and strange people." The citizens of Haverhill and Brockton and other cities will be struck with the originality of this reporter, who has conjured up a new race of human beings out of the election returns. We hasten to assure the outside world that we are much like the ordinary run of folks. We wear the same sort of ugly clothes, ape the same style, eat, drink, sleep, work, smirk, smile, cuss, chew, smoke and murder the English language in about the same fashion as our fellow creatures elsewhere. We are subject to the same passions, born of "this fital fever," as most people. We sorrow and rejoice, laugh and sigh, love and lose, like and dislike, just as other people are doing in other states in other countries, all over the world. We may be political freaks, but we are still human, and we are doing the very best we can to make the world happier and brighter for our having been in it.

The Social Democrat has quoted these utterances from the press of the country, for two reasons, one to bring home to Social Democrats the far reaching effect of the recent elections, and second to show Haverhill especially that the number of liars against Socialism are not confined to this city alone. Their name is legion wherever the working class are organizing to secure justice.

The old party politicians will not fail to take advantage of the sentiment manifested at the polls in the municipal elections in favor of eight hours constituting a working day. The labor and socialist organizations have advocated a shorter work day for years and if the politicians move forward it is because of the pressure from behind compels them to take action. It would not surprise us to see the Republican national platform next year contain a plank favoring a general eight-hour law in order to placate the labor vote. The working class have only themselves to thank if their condition of employment or living are better than they would otherwise have been. Their economic organizations have slackened the downward course of wages, but they have not suspended it entirely. Their share in the amount of wealth they produce is not by any means in proportion to the increase in production and is in fact, much less.

Someone ought to attend to the Gazette's case as soon as possible. The poor thing has been suffering dreadfully since the election. The "garrulous agitators," with hatred in their hearts, must have struck it in a vital spot. Probably the Gazette feels the lack of appreciation on the part of the working class for its efforts in their behalf. 'Tis bitter to feel the sting of ingratitude, and the Gazette deserves sympathy from somebody. There is a possibility though, that there would be more years shed for its dear sake, if it didn't make such a noise proclaiming its miseries. The average person respects the sufferer in silence a great deal more than the individual who seeks to unload his burden of grief upon every passer by. Meanwhile, the Social Democrat turns aside to drop a silent tear for the Gazette, hoping it will feel better at knowing we have done so.

The Social Democrat is able to publish this week the first of a series of letters on the American Federation of Labor convention from Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Central Labor Union in attendance as a delegate from the Cleveland Central Labor Union. Comrade Hayes is one of the brightest young journalists of

the West, having been active for years in the trade union and Socialist movement. His editorship of the Cleveland Citizen has given that paper a standing equalled by no other labor sheet in the country. His reports of the convention's proceedings for his own paper and for the Social Democrat will be out of the beaten track and will be interesting as pictures of a trade unionist and Socialist.

The Haverhill Gazette observes that "if the Social Democrats could only win in Lowell the snug complacency of some people and newspapers we could name would be severely parred. Almost would we be reconciled if this could only happen." But it will not happen. Social democracy has no foothold here, and is not likely to have so long as the regular democrats stand near the people.—Lowell News.

The regular Democrats cannot stand near to the people any more than the Republicans can, the ambition of both being office holding at whatever cost. When the time comes, as come it will, when the Social Democrats do obtain a foothold in Lowell, the Democrats and Republicans will unite as they did here. The Lowell News will be surprised some day just as some others we wot of have been surprised, and if it will be a crumb of comfort to our snivelling contemporary, the Gazette, we'll state that there are Social Democrats in Lowell now, and when another election day comes the "snake" will show its head and scare some of the parasites in Lowell as it did the group in Haverhill.

The Social Democratic party is making records fast. It elected the first representative ever sent to a state legislature, followed that up by electing the first Socialist mayor, more than doubled its vote in a state election in one year, re-elected its first mayor in the face of a combined opposition of the old parties, and at the same time elected another mayor in another city. Now it comes along and places the first woman ever elected on a Socialist ticket in this country into official position in Newburyport. That's a record to be proud of.

Read the history of the miners' trouble in Idaho and ask yourself as a man with a sense of justice and the exercise of the ballot, if you think such a state of affairs as there pictured is worthy of a free country, and if you do not think there should be a change in the administration that tolerates and assists in such outrages. This is Capitalism, upheld by Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists alike. You can afford to be a Social Democrat and to learn what Socialism means while such endure.

Comrade F. G. R. Gordon, of Manchester, N. H., well known in New England, and one of the founders of the Social Democratic party, has accepted a position as associate editor of the Appeal to Reason, J. A. Wayland's prosperous and famous Socialist weekly published out in Girard, Kas. The wish is expressed that Gordon's promotion will result in mutual benefit to the cause, the Appeal and to himself.

The votes cast for the Social Democratic candidates in the municipal elections held last Tuesday show conclusively that Socialism is becoming a factor in the politics of this state. Wherever one party had a ticket in the field the old party politicians are reported to have watched for the results with much anxiety and apprehension. With another good year's work ahead of us what may we not do in the election next year?

The Social Democrats, it seems, are not the only people who wish to undermine our American institutions. Sen. Hoar of this state has introduced, in the senate, a bill calling for a constitutional amendment establishing uniform hours of labor in certain industries. Strange to say, the Gazette has not opened up on Hoar for this. Is it because he's a republican?

