

The Haverhill Social Democrat.

NO. 12. VOL. 1.

HAVERRILL, MASS. DECEMBER 23, 1899.

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PRICES LOW. COME IN AND EXAMINE OUR STOCK.

Salutation from Pennsylvania.

(By courtesy of Public Ownership, Erie, Pa.)



Comrades of Massachusetts! Hail, Rising Sons of Equality, Fraternity, Liberty!
Like your ancestors you have fired the shot heard 'round the world.
They rebelled against the tyranny of Kings; you, against the worse tyranny of Capitalism.
May your glorious victory be an inspiration to the comrades throughout the world, and hasten the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Local Notes.

On Thursday Mayor Chase issued a circular letter to the heads of the water, park, street and poor departments calling attention to the fact that the voters of the city had approved the act providing for an eight-hour day for city employees. The aldermen having officially declared the returns of the municipal election, the eight-hour system is now in force for the workmen in the departments named.

Mayor Chase and City Solicitor Newell intended to appear before the hearing of the superior court at Salem on Tuesday relative to the grade crossing matter but it was found that no court could grant a hearing to a petition unless both parties concerned were present and this has resulted in a delay. The Boston & Maine railroad being the other party, would have to be conferred with. It is probable that the case will not come up until after new year in Boston and there may be more delay.

Mayor-Elect Coulter and Carlton S. Beals of Brockton arrived in Haverhill on Thursday afternoon to participate in the ratification meeting held in the city hall at night. Comrade Beals is Mayor-Elect Coulter's choice of city marshal of Brockton and he'll make a good one.

Mayor Chase at the meeting of the board of aldermen on Tuesday night presented a bill for \$400 expense incurred in presenting the city's side of the gas question to the state commission. The order was passed by both branches of the city government on Thursday night to pay the bill.

Representative-elect F. O. MacCartney spent Sunday in Haverhill consulting with Representative James Carey on matters concerning the coming session of the legislature.

Miron Murdoch left his wheel outside labor headquarters on Saturday night while he spent a couple of hours up stairs discussing the duties of nations, and incidentally the inequities of capitalism. When he started to go home, he found his wheel had disappeared and now the police and Miron are looking for the person who took it.

THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB.

The Women's Social Democratic club held their second meeting at the residence of Mayor Chase. There was a very good attendance and 12 new members joined the club. Mrs. Kate Corrigan presided and Mrs. Anna Young acted as secretary.

Plans for the first entertainment and ball to be given by the club were fully discussed. Lafayette hall has been engaged for the night of Friday, Jan. 12, and the affair will consist of a concert, with a programme of singing, readings and recitations, to be followed by a ball. An excellent band will be engaged for the occasion. There will be three prices for tickets, 50 cents for lady and gent, or 35 cents for gent and 25 cents for lady. The proceeds of the affair will go to the Social Democratic party.

The next meeting of the club will be held on Wednesday next, Dec. 27, at 8 o'clock, at 168 Merrimack street, and all women interested in the cause of Socialism are invited to attend and will be made welcome. The members of the club are much encouraged with the progress made so far and are determined their organization will be a valuable acquisition to the local movement.

The ratification meeting held in the city hall Thursday night was a success in every particular. About 1000 people were present. The meeting was preceded by a parade which started from labor headquarters and marched through the principal streets of the city. Passing through Lafayette Square the parade received a warm reception. The social democrats of Precinct 3, Ward 5, illuminating the square for the occasion.

Mayor-Elect Coulter, Carlton S. Beals, Rep. James Carey and Mayor Chase headed the parade followed by the Haverhill Social Democratic band. At the hall the band played several selections in fine style and was warmly applauded. Mayor-Elect Coulter, Rep. James Carey and Mayor Chase were the speakers of the evening, each receiving a cordial greeting and being warmly applauded.

At the meeting of the City Government on Thursday evening, City Solicitor Newell read a petition for the appointment of a commission to consider the abolition of grade crossings in this city and it was approved. The petition will be filled in the equity session of the superior court in Suffolk county.

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

What It Has Done to Advance Labor's Cause.— Nationalization of Trusts and Monopolies Endorsed

The convention of the American Federation of Labor has not been productive of anything unusually startling. The debate on the shipping subsidy resolution has been given much attention in the press dispatches. It being asserted definitely that a lobby of Republican office-holders formerly "labor leaders," notably Hatchford of the Miners, and Garland of the Iron and Steel Workers, were on hand to push the resolution through.

Correspondent Hayes reports that the real object of the presence of one of the office-holders seemed to be to prevent the administration from being censured for its complicity in the Idaho outrages. It would seem incredible that the convention would allow the treatment of the Idaho miners to pass lightly by with only a nod.

