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THE BOSTON SUBWAY

Warmly Debated in the House.—MacCartney Makes a Great Speech.—Carey Speaks in Favor of Amendment.

"Mr. Speaker, I wish I could have the same feeling of respect for the members of this house that I had 18 months ago, when I became a member of this great and general court. But I cannot."

Thus spoke Representative MacCartney last Tuesday during the lively session of the house of representatives, when the Boston Subway bill was discussed. The Social Democratic representative made a strong speech which lasted an hour and he brought out many telling points. There is hardly any need of mentioning the fact that he most vehemently opposed the giving away of the subway to a corporation.

Said he: "Go on in your work of shame! Give them a lease for 40 years or 50 years. For God's sake, give it to them for 100 years! Go on the way of your predecessors here. But I want to tell the members of this house that the Boston elevated railway company has no rope on me. I have put no man to work on the road. Only the other day a member told me he could not oppose this bill because he had 300 men at work on the elevated. Where are the Boston members this morning? Many of them know they are owned by this great corporation."

The truth of the last assertion is evident to all who have watched the proceedings of the general court.

Comrade MacCartney pointed out how the monopolists of the transit system of Boston have formed habits of concealing surplus profits by forming companies to conceal them. The West End Land Company was formed in 1896, with a capitalization of \$2,000,000. The shares of the company rose in six months from \$8 per share to \$38 per share. A year later the West End Street railway company was formed and capitalized at \$80,000, and of its 800 shares 785 were held by the West End Land Company.

The speaker traced the development of the West End Land Company, the West End Street railway company and the Boston elevated railway company. He charged that the first absorption by the West End street railway company of the street railways of Boston gave a profit of \$1,000,000, which trickled down to the owners of the West End Land company.

Facts were cited to back up statements. Representative MacCartney

showed clearly how profits were made from public franchises at the expense of the people. Said he: "In 1894 the legislature gave to Joe Meigs, as a free gift, an elevated railroad franchise. The next year Joe Meigs and his associates sold this franchise, which had been given to them freely to J. Pierpont