The eight hour law for city employes has been approved by large majorities in every city in Massachusetts where it has been voted upon. This is one case where the referendum has worked to perfection. The "snake" still wiggles.

SHOE BUTLER'S STORE 7 Washington Sq.

Will Close Out, Preparatory to Taking Account of Stock, the Following Shoes, at Reduced Prices.

- CURTIS & CO'S FINE SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN. \$5.00 Russet Grain, Calf Lined, D. Sole, Lace Boots, FOR \$3.50 \$5.00 Box Calf, Calf Lined, Double Sole, Lace Boots FOR \$3.50 \$5.00 and \$6.00 Enamelled Cordovan, D. Sole Lace Boots, FOR \$4.00 \$4.00 and \$5.00 Russet Calf, S. and D. Sole Lace Boots, FOR \$3.50

LADIES' DEPARTMENT.

- \$2.50 and \$3.00 Fine Vici Kid, G. Welt, Button and Lace Boots, FOR \$1.98 P. S.—If you wish to get first-class, reliable goods, at Cheap Shoe Prices, here is your opportunity.

Ladies Garments

STYLISH, DOUBLE BREASTED, TAILOR-MADE COAT.

Made from fine quality English Kersey, Boucle and Cheviot materials, lined with fine quality satin and rhadame silk. These coats have all sold for \$10 and \$12.50 now marked as a leader, only \$6.75 A very Stylish Coat, made from fine quality cheviot, has storm collar and handsomely stitched revers, lined with best quality Skin-per satin, worth \$16.50, our price \$10.75

Stylish Cape, made from fine quality kersey, is handsomely braided, storm collar, fastened with gros grain ribbon, is lined throughout with fine quality rhadame silk, and is marked from \$7.50 to \$4.00

GREATEST SILK WAIST SALE ON RECORD.

Entire manufacturer's stock of Silk Waists, secured by us for less than one half their original values. These Waists come in a handsome line of colorings. These Waists are handsomely tucked and strapped. These Waists have sold for \$2.75, our price \$3.98

Arnold Lounging Robe, in fine tealze down flannel, ribbon trimmed collar, front, sleeves and pockets, with girdle. This gown comes in handsome plaids and stripes, former price \$5.75, now marked \$2.98

Fleece Lined Flannelette Wrappers, handsome patterns, braided trimmed yoke and sleeves, finished with 6-inch flounce, former price \$2.00, now marked \$1.00

Miscellaneous lot of high grade Tailor-Made Suits, in cheviot and Oxford materials, finely tailored, some are lined throughout with taffeta. Regular prices were \$25 and \$20, now marked \$10.00

Columbia Cloak & Suit Co., 175 Merrimack Street

Geo. O. Willey & Co.

Holiday Business has Commenced with a Rush, and you will find All Our Departments overflowing with Desirable Christmas Gifts, and at Our POPULAR PRICES.

- Kid Gloves, Ribbons, Laces, Neckwear, Cut Work, Handkerchiefs, Gaiters, Mittens, Skirts, Night Robes, Bath Robes, Aprons, Pocketbooks, Picture Books, Umbrellas, Atomizers, Ladies' Cloaks, Dress Skirts, Plush Capes, Ladies' Jackets, Children Reefers, Mackintoshes, Mercerized Waists, Flannel Waists, Fur Scarfs, Ladies' Trimmed Hats, Children Hats, Angora Tams, Violets, Roses and Choicest Assortment of Millinery

Geo. O. Willey & Co's.

A \$15.00 Morris Chair FOR \$12.00



Morris Chairs have always been the most comfortable style of easy chair made. Among the many styles we show, our \$12 Chair is by far one of the most comfortable and beautiful. It is made of selected quartered oak, finished in a beautiful golden color. The cushions are in the newest patterns of French Velours and are all hair filled. There are springs underneath the cushions and the rod ratchet is of brass. In fact every little detail is as carefully looked after as in a \$25 Chair. Of course we have all prices in Morris Chairs from our \$1.98 Child's Morris, to a \$25 Mahogany Chair.

F. E. TUCKER,

132-136 MERRIMACK STREET

STATE NEWS.

FROM THE HUB.

A Bright and Interesting Letter From the State Secretary.

Thank heaven, campaigning is over for another ten months!

We have not attempted to do much in the way of a campaign in Boston this year, just enough to let people know we are here.

Boston is too big to be affected by the kind or amount of agitation that produces great results in the smaller cities and large towns.

It requires something on a large scale to bring out the people of Boston, such as Deba's Paine Memorial or two Socialist Mayors and two Socialist Representatives at Faneuil Hall with which respectively our campaign opened and closed.

We had a few ward rallies in the interval, and distributed 10,000 leaflets and a lot of other literature; but we depend on the two big meetings to make an impression.

At the former Deba was at his best. He is better every time he comes. 1500 people literally packed Paine Memorial Hall—that was on Sunday evening, Nov. 26th, and listened for two hours to this most eloquent of Social Democrats.

At our second big rally, on December 8th, another 1500 people made the walls of the old Cradle of Liberty echo with resounding applause as our four foremost standard-bearers took their places upon the platform, and continued to give vent to their enthusiasm throughout the entire evening as the various speakers were introduced or made a telling point.