The daily press, as was to be expected, reported the debate on the Socialist resolution from the capitalistic standpoint and indulged in the customary ridiculing of the Socialist side of the question. Delegate Max Hayes led the debate for the Socialists and one paper reports it as follows:

Delegate Hayes precipitated the debate upon the resolution, he not favoring the amendments proposed by the committee, but being willing for almost any old thing to go through so long as it rubbed it into the "two old games" (by which he meant the Republican and Democratic parties) and tended towards the formation of the new party, which was his ideal and which was to bring about a millennium sooner or later. He is rather an eloquent young man, with a ready command of the platitudes of the reformer, and his oration was prolonged for fourteen minutes, through the courtesy of the convention. He told of the many recent occurrences where the power of the few capitalists, unbalanced that of the multitudes, and then punched the monopolists; bag with dexterity. Marcus Aurelius Hanna came for a liberal share of his caustic criticism and he accused the municipal government of Cleveland, the state government of Ohio and the courts of the Buckeye state of being controlled by the 5 per cent. of the population that represented the capitalistic element.

The great many of the older and wiser members of the convention smiled indulgently at the wild denunciations of the youthful orator, and the enthusiasm seemed to be all his own. After some less-impassioned debate, the resolution as amended was passed.

Reporting on the resolution introduced by Delegate Hayes on the Idaho miners another paper gives the following and by reading between the lines one can understand how the debate on the matter stood.

"Another resolution which was expected to create a great deal of debate was introduced by Delegate Hayes, the Socialist gentleman. It was on the recent miners' troubles in Shoshone county, Idaho, and made a sweeping and bitter denunciation of Gov. Stenness of Idaho, and President McKinley for the part taken in the trouble by United States troops. The resolutions committee sent in a mild substitute, however, simply recommending that the incoming executive council investigate the trouble and place the blame where it belonged. Mr. Hayes, whose resolution was not reported, made an attempt to get the floor, but did not speak quite enough for Vice-President McGuire, who was presiding, and the substitute of the committee was sent through with a rush. Then Hayes kicked.

"I had the floor and asked a question of order," he declared, "but I did not rise up the floor and you put the motion and shut me off. I call that Carr Reed-like rules."

"I don't know why this convention should be held up by one man on the floor any more than by one man in the chair," retorted Vice-President McGuire.

Comrade Hayes writes the Social Democrat as follows:

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 17. The convention of the A. F. of L. this year will not go down in history as remarkable for its progressiveness. Many of the same old resolutions that have been adopted for years were dusted off and sent through the hopper once more in a perfunctory sort of manner, arousing not the slightest discussion. Much of the valuable time of the convention (valuable dollars a day) was taken up with trade fights. Machinery and newer methods of production and distribution have so diversified the trades that it is almost impossible to discover the line of demarcation, and the vehement and unceasing talk of "trade autonomy" is becoming quite amusing. Thus the printers hardly know whether they are compositor or machinists; the brewers are kept

enough not to vote for the pro in continuous hot water to guard against inroads from engineers and firemen, teamsters, painters and laborers; the wool working crafts are in a never-ending wrangle, and it is much the same in the iron industry and other occupations.

The painters created a row on an average about once a day, and finally their troubles and grievances were got rid of by saddling them on the incoming Executive council, which was instructed to call a convention and organize a new union.

Aside from the trade disputes, the questions that aroused the most interest were the ship subsidy resolution, independent political action, the Idaho affair, trusts and the Philippine embargo.

The Federation took a slightly advanced position on the independent political line, as the following resolution, as adopted, will show: Resolved, That this Federation recommends that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps to use their ballots, their political power, on independent lines, as enunciated in the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor.

The debate on this proposition was largely one-sided, the powers that be having probably decided to make a slight concession. The Socialists were not fought with that vigor and bitterness that was displayed in former years, and it is even hinted that the conservatives were loth to create a discussion for fear of cutting into their own flesh. They were satisfied knowing that they had the power to vote down a radical declaration in favor of straight and independent political action on class-conscious principles. In conversation, many of the old-liners admit the logic of the Socialist position, but diplomatically declare that the time is not yet ripe for a bold charge upon the capitalist system. They will probably wait, since "the rank and file is not ready," as they say, until the Socialists have cleared the way and popularized the proposition to establish a co-operative commonwealth.

Nothing is now said about "rainbow-chasing" and "dreaming." The conservatives, perhaps, are now compelled to admit to themselves that the shoe is on the other foot—that they have been chasing rainbows and dreaming about securing palliative legislation, when we consider what little has been accomplished during, let's these many years, after spending fabulous sums of money in lobbying and for other purposes. The little weak "labor laws" that have been secured are hardly worth the paper they are printed on, with hostile courts, legislatures and administrative officials to reckon with. This is admitted in part of the independent political resolution adopted.