Representative Carey led off with a brief, but characteristically bright and eloquent speech. Our re-elected Mayor followed, and was greeted as some victorious general might be, returning from a battle in which he had triumphed against fearful odds.

Representative-elect MacCarthy of Rockland was new to a Boston audience but at once won his way into a high place in their favor. We have now and will in the future have still greater reason to be proud of our new representative.

The ovation of the evening, however, was given to our newest celebrity, our brand new socialist mayor, Comrade Coulter of Brockton. The Brockton Social Democratic hand, which was present and came in for a large share of well-merited applause, struck up "Hall to the Chief, as he rose to his feet, and the audience unable to restrain its enthusiasm, kept up an accompaniment of applause, and started in afresh when the hand had concluded its greeting.

Mayor-Elect Coulter spoke briefly in a clear, straightforward, earnest manner and gave the audience, in his quiet strength and good executive ability. Our candidate for mayor, Comrade John W. Sherman, was chairman and was introduced by Comrade Charles E. Lowell of Whitman.

In the audience I noticed comrades from all parts of Boston, and from Lynn, Malden, Everett and Chelsea, and quite a number from Brockton. It was a highly successful rally and ought to result in a considerable increase of votes.

All the papers had good accounts of it. I thank Heaven that campaigning is over for another ten months and we can turn our attention to the highly essential work of education and the perfection of our organization. The fact is, that we have been growing so fast that we have outgrown our accommodations.

IDAHO'S DISGRACE

The History of the Miners' Struggles Against Capitalism' Emissaries—The Blackest Page in the Record of Labors' Wrongs

The following is taken from the speech of Edward Boyce, of Idaho, recently delivered at Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1882, when prospectors set foot in the Wardner district, silver and lead ore was found there, and a great influx of people set in.

Many valuable mines were discovered and many big fortunes made in a short time. In 1887, some mines in Bunker Hill and Sullivan were bought up through a San Francisco railway company.

The first result was a reduction of wages from \$2.50 to \$2.00. A strike followed, and the miners won. In 1887, the miners of Wardner, organized themselves as the Wardner Miners' Union. This was necessary in order to obviate further reductions of wages.

Everything appeared to be satisfactory until 1890, when a further cut of wages was attempted. The Standard Oil Company had gotten hold of the mining stocks. A strike followed. The miners won, but the wages of the common laborers were put at \$2.50. The mine-owners, however, made up their minds to adopt other tactics.

John Hays Hammond, president of the company and later on the ally of Jameson and Rhodes in the South African conspiracy, organized the Mine Owners' Industrial Protective Association, which takes in the whole world, and which was formed to cut wages. Twelve per cent of the income of every mine was paid into a common fund for this end.

In 1892, the owners closed up all the mines, and when they offered to resume operations, they said they would pay only \$2.50 a day. This the miners refused. Then the owners got from Judge Beatty an injunction against the miners. The next thing they reported 600 Winchester rifles.

Then a detective agency was engaged to get the necessary scabs. In one month, 600 armed men were brought to the mines, although the miners had made no trouble in any way. But that was not all.

On the 4th of July, a mine-owner, W. E. Eastler by name, hoisted a broom over the United States flag. Asked what he meant by that, he declared that that signified the sweeping away of the Miners' Union, and the "purification" of the district of organized labor.

On July 11, 1892, as a lot of miners were quietly going along the highway, they were suddenly fired upon by imported detectives, and three miners were killed. At the same time it was known that the mine-owners were going to drive the organized workers out of the district.

The miners returned the fire, and the light to do so was later on acknowledged by the courts. The detectives were barricaded behind tree-stumps and bags of ore. The miners had only 40 rifles, but in six hours they took the whole guard prisoners and got 300 rifles. That is easily explained. The detectives were serving capital and a small blood wage. They had nothing to lose; the miners were fighting for themselves, their wives and children; they had everything to gain. Now the miners turned the tables and ordered the imported scoundrels to get out of the district.

On the other side of the canyon is the Gem mine, which was similarly organized. Here also there was an engagement, and the union men were again victorious. Now a state of war was declared, and 1600 Federal troops and 600 State militia came to Shoshone county. The whole of the union men were made prisoners and this state of war lasted until November. In the meantime, the imported scoundrels put their hands in the Miners' Union hall, blew it up and destroyed all the property of the union. But this was never made known outside of the district, whereas the destruction of capitalist property was published abroad everywhere.

precipitate a riot. The reason for it is clear. The works was insured for \$150,000. Stamp mills of that kind have a life of about five years; these had been in operation for ten years. Before the County Tax Board the manager swore that the works was not worth more than \$52,999; two months later he swore that the works had been worth \$200,000.

That was the reason of the riot and that was the reason of the explosion. The now newly erected concentrator is a completely modern one, and up on the roof of it there is placed a Gatling gun which controls the whole region around. For what purpose, will be quite clear to you, would just like to see what would happen if a labor organization were to place a Gatling gun on one of its mills.

In May of this year, a state of war was declared over Shoshone county. President McKinley sent 800 colored soldiers, although he so sorely needed them for the "benevolent assimilation" of the Filipinos. The first thing that happened was that the soldiers arrested the sheriff and county commissioners. All day long they had to stand in the thick fith of the bull pen. A judge of the name of Stewart was imported and he told the county attorney that he would send him to the bull pen if he did not resign. No indictment was found against the sheriff and the county commissioners. But the public prosecutor was a resourceful man and he discovered that the commissioners had paid \$4 for having a clock repaired. He declared that was \$2 too much and that indictment the whole county officials were deposed. Then followed the cruel persecution of the union men. Over 1200 of them were sent to the bull pen.

When the industrial commission sat in Wallace there were 250 men in the bull pen. Bartlett Sinclair, the governor's representative, swore that they were all indicted by the grand jury for the murder and conspiracy and had to be tried before they were released, nevertheless he has released 150 of them, which proves that he perjured himself before the commission. Within the past week 20 of these prisoners have been on trial for delaying the U. S. mail. I have not heard what the result was but I know that they will be convicted as there is no justice in the courts for them.

Paul Corcoran, secretary of the Burke Miners' union was sentenced to 17 years in the penitentiary in a most outrageous manner; there was not one iota of evidence against him. Over 12 of his neighbors swore that he was at home, which is 20 miles from the mill when it was destroyed. Since the foregoing was delivered a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the case of Paul Corcoran has been denied, the judge at the same time going out of his way to criticize and condemn trades unions and the labor press for the publicity the latter have given the infernal condition of things prevailing in Idaho.

A letter received by the Editor of the Haverhill Social Democrat from President Edward Boyce, of the Western Federation of Miners on Friday of last week says: Denver, Colo., Dec. 5, 1899. Yours of Nov. 17th was received in due time, and in reply thereto will say that I am very glad to know that you are so confident of success in the near future. I view with admiration the splendid fight your people have made in Haverhill, and I trust that you will be able to continue the good work, so that in the near future you may be able to carry the election—not only in the city, but in the state. The election in Haverhill has been very closely watched by the people of the west, and I am confident that they will follow your example, provided you keep up the good work you have begun. There is no longer any doubt but the principles of Socialism are growing rapidly among the laboring people. They realize that it is their only salvation through which they shall gain their freedom.

All of our men have been released at Wardner one week ago, and I understand that no further prosecutions will be attempted, because the state is unable to find any evidence upon which they can rely. Therefore you can see that our men have been persecuted without just cause for the past six months. Two companies of soldiers were retained during the winter, with the exception of the mining corporations desire them; in order to prove a menace to the labor organizations of the district. No union men can secure employment in any of the mines, and all meetings of the Miners' union in Wardner, Gem, Burke and Madlen, are prohibited, but I am certain that next fall we will be better organized than ever and in good shape to vote solidly against the present administration that is owned and controlled by the Standard Oil company.

Wishing you unbounded success in your good work, I remain yours fraternally, ED. BOYCE.

THE HAVERHILL ELECTION Marks the Dawn of a New Era in History. The greatest event in the history of Haverhill has taken place. A choice between Socialism and wage slavery has been fairly and squarely offered to the people. The question has been asked them—Will you once again rebuke the old parties that stand for the enslavement of the working class, and give your voice for that party which is leading you on the road to the Co-operative Commonwealth? And the people of Haverhill answered, Yes!

Let no man attempt to belittle this victory. It is not accidental, it was due to no chance. One year ago it was possible to say that Mayor Chase won because his enemies were divided, and there were

several tickets in the field. Today no such claim can be made. All the forces of Capitalism were lined up against him; Republicans and Democrats forgot their lifelong feud and joined hands to strangle if possible the infant Socialist party, whose rapid growth fills them with such consternation. A great corporation issued out its money like water by the same end. Money can do most anything, but let its masters know that it is utterly powerless before the march of a great idea.

Neither can the Socialist triumph be ascribed to the popularity of our candidates. The citizens of Haverhill are justly proud of the men who have honored their city and their party by their spotless public life. But no mere love and respect for any man or men can explain the intense fervor of this campaign. No candidate, however popular, could call forth the earnest feeling which this election has inspired. Only ideas, only principles could do that. Men do not work as the Social Democrats have worked without pay or hope of reward, for any leader never believed he may be.

It has been a great crisis for Haverhill, but it has been something far more. The triumph of the Social Democratic party in our town has been an event of momentous issues for the whole country, and has marked the dawn of a new era in the history of the United States. Nothing like it has ever happened in America; never before has Socialism wrenched a victory from the clenched hand of united Capitalism. Just as surely as this has been done, just so surely has the shadow of decay and death fallen upon both the old parties. It will never be forgotten that they are ready to throw to the winds all the issues which they profess to consider so vital, and clasp hands to overthrow a party which stands for the emancipation of the wage-slaves.

Both parties have received their death blow; although they may stagger on for some years, yet they will surely fall at last. They beat the past, but we front the lawn.

One proof that this is not a merely local victory, is the fact that a sister city has joined our march. Brockton is now in line with Haverhill; two Socialist towns will from this day on hold up the banner of the Co-operative Commonwealth in the van of the old Bay State. With Rockland, we now have three Socialist centres from which the sparks of truth will fly in all directions till all Massachusetts is in a blaze.