"Whereas, the various reports submitted by our trade union officials are in effect that, so far as our efforts by petitions and interviews with the legislatures of the various states and the federal government are concerned, little has been accomplished by the above mentioned efforts, for where a so-called labor law is passed, it is either declared unconstitutional by the courts or allowed to remain unenforced, a dead letter on the statute books."

Again, the Idaho matter was referred to the executive council for investigation. The original resolution denouncing President McKinley and Gov. Stenness for their complicity in the outrageous affair, and calling upon workmen to cut loose from the old parties responsible for the coercion and tyranny in the Coeur d'Alene was nearly killed by the substitution thereof of a meaningless resolution condemning the unnamed responsible parties and promising that the blame shall be fixed some time in the future.

It is now reported that a Washington office-holder was present at the convention ostensibly in the interest of the subsidy bill, but in reality to prevent the administration from being condemned for fear of the moral effect it might have in next year's campaign.

The debate on the ship subsidy resolution, presented by the boiler-makers and iron ship builders was also one-sided, and the resolution was defeated by almost unanimous vote. A large lobby of office-holders and agents of ship-builders was on hand to work for the measure, but the delegates were at least class-conscious.

(Continued on Page Three.)

AMERICAN LABOR

Is not the Best Paid in the World

The following article by Comrade John Weaver Sherman, our candidate for mayor of Boston at the late election, was one on a symposium on "Why is American labor the best paid in the world?" published in the Boston Globe last Sunday.

Your query reminds me of the famous question of Lawyer Bartlett, "If you had a brother who he eat cheese?" It assumes a condition which most emphatically does not exist, and then asks why it is here.

From the standpoint of those who think as I do along these lines, and I call to your attention the fact that they are increasing by leaps and bounds, the American laborer is not only the best paid one in the world but is positively the worst paid.

The question whether or not a certain man is well paid depends upon what share of his product he receives.

From that standpoint the American workman is not remunerated in anything like a reasonable way and the system, as it progresses, is rapidly grinding out paupers at both ends of the machine, a few growing fewer as time goes on, to worry over the investment of so called, "income" wrung from the necessities of their fellow men, the others to march over the earth in a great army of stragglers, in the great majority of cases without any fault of their own, to the world as the silted pauper who he considered generous if he only returns to the people in wages a reasonable amount of that which has been seized from them.

I have repeatedly heard it stated by those who have made a closer investigation of the matter than I have been able to do that the American workman gets something like a fifth of his product, while some European workers (Germany has been prominently mentioned) get about a third of their product. That these figures are essentially true I have never heard denied.

Furthermore, it is generally estimated that a worker today, in a great shoe factory for instance, produces fully 20 times what he could do 40 years ago. We body thinks for an instant that he is getting 20 times as much in comfort from his labor as he did then. Looked at fairly it is at once seen that his present condition results from the fact that the "free and independent American citizen," who is a possible president or pauper, with a leaning toward the latter possibility, grows from the fact that he is producing for somebody else, who takes for the service of furnishing him a machine to work with and a "job" the slight toll of four-fifths of the product.

As the master of each wage worker is doing a similar thing, it is readily seen that the wage workers, who number about two-thirds of the population of the country, can consume but a small portion of their product and that the rest must be consumed or otherwise disposed of by the one-third who are not included in the designation of wage earners.

The natural result is that every burst of prosperity that carries the seeds of a forthcoming panic. Everybody has "confidence." I don't know just what this means, but it must be all right, for old party cronies always say a good deal about it, and the mills whirl merrily on working overtime to fill orders which the people cannot buy because they are not getting a large enough proportion of their own product. When all the manufacturers have a supply in their warehouses and the most flaming advertisements no longer product buyers there must again be inertia until somebody else has another spell of confidence.

As to the proposition that the American workman in many instances gets a larger wage, measured in money and without regard to the proportion of product concerned, it seems to me that it is answered by the statement that he is by far the most nervous, energetic and devoted slave of the machine in all the world. No other workman but the American can run the complicated machines of the day as he does. I heard a few days ago a little incident illustrating the capacity of the American workman. A well-known Boston professional man who had a decided dislike for some of the shoes which he had bought in this country, went to England some time ago, and while there got a pair which thoroughly suited him. Making another voyage a few months later he again visited the same man and told him he wanted shoes enough for two years, that he might be fully provided for in case he did not get over again, and incidentally expressed his opinion of the American workman as not meeting the demands of the situation. "O, I don't know," remarked the man as he went on with his work, "I learned my trade in Brockton."

JOHN WEAVER SHERMAN.

Mayor-elect Coulter has not been made over vain by his election, to the most honorable position in the gift of the people of the city. He was noticed yesterday in the habiliments of his trade, carrying no more style than any other sensible plumber.—Brockton Times.

The Haverhill Social Democrat can be purchased every Saturday afternoon at Mrs. Fowle's news agency.