The real magnitude of last Tuesday's election is too near to us to be clearly perceived. An object held close to the eyes cannot be distinctly seen, and events in which we have a share are sometimes those which we least understand. The "embattled farmers" of Lexington little knew that they were forming a mighty nation, or that they were engaged in anything but a local fight. Yet they did their duty, and the far-reaching results of their deed still live and make their names immortal. The citizens of Haverhill hardly realize what they have done, or that they have broken the first link in the long and heavy chain of Labor. But anxious and beating hearts all over the country have eagerly watched them as they made their choice, fearing they might falter, hoping they would stand true. Joyful tidings of last Tuesday's victory is now traveling through the length and breadth of the land, slowly it is true, for the capitalistic press wisely abstains from proclaiming our triumph. And wherever the good news penetrates it brings to Capitalism a foreboding of coming danger and defeat, but to the wage slave it reveals the first bright streakings of a better day.

"It shall bid the poor rejoice, It shall give the dumb a voice, It shall belt with joy the earth." —E. H. T.

Robert J. Burdette says in the Chautauquan: "I once coined a name away back in 1876, for one of my so-called humorous characters—Bill derlock. I put the Billderlock family in focus print for several years. One night, about 1887, I lectured in Salem, N. J., and sold one of my Billderlock stories. The audience was convinced with more truth than the story called for. After the lecture I was introduced to about a dozen Billderlocks, who enjoyed my story more than any one else."

When the elder Vanderbilt died several years ago, among his assets were \$40,000,000 of Government 4 per cent bonds. This produced an income of one Million Six Hundred Thousand Dollars a year! That is what one man received and transferred to his descendants because men went out and fought to free the black man! War was very profitable to him and others. That is a greater sum each year than has been paid to all the presidents of the United States since the foundation of the government! And it is still being paid and will forever be paid so long as the people will support the present system. Do you believe that one man should take from all the people any such fabulous amount a year? Do you think he did it or could do it fairly? Is it possible that one man can produce so much more than another? The Vanderbilt estate is today worth more than it was then. It is accumulating faster than it can be spent with all the extravagance of the family. But great as is this income, it is nothing to what we as a people are paying to Mr. Rockefeller for telling us what we shall pay for oil! All the wealth is going into the hands of a few thousand families and the sooner it is done the sooner will come the upheaval. Are we not a very wise nation?—Appeal to Reason.

J. O. ELLISON & CO. Coal and Grain

"Christmas comes but once a year. But when it comes, it brings good cheer."

HAVE A HALF or a Quarter of Our Portsmouth Cream Ale or India Pale Stock Ale on tap in the cellar for Christmas Time. A mug of either would add a delightful snack to the Christmas Cheer at Dinner-time.

CITY WINE STORE 38-40 FLEET STREET. Telephone, N. E. 58-3. People's 57-4. Wholesale of the first class, licensed to sell and deliver all our goods in any quantities desired. The only dealers so licensed in Haverhill. IT PAYS TO BUY THE BEST.

FRANK P. KIEF 179 MERRIMACK ST. FOR CHRISTMAS GOODS. Look in the Window—You will Find Something you want at Your Own Price. All Kinds of Wines, Foreign and Domestic. The best Line of Whiskey, Rum, Gin and Brandy in the city. We can't be Beat on Me, Lager and Porter. Orders Taken for Case Goods.

FRANK P. KIEF 179 MERRIMACK STREET You Like It. Do You? THE PRIME..... Old Blackstone Whiskey, \$1.00

For a Full Quart. It is valuable for Medicinal Purposes, and is really a friend in need in the time of sickness.

M. H. McCARTHY, the Veteran Distributor, will deliver immediately upon the receipt of order at the Store 63 Essex Street. People's Telephone, 55-7. N. E. Telephone, 522-2.

THE COLD WEATHER HAS COME.

Look Out For Your Heating Arrangements. We want to place a Gas Radiator in every house in Haverhill. We sell them at Less than Half Price and set them up Free of Charge. Call Today and See Our Stock.



BRONZE. 4-Tube, \$1.75 6-Tube, 2.65 8-Tube, 3.40

NICKLE. 4-Tube, \$2.65 6-Tube, 3.40 8-Tube, 4.15

This is the New Omega Gas Stove.



PERFECTLY ODORLESS..

TWO SIZES.

PRICES \$2.45 AND UPWARDS.

Haverhill Gas Light Co., Office 106 Merrimack Street. N. E. Telephone 43-3. Peoples' 236-4.

JEWELRY FOR PRESENTS. St. Nicholas knows we are Headquarters and will do his choosing accordingly. Our stock shows we haven't been dozing; that we have been straining our energies for months in order to say READY when December dawned. That's the word now and it means more than it ever did before. A few Suggestions: DIAMONDS, WATCHES, RINGS, CHAINS, BROOCHES, STICK PINS, BRACELETS, SILVERWARE. ALL THE LATEST SILVER NOVELTIES. HAVERHILL'S JEWELER AND OPTICIAN. L. JOSEPH ENO, 27 MERRIMACK ST. PRICES LOW. COME IN AND EXAMINE OUR STOCK.

LOOK STYLISH. Order your Clothes at the Largest and Finest Tailoring Establishment in the city. We have the Largest and Biggest Shop with the Latest Improved Facilities to turn out the Best Work. Just give us a Call and Convince Yourself. REMEMBER THE PLACE.

S. GOLDMAN, 188 Merrimack Street,

STURGIS' MARKET, 20 Locust Street.

Sirloin Steak, 15c lb. Good Steak, 10c lb. Home Made Sausage, 10c lb. Home Made Mince Meat, 10c.

THE AMERICAN ART STUDIO Has Opened a Large Studio at 20 Main Street, Haverhill, with a Full Line in Pastel and Oil Paintings. All work is guaranteed and can be copied from a photo, group, or in type picture. It would pay you to give them a call and examine their Samples. J. W. BROWN, MACHINIST. Steam and Gas Fitting. 122 WASHINGTON STREET. Shafting, Hangers, Pulleys and Belting—For Sale, Second Hand. Haverhill, Mass.

Union Directory.

Meetings of Local Trades unions are held at Labor headquarters, 25 Washington street, as follows: Boot and Shoe Workers Union No. 1, Monday. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union No. 2, Tuesday. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union No. 4, Thursday. Boot and Shoe Makers' Union No. 151, Friday. Typographical Union, First Monday in each month. Carpenters' Union, every Tuesday evening. Box Makers' Union, every other Tuesday. Harber's Union, every other Monday. Horse Shoers' Union, every other Friday. Shoe Council, every Thursday. Central Labor Union, every other Sunday. Lathers' Union, every Friday night. Bricklayers' Union, every Monday night, 201 Washington street.

NOTICE.

All members of Union No. 2 are notified that we vote on the new Constitution on Saturday, December 16, between 1 and 6 p. m., at labor headquarters, 31 Washington street. All members wishing to vote can do so by bringing their due book with them.

UNION MATTERS.

B. & S. W. Union, No. 2, met on Tuesday evening and transacted business of importance to the union. The executive board of the union met before the meeting.

Agent Donovan, of the shoe council, attended a meeting of the Lynn turned workmen on Monday evening.

The turned shoe workmen of Essex county will meet today (Saturday) at Labor headquarters and vote upon the new constitution of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union, which involves the acceptance or rejection of the new 25 cents weekly dues. A half holiday will be taken for the purpose of holding the meeting and that a full vote may be taken. Salem and Lynn will be represented and a special train will be run for the accommodation of the turned workmen of those cities.

Secretary Eaton of the National union is expected to be present to give the views of the national officers on the subject, from the time of the Rochester convention until the present time.

THE WORLD OF WANT.

(By Caroline Rice Shaw in Seattle Times.) I stood upon a morning height and saw The ocean roll; I caught the light of Time And felt the glad vibrations of the stars. A ecstasy swept grandly into space, Golden with light of promise, while the old Yet lingered in the glory of its going. My heart was filled with love, with love of love, Of life, of all that is.

The amber sea, the purpling peak— The burning bud, the bloom Shook me with ecstasy. Sweet life and love Thrilled every sense; when lo, a searching wail Fell on mine ear; and turning swift as thought, I looked from my World Beautiful, through shadow As deep as Hell, to that World Hideous where My brother dwelt.

There grim and gaunt he stood; Man-eyed Despair alone companioned him. I saw the knotted hands, the twisted frame, The vacant eye from which the soul had fled; And even as I gazed he fell as falls The stricken brute; then, struggling weakly up, Bent to his task again as bent to our The galley slave of old.

Then heard I there In that dark world of his the lean "Christ Jesus!" quick I gasped, "O Christ!" then stood In anguish dumb 'till like another's voice I heard mine own, call loud cries across the gulf Of light between.

"Covered my brother yet! In this new country's dawn I see Showdown That day when God the Nations shall converse: I see his forces rushing on in wrath Across the broad and glimmering "Suns of Time. Torrents of Truth come sweeping on again To inundate the old world—yours and mine— That from the dawning may arise and stand A solid world where justice shall be King; O weary brother, rise and face the storm; brother, rise and face the storm; brother, rise and face the storm; Our God is living."

OLD-AGE PENSIONS

From a Socialist's Standpoint. —Mayor Chase's Article in the November Lippincott.

(Published by permission from New Lippincott's Magazine, Nov. 1889)

The closing years of the twentieth century bring us face to face with problems weightier by far than any that ever confronted a people. Through the development and evolution of our industrial system we are met with conditions which make the thoughtful man tremble for the preservation of the sacred principles of liberty and equality, and the unthinking wonder at the relentless severity of life. That a tremendous change in the condition of the people has taken place in the last decade no thinking man will deny. No student of social conditions will attempt to deny that in the has in store for us greater changes still, and that in the onward march of time new systems will of necessity relegate old systems to oblivion. This is recognized by men and women of every station in life.

There is a certain excitement and perturbation of mind which is making itself more and more apparent throughout all classes of society. How long before this stirring of the conscience of the people shall reach its fruition depends largely upon free and open discussion. It is by the light of reason that progress is made. If a truth be proclaimed, discussion is bound to aid its growth; if an untruth be uttered, by the same law its death becomes inevitable.

Properly to understand the question of old-age pensions, it is necessary to become thoroughly familiar with our industrial system and examine carefully its evolution. Through the development of machinery, the concentration of capital, and the formation of trusts, syndicates and combines, a large and ever-growing number of people is thrown out of employment; the machine is rapidly taking the place of the man.