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

Haverhill, December 23, 1899.

TO SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

Arrangements are being made by which the Haverhill Social Democrat will be able to publish complete weekly reports from the State House of the Penitentiary during the coming session. This will give social democrats everywhere an opportunity to show the people in what manner their republican and democratic friends misrepresent them and how social democrats do their duty. The correspondent will be an efficient one and the weekly reviews will be of great service in exposing the legislative methods of the capitalist regime.

Social Democrats throughout the state should see that the people in their respective localities are kept informed upon the doings of the social democrats holding state and municipal office. It is the intention also to have reports of Brockton and Haverhill municipal affairs treated from the social democratic standpoint, thus placing before the people our side of the questions at issue. Special club rates for the distribution of the paper will be made with branches and individuals upon application to the manager.

THE REAL ANARCHISTS.

The owners of the mills in Fall River and other cities are displaying the natural capitalist contempt for the law by running their mills overtime in violation of the ten-hour factory law. In their anxiety to accumulate profits the owners are working their employees overtime, despite the latter's protests, and are demonstrating who are the real anarchists, the real enemies of law and order. They are also illustrating again what social democrats have pointed out many times, i. e. that so-called labor legislation is ineffective when its enforcement is left in the hands of capitalist politicians. For, as usual, but little effort has been made to prevent the Gradgrinds of Fall River from breaking the law and slowly murdering their employees at the same time. The old party politicians make much ado over the "labor laws" placed upon the statute books of the state but a mile of "labor laws" can do no good to labor while the capitalist class have control of the executive, administrative and judicial branches of the government. The alpha and omega of the capitalist system is profit and for profit the capitalist class will transpire upon and ignore any law that stands in the way. And while the trades unionists have made their influence felt in securing labor legislation they have been practically impotent in having the legislation made effective. They have compelled their enemies to enact measure presumably to benefit labor and then left the enforcement of these same dearly bought laws in the hands of the republican and democratic politicians who "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee" to the class who cannot live without unrestricted exploitation of the labor force of the working class.

A correspondent of the Fall River Globe says "the greatest part of the so-called contracts existing between mill operatives and mill agents are made in the latter's office and without consultation with the former, or in other words, they consist of rules and regulations drawn up by the agent or his subordinates, to which the operative must agree, whether he likes them or not, or go idle." This does not smack of wage slavery, does it? The operative must agree, whether he likes them or not, or go idle. The whole story of the utter enslavement of the mill workers is summed up in that sentence "Go idle." To go idle means to become a criminal and social outcast or slow starvation and a grave in Porter's field. Truly these social democrats are breeders of discontent and disturbers of public peace and morals when they tell the workers they are slaves who live by the grace of others.

The owners of the mills give the large number of pressing orders as an excuse for working their employees overtime, it never seeming to enter into their philosophy that there are thousands of unemployed who could be given the opportunity to work were the law observed. But there must be

a reserve army of unemployed in order that those at work can be kept down to the mere subsistence level. It is to the interests of the capitalist class that there be unemployed labor so that the workers employed can be ruled unsparringly.

So long as the factories for the production of human necessities are owned privately and operated for private profit, the working class will be an indigent and enslaved class. So long as the working class places its economic enemies into control of the political power they can expect "labor laws" to be ineffective and abortive. Labor legislation is working class legislation and the capitalist class cannot be expected to enforce legislation intended to interfere with their class interests.

The factories must be owned and operated by the public for the public use and benefit and that can only come through supporting the social democratic party—the party of the working class and their true friends.

PROGRESSING.

As reported in another column the convention of the American Federation of Labor on last Tuesday took advanced ground on the trust question. That part of President Gompers' report relating to "Concentrated Capital—Trusts" is on the whole an excellent presentation of the scientific view of the trust and is worth reading.

President Gompers himself shows progress and while it can be assumed he is only keeping pace with the awakening intelligence of the workers everywhere on the question of Socialism, yet he is to be congratulated upon his shrewdness in adapting his views to meet new occasions. Gompers has not been a leader in the sense that he has opened up new avenues of thought or pointed out new pathways for the workers to tread or follow. He has been an organizer, perhaps, but not a leader. In his report he has not taken new ground so far as the question itself is concerned, though it is new ground for him to take. What he says has been said over and over again by agitators down in the ranks and Gompers is only "keeping up with the procession."

Socialists everywhere, will find the declaration of the convention for nationalization as an encouraging sign of progress.

The Haverhill Gazette, cheerfully rubbing its solar plexus and getting its feet with some little difficulty, nevertheless assumes the "never-touched-me" smile of the pugilistic and says: "The person who sours under defeat deserves to be defeated. The one who learns from defeat the lesson of how to win next time is the gainer in the long run. Brockton and Haverhill are not looking for sympathy and have no need of it. They are capable of looking after their own affairs admirably without any outside assistance."