The machine, being owned by some individual member of society, and allowed by him to be operated only so long as there remains a market for his goods and a profit for himself, drives the man out to beg, steal or starve, become a tramp or a criminal.

The labor-displacing power of machinery is being constantly developed, and the number of individuals required to operate this machinery is continually growing less. The same result is being attained by the formation of trusts and monopolies. A less number is required for their management; a trust is simply a labor-saving machine.

As the result of all this development and concentration, millions of able-bodied men find it impossible to secure employment. Of course, there is no permanent or certain number unemployed constantly, and the number is always changing. One man finds employment today, and tomorrow loses it to another, who perhaps through necessity, under-bids him. I often think, as an illustration of this, of the time when, a boy among the hills of New Hampshire, we went fishing with a pail of live minnows for bait. We would have perhaps a hundred minnows in a wire-covered pail filled with water. These tiny fish would vainly try to escape from their narrow confines and would rise from the bottom of the pail up through a myriad of others bumping their heads against the cover in their struggles to escape only to be crowded down by others more lively than they. Now and then one would turn over on his back and expire. The rest would not heed it, but keep on in the strife. So it is with the working-man of today. He no sooner finds employment and establishes himself, when a pair of hands, so to speak, are laid on his shoulders and down he sinks, overpowered in the struggle for existence, only to rise to the top and crowd down some other unfortunate who is weaker than he.

What, then, becomes of the weak and aged in this mad struggle? There is no other course open

to them except to continue the unequal contest. Now and then one is seen to turn over on his back and expire, but the melee continues. It is death to stop; yes, and death to continue, the only difference being that one prolongs the agony a little further. It is no wonder that men cry out, "How long, O Lord! how long!" It is no wonder that these men declare that there is no God. It is not to be wondered that these men, some of them, commit crime. The only wonderful thing is, that there is not more crime than there is today under such conditions. I am one of those who do not believe it necessary to sacrifice humanity on the altar of greed.

Here in this country, where nature has provided everything in abundance for the wants of humanity, here where we have machinery enough, if properly managed to supply all the wants of our seventy millions of people by four hours' labor per day of the adult population, I repeat it is unnecessary, and not only that, it is insane and criminal.

When society shall awaken to the possibilities before it, under a rational industrial system, many of the questions of the present will find no place, but until such time we are obliged to meet them.

What are we to do with the aged? This is a problem we must solve. Are we to allow them to fall by the wayside, one by one, after years of toil, that a few may live in idleness and luxury? Are we not as human beings bound to offer some relief to this poor old broken-down man, once a splendid specimen of the Master Sculptor's handiwork, or shall we pass over and leave him to his misery and sorrow? My friends, these men helped to build the structures we call Government; these men have toiled and suffered that others might live and enjoy the wealth created by them; they have made this nation what it is in all its wealth, beauty and greatness.

Shall we say to them, "Toil on, toil on. When you have given all of your youth, all of manhood when you are no longer able to lift your nerveless hands in humble entreaty or the fight to live, we will bury you, and send your hungry children to the Reformatory if they are driven by the pangs of hunger to steal?" No!—In the name of suffering humanity, No! Let us rather say to them, "Our country abounds in wealth, our productive capacity is great enough when all shall have contributed their share to allow every one who desires to retire at the age of fifty-five, and be provided for by the wealth all have created. Employment shall be provided for you so long as you are able to work, and your children shall be educated and given employment when they reach the required age."

I believe that would be humane, just, and rational. It is a horrible sight to see the old men, as you can see them in every city, after years of toil for just enough to keep body and soul together, coming to the pauper department, begging for aid to keep them and those dependent upon them from hunger; begging for work at any price, so that they may be free from the stigma of pauperism. These men, day in and day out, come to the city officials. In my official position I meet them every day. They come many of them, with tears streaming down their care-worn faces, telling the same sad story,—that they have toiled and suffered all their lives, and now, when they are old and incapable of laborious work, they are displaced by the younger men and left to the mercy of the pauper department. This is true of every city.

The secretary of the Overseers of the Poor in Lowell, Massachusetts, says in his report of 1898: "In our city the mills have been running fairly well as a general thing, some of them working overtime, yet there are thousands of able-bodied men daily seeking employment. Want and distress overtake hundreds each year who have no other recourse than the pauper department, and once they are in the clutches of that octopus it is hard for them ever to get away. Many an industrious man and woman has been compelled to make application for aid during the past two or three years who loathes to do so. Go around Lowell on any day in the week and see the number of able-bodied, sober-

faced men you will find loafing on the street corners. It is a daily occurrence in our office to have men ask for any kind of work at a rate of wages sufficient only to keep away absolute want from themselves and family. Time and time again I have had men to whom 'going on the Town' was as repulsive as it was to our forefathers who were compelled to swallow that noble sentiment after fighting for weeks to keep away, simply because they could find no work to do." This is the testimony of one man. Hundreds could be quoted, but space will not permit.

We should bear in mind that we are compelled to support in some way these men who are left on our hands unable to procure employment. The evils resulting from allowing these men to go uncared for are incalculable.