We agree with the Gazette that Brockton and Haverhill know their own minds best. There is a theory in some parts of New England that a great calamity has befallen the cities that have voted for the social democratic ticket, and that the end is near for the inhabitants of these unfortunate cities.

Well, it may be; who can tell? But let us not mount the ridgepole in our ascension robes just yet. It is unedified and the weather is a little chilly for such posturing. Let us sternly refuse to cry out until we are struck, and let us decline to die till somebody comes around with the war-club. We may all be happy yet.

It's a relief to see the Enterprise philosophical. Let us hope it will continue to take defeat in the same spirit but it is probable that it will feel just as sore as the Gazette a year hence when the Brockton combination, already spoken of, has received the same kind of a blow that the Haverhill one did a couple of weeks ago.

None will have more cause to rejoice this Christmas than the social democrats of America. They see after many years of work on their part and on the part of thousands of others unknown and forgotten, the seed of Socialism bearing good fruit at last. There will be abundance of wine and hunger and suffering this Christmas as in many others gone by but our hearts will be lighter and throbs happier for the knowledge that the New Time is just ahead and that we have taken practical steps to make it a reality instead of only a theory. In the midst of our pleasures we shall not forget the sufferings of our fellow creatures but we will rejoice that such miseries shall some day be only unpleasant memories of a bitter past. This thought will inspire us to inspire us to harder work and harder work and greater devotion to the cause of Socialism.

The Newburyport News heroically enters the lists as the champion of womanhood by objecting to election day being made a holiday, on the ground that the woman workers in the factories compelled to lay off, would lose a day's pay for nothing. The chivalry of the News is of the usual caliber. The News is of the customary capitalist sort—of base metal with a hollow ring. It would be too "visionary" and "impracticable," of course, to hint that the holiday might be made worth while to the women wage slaves by giving them the right to vote as well as the men.

Alderman Atwood was evidently inspired by the determination not to let his official career expire without having something to his credit when he introduced his resolution on the grade crossings the other night. Alderman Joe Bean characterized the action as a manifestation of a change of heart on the part of Alderman Atwood, but that was rather unfair of Joe. It was a perfectly safe move on Mr. Atwood's part, because he probably realized the matter had gone too far for a "change of heart" to have any effect. It was a grand stand play, that was all.

The Haverhill social democrats are to be congratulated upon the organization of a woman's auxiliary to the local movement. Such organizations have done much good work to promote and strengthen the movement in other localities and it is an encouraging and wholesome sign of the times when the women of Haverhill voluntarily come together to assist in the struggle for a better system. The Social Democrat feels at liberty to guarantee the good will and assistance of the "boys" and in their name welcomes the women into the fold.

The Gazette says that the mill operatives are hard to please because they object to working overtime and says that they should be glad they are not working overtime. The Gazette's friendship for labor consists in teaching the workers to be satisfied with being overworked and in failing to assist them when they have no work at all. But the working people know the Gazette now and whatever it says cuts but little figure in these progressive times.

Nowhere in the world is Christmas celebrated as it is in England, but there will be sad hearts in many a worker's home in the little island this Yuletide. For in England, as everywhere else, 'tis the workers who are the chief sufferers through the wars carried on to satisfy the demands of capitalistic aggression.

The capitalistic editor is a strange sort of creature. He can sympathize with the Boers and denounce the Filipinos all at the same time and never turn a hair.

The prosperity that breeds bank failures requires careful handling. Rough treatment is liable to cause a complete smash-up.

Repeated howls about "dividing up" probably attracted the burglars who visited the Gazette office Saturday night.

What a lot of good people would have to work for a living if Christ had never come to earth.

The pauper factory never stops for repairs.

Merry Christmas!

INTERESTING.

A well known Haverhill Socialist was in town the other day and he said that Congressman Moody would have to hustle to be re-elected in 1900. Evidently Congressman Knox was pretty near right when he said that Moody was frightened lest he go down to defeat in 1900 at the hands of the young giant that has sprung up in the politics of the old Essex congressional district.—Lawrence News.

Christmas cards are decorated with guns and soldiers to instill the usual thought of peace and goodwill. The stick is pudding and green, not religion.—London Labor Leader.

Christmas Thoughts. BY MARGARET HAILE.

Always there floats before the eyes of us struggling, striving human beings, the Ideal, a vision of what we will be when we can—ever receding as we advance, and mourning before us as we climb—at times, so far off, faint and shadowy that we despair of reaching it, and again so seeming near that by stretching forth our hand we can almost grasp it. But, it is always ahead, and always beckoning us to follow.

And that beautiful, old, racial Ideal of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Among Men," how the Christmastide brings it up before our eyes in fresh beauty and newness of life each year, like the recurring gladness of the springtime. We never weary of hearing it. On the contrary, does it not grow dearer years go by, and we draw nearer to its realization?

Nearer to its realization? Surely it does not look today as though we were any nearer to it. It is hard to realize that we are, when we behold the two foremost Christian nations of the earth engaged in wars of conquest, commercial wars, for the subjugation and further exploitation of weaker nations; when we see "the greatest world power since the Roman empire" pitting its mighty strength against the liberty-loving, little Dutch republic,—and, the young American nation, having thrown off from its own shoulders the yoke of monarchy and the yoke of slavery, endeavoring to force the yoke of plutocracy upon the unwilling Filipinos. The Christmas bells are out of tune. The strains of the angelic song are drowned in the roar and rattle of guns and the groans of the wounded and dying, and the vision of the Ideal is blotted by the thick smoke of a hundred battlefields.

Our hearts sicken and our faith in "That far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves" grows faint, as we read of the terrible slaughter of men—our brothers—by other men, our brothers, too, out there in South Africa and in the Philippines. No matter whether Boer or British, American or Filipino, it is life, sacred human life, that is being spilt upon those bloody fields, bringing woe and desolation to thousands of hearts and homes, and impoverishing our civilization.

And yet, appalling as are the horrors of war, it is chiefly because we are unaccustomed to them that they horrify us more than the suffering and death that goes on around us every day, right here at home. War has slain its thousands, but hunger and cold, preventable diseases and avoidable accidents have slain their tens of thousands. The mortality from preventable diseases in the slum districts of New York is greater than was the mortality among our soldiers in the Civil war; so that, it is said, a resident of those districts would increase his chances of living by going to war. And then who would not choose a speedy death from a Boer or Filipino bullet, rather than a lingering, living death endured by thousands of our people at home? The slow starvation, the filthy sweat shops, the hopeless search for work and the hungry, waiting wife and children at home, the desecration, the suicide's grave—THIS it is that is hell, and war is only purgatory. "Brave Bill Anthony" could stand war abroad all right, but could not face the more cruel industrial warfare at home.

International warfare and industrial warfare spring from the self-same source—competition and exploitation. Peace between nations and among individuals, can only be brought about when competition and exploitation are replaced by mutual service, and individuals as well as nations shall have learned that it is for their own interest, individually and collectively, to unite their efforts for the common good of all. And right here, through this rift in the clouds, we catch a glimpse of the "Peace on Earth ideal, and see that we are in reality drawing nearer to it, whatever may be the appearance. The Socialist knows that capitalism must grow to its full development before it can be superseded by the socialist state and sees in these wars abroad and in the trustifying of industry at home, the necessary extension of capitalism and the rapid approach of its last stages of development.

In ushering in the day when the Ideal of Bethlehem shall become one Real of all the Earth, and there shall reign from pole to pole.

Peace on Earth, Good Will Among Men!

SOCIAL OWNERSHIP.

WILL PROVIDE OCCUPATION FOR EVERY WILLING WORKER.

Dr. H. A. Gibbs, in Metal Polishers Journal.

Three years ago in the streets of Boston I witnessed a scene which made an indelible impression upon my mind. It was after one of our heavy snow storms and the superintendent of one of the street car sections had advertised for two hundred men to shovel snow. He had only two hundred shovels to give out, but long before the time announced, the streets before the car barn was filled with a crowd estimated at a thousand men. The superintendent tried at first to give out the shovels on the principle of first come, first served, but the clamor of the men making this impossible, he finally threw them out into the street and let the men scramble for them. Then followed such a scene as I had never witnessed before. The men fought each other like hungry tigers. The shovels were used as weapons. Blows were given and blood flowed freely till finally a detachment of police put in an appearance and quelled the riot.

As I watched that scene I saw portrayed as by a flash-light our present industrial system in all its naked ugliness. I saw on the one hand a vast aggregation of wealth in the hands of a grasping corporation—a corporation which has been granted franchise after franchise in the streets of Boston and neighboring cities without a dollar of compensation to the municipalities—a corporation whose corrupting influence had been felt in the city government and which has elected president of the state senate unless he would do its bidding. A corporation which had paid a 7 per cent. dividend on capital stock which had been watered out of all semblance to its real value. I saw on the other hand a thousand men endeavoring to gain a meager and withal unreasonable right to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness yet here under the very eaves of Fanoull hall, under the very shadow of Bonker hill, struggling like a pack of wild beasts for what—struggling for something which is the God-given heritage of every human being on the foot-stool, struggling for something which ought to be as free to every man as the very air he breathes, struggling for the right to work, struggling for the opportunity to earn an honest living by an honest day's toil. In the background also I saw cold and cheerless homes, I saw wan-faced wives and children whose bodies bore the piteous marks of hunger.