In the first place, they are compelled through the stress of poverty and suffering to accept work at any price, thus forcing downward the standard of wages, and the standard of living of the working men in general. In offering themselves for the small sum that they are forced to take, they are making the conditions of all so much worse, for this tends to establish the standard of wages for which all must work.

The employer of labor, knowing that these men will work for almost any price, uses them as a means of hiring all his employees at a lower wage. But the main evil is the injustice to the old and helpless. I claim that it is the duty of society to protect its members against needless suffering, persecution and oppression.

If some foreign country should lay hands on the means of our citizens, the whole power of the United States Government would be called into play to demand that justice be done him, but men, women and children may die of starvation in our midst by the thousands and not a word of protest is heard. Is it not more of a duty for us to help those thousands here among us who are persecuted through the greed of capitalism?

I am one of those who believe that no man is an independent unit of society. No matter how humble in life a man may be, I believe he has contributed his share to our success, and deserves something more from society than a place in the almshouse.

It were better that he had never been born if, after a life of toil and hardship he found nothing but humiliating pauperism in his old age.

Sometime in the future, when the people shall awaken to the fact that individualism and competition are relics of barbarism, when they shall know that by organizing society on the principle of "each for all and all for each" suffering for the necessities of life will be needless, when they shall learn that by organizing their industrial system on a co-operative, instead of a competitive plan, when every one takes his or her share in the production of wealth which will be shared by all according to their deeds, then will life be worth living; then to be born will be to live, not merely to exist; then shall we see the aged retire at an age when they can enjoy a few years of happiness, free to bask in the sunlight of the smiles and caresses of their children and their children's children. In the meantime we are compelled to do our best while we work for the better day that is bound to come.

The questions naturally arise, Where is the "old-age pension" coming from? How are the funds to be raised? I shall endeavor to make plain in a few lines how the necessary fund can be provided and maintained. There are many methods that could be adopted in the for of taxation. It could be raised by general taxation, but this would beget the cry that it would be an increased burden to the tax-payers, and would therefore be unjust. In England the subject of old-age pensions has been agitated for several years, and the prevailing idea of the method of raising the pension-money is through a tax on land values, that is, the value of the land without regard to any buildings or improvements which may be attached to it. This idea prevails there undoubtedly because of landlordism. That being one of their greatest monopolies and the evils of it most keenly felt, it is but natural that

they should think of levying their tax upon land values. But that which would be practical in England would very likely not be best for us here in America.

Land monopoly is not what we are suffering under so much as industrial competition monopolies. We do not suffer from a system of land monopoly so much as we do through the gigantic combinations of capital in industrial enterprises. These combinations are constantly growing more powerful. They are in a position to levy a tax on the people at will and to force them to pay. My method would be to levy a tax on them for the support of the aged and helpless. Whenever a combination is perfected and organized into a trust or monopoly for the purpose of controlling any industrial enterprise a large number of persons are thrown out of employment, and, secondly, the profits of the enterprise, which formerly went to many persons, are concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, and I say that these two acts alone are enough to convince us that the trusts should provide for those whom they rob of employment. The most feasible plan, therefore, that I could suggest, would be this: Each State to create an "Old-Age Pension Commission," whose duty it would be to ascertain the number of laborers above the age of say fifty-five, and disburse among them the amount due them each month or each quarter, as a pension in part payment for services rendered, the State to raise the funds by an annual tax on all corporations and industrial combinations. This crude outline of a plan which, of course, could be improved upon, but one which will serve as a means of showing the lines along which the plan could be carried out. Once the question of old-age pensions is taken up and discussed and they are found necessary means will be opened for their adoption.

I have written this from a standpoint which makes me believe that the measure is necessary only under existing conditions. I believe, also, that some day there will be a state of society under which no special aid will be required to provide for the average man or woman in old age.

MORE OF A WOMAN'S THOUGHTS ON SOCIALISM. It is sometimes stated that Socialism will destroy individuality; that it will establish a sameness which will bring all things to a dead level, and that unequal circumstances as regards the possession of money, are to society, what the mountains and valleys are to earth. I would call the attention of those who so reason to the fact that mountains and valleys are natural diversifications. The grandeur of the mountain, the restful quietude of the valley, the sweeping vastness of the prairie, the boldness of the rocky cliff, the power of the cataract, the stillness of the lake, each has a charm quite its own, yet each is strengthened by the presence of the other.

Can this be said of the divisions of society made by wealth and poverty? Is poverty with all the sufferings that it brings to those under its pressure a benefit to any? Are the lives of those who possess wealth benefited by the knowledge that other's have naught but misery? A thousand times no! The inequality which exists under the capitalist system has no part in nature. It is a blot upon all humanity inasmuch as it is debasing in its effect upon both the possessors of capital and those whom it dispossesses of the products of their toil. Nature says that the producer shall be the possessor and capitalism which has reversed that has made the chasm of society and destroyed the grand possibilities of each.

Socialism will not destroy individuality, it will save individuality by making it possible for the good of our natures to develop. Socialism will light up all the dark places of earth. Poverty and all the evils that result therefrom will disappear. When Socialism has overcome the shades of the long dark night that has reigned upon humanity, each will grow according to his or her nature even as the vegetation of earth grows under the rays of sunlight. Then will society have its mountains of noble grandeur, its valleys of peaceful calm.

—E. J. H.

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