Here were the two extremes of our capitalist system. Both of them illogical and legitimate product. A that time I was a Prohibitionist. I had joined the party when it stood as the only organized protest against republican and democratic corruption. I had believed that poverty and crime was the direct result of the saloon. I had proclaimed this doctrine from the hills of Berkshire to the sand of Cape Cod but that scene was a revelation to me. It was one of those moments when a man lives a great deal in a very short space of time. I couldn't see a drunken man in that whole crowd. There wasn't a grog shop in sight. The saloon "wasn't in it." I turned away, registered that vow in my heart, as Abraham Lincoln did in his, when for the first time he saw a slave sold at the auction block, and he said to himself "If I ever get a chance to hit this damnable thing I'll hit it hard."

Socialism, however, presents a remedy as simple as truth, as easy as love and as unfailing as justice. We declare that every man who is willing to work should have the opportunity to work. That the man who can't work should be treated exactly as we treat the infirm of our own families and that the man who won't work who will add nothing to the sum total of human productivity, we care not whether he dwell in a hovel or a palace, whether he travel incognito by freight or in a private car, should be treated as a social parasite.

In an interview Gen. Grover, of Ohio, a close friend of the president and Senator Hanna, announced that the republicans would not legislate against the trusts. But nobody supposed they would for the leaders of the party are men who are very wealthy and control most of the capital that is invested in the trusts. They would be very foolish to make laws against their own interests. But if they wanted to they could make laws against the trusts that the trusts could not at once discount by raising the prices of goods and putting the added expense and annoyance on the backs of the people. The only way in which the people can get out of the clutches of the trusts and monopolies is for the government, to establish competing plants and operate them at cost. The price the government can make and sell goods, without interest, rent or profit, will be the highest price the trusts can sell their goods at. The public can make and sell goods at prices not more than one-tenth what is now charged, and pay good wages and give short hours. Then the trusts could not oppress the people. All other methods will be useless because impracticable. And do you think the men whom the people have elected to legislate for them, men who have investments in trusts, will ever give their votes for such a competition as that?—Appeal for Reason.

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Our store will be Open Every Evening This Week for Holiday Business.

Special Holiday Bargain. 1000 Picture Books in board covers — — — — 5c each

Special Holiday Bargain. 500 pieces Sterling Silver Novelties, — — — — 25c each

Special Holiday Bargain. 50 dozen Nurses' and Fancy Aprons, — — — — 25c each

Special Holiday Bargain. 800 Ladies' and Men's Umbrellas, — — — — 49c to \$2.75 each

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Geo. O. Willey & Co.

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Are now the all-absorbing questions confronting thousands of people in every walk of life! As Christmas draws nearer a decision becomes more imperative. You may have five or twenty presents to buy. Quite likely we cannot fill your whole list, but in our line you need search no further. Frequently you secure two presents here for the amount you thought one would cost.

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The Gross New Yorker ARBEITER ZEITUNG, 69 GOLD STREET, New York City. and advocating Socialism through the Social Democratic Party. SUBSCRIPTIONS: One year, \$1.50; six months, 75 cts; three months, 40 cts. GROSS N. Y. PUBLISHING ASS'N.

Our 19 Derby Do not forget that we sell you a hat at factory prices. \$3.00 Hat for \$2.00 \$2.00 Hat, for \$1.47 Our hats are union made. Look for the label.

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SMOKE "THE DEBS" BEST 5 CENT CIGAR Everybody Should Subscribe for the... Haverhill Social Democrat. If you want a 10 cent Smoke, TRY THE Twentieth Century. 25 CENTS FOR 6 MONTHS, 50 CENTS YEARLY.

STATE NEWS

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

THE PROFIT OF CAPITAL.

DEBS AT TOLEDO.

SHOE BUTLER'S STORE 7 Washington Sq.

BROCKTON. (From the Brockton Times.)

Mayer-Elect Charles H. Coulter stated this morning he will reach a decision today (Wednesday) regarding holding a part of the inaugural exercises in the evening.

Christianity Cannot Exist Under Capitalism.

Long and long ago, when Franklin invented the lightning rod, there were many good people who lifted their hands in holy horror.

Perhaps the anti-Socialists of the present day would resent being compared to these bigots of an earlier age, but in as far as they base their objections to Socialism on religious grounds, they are not one whit more logical.

To deny our right to control and regulate the economical system is just as absurd a doctrine as to forbid us to protect ourselves from lightning.

Religion then is the lightning rod. If some churchmen oppose Socialism on religious grounds they make precisely the same mistake which was made by many of the clergy in the old abolition days.

While it is true in one sense that Socialism stands neither for nor against religion, it would be well for the church to realize the profoundly moral element which underlies the Socialist movement.

Humanity's quickened sense of justice forbids it to longer allow one part of society to fatten upon the labor of the other.

After all, justice is nothing more than a practical application of the Christian rule to do to others as we would that they should do to us.

As long as the very constitution of our industrial system forbids us to practice this rule in our daily business life, genuine Christianity cannot flourish amongst us.

How can you love your neighbor as yourself when he is holding the knife to your throat, or else you are holding it to his? No, the real enemy of religion is not Socialism, but our present cruel system, which turns our common brotherhood into the deadly strife of competition and class hatred.

—E. H. T.

(Continued From Page One.)

posed steal that would add to the production of some article — those who have worked with their brains as well as those who have worked with their hands, add together what they have received for their work and they will not be able to recover the product of their labor.

MAX S. HAYES. The convention took a progressive step on Tuesday. To the recommendation of the committee on president's report, which was pronounced one of the most remarkable documents ever submitted to the A. F. of L., delegate Hayes, of the Cleveland Central Labor union, proposed the following amendment, to be attached to the conclusion of that part referring to trusts:

"AND, FURTHERMORE, THAT THIS CONVENTION CALL UPON THE TRADE UNIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND WORKINGMEN GENERALLY, TO CAREFULLY STUDY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES WITH A VIEW OF NATIONALIZING THE SAME."

This practically places the Federation in the position of endorsing the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, or socialism, or at least opening the door to that principle.

Delegate Hayes made a short speech on the question, in which he declared that the time had arrived for the trade unions to take a step forward and encourage their memberships to educate themselves upon the logical and scientific solution of the labor question.

THE SONG OF THE SWORD.

Weary and wounded, and worn, wounded and ready to die, A soldier they left, all alone and forlorn, on the field of battle to die.

"Fight—fight—fight! though a thousand and others die! Fight—fight—fight! though a thousand and children cry!"

Though all that's gained is an empty name and a tax too great to bear, An empty name, and a paltry fame, and thousands lying dead and unwept.

"War—war—war! fire and famine and sword, Desolate fields and desolate towns, and thousands scattered abroad.

"War—war—war! musket and powder, and ball— Ah, what do we fight so for? Ah, we have no battles at all!"

War—war—war! misery, murder and crime, Ah, would I had known in my younger days the horrors which now I know!

War—war—war! misery, murder and crime, Ah, would I had known in my younger days the horrors which now I know!

The bull pen is no more in existence. In the memory of more than 1,000 persecuted innocent men it will exist forever.

The missionary: "My errand brother, have you been christianized?" The native: "Not completely." They have gambled up all my land but I still have my few clothes.

How Labor is Deprived of Its Just Share.

Take all those who have worked together in the production of some article — those who have worked with their brains as well as those who have worked with their hands, add together what they have received for their work and they will not be able to recover the product of their labor.

But the capitalists say that the profit of capital is really the recompense of the brain work of the capitalist, the reward for his management. In reality, however, only a very small portion of the income of the capitalist can come under this head.

Do you believe that the present system of doing business and holding property will endure forever? Do you really, sincerely think that in the long time to come that great corporations will own and control all the industries as they do today?

Economics can only deal with the question of how much of the produce of labor the employers as a class can obtain for themselves, and what quantity of the products of labor the individual worker can obtain.

Division of labor is the source of all fortunes. The only economical law which forms a parallel with a law of nature, that production can only become more productive and cheaper by division of labor.

The instrument of production which has been snatched from the worker, is capital, the worker has become the dead, unproductive instrument while the instrument now alone is productive.

"I believe I could convince him, if he would give me a hearing, that tramping is the hardest kind of work. But I don't want to. No doubt by the way that he knows it, but it would be hard for us if he acted on that hypothesis.

He told the captain that unless he was confined in prison he would consent to agitate until free speech is possible in the Cour d'Alenes. Captain-Edwards said that free speech had never been interfered with. Then why was that man arrested three different times for talking reform principles to others?

The union men will only work for a certain price, and so hold wages to a certain standard. The tramp, here's looking at him, will not work at all, and for all of his wages might go as high.

Do you believe that the present system of doing business and holding property will endure forever? Do you really, sincerely think that in the long time to come that great corporations will own and control all the industries as they do today?

There are many people who are industrial slaves, who are always whining about socialism robbing them of their independence.

Last Sunday afternoon Eugene V. Debs addressed an immense meeting in Toledo, fully 3500 people being packed in Memorial hall to listen to the well known agitator.

At the beginning of his address the audience, which was almost entirely friendly to Jones, the golden rule man, or appeared quite cool and unsympathetic but as the keen logic of Debs began to penetrate the minds of the people they warmed up and were soon captive to his eloquence and mastery of presentation of facts.

An independent socialist club was organized in the evening, those organizing it were members of the S. L. P. S. D. P. and heretofore unattached socialists. It was the unanimous sentiment of the meeting that no faction would be recognized but that the club would join a party as soon as an amalgamation could be perfected.

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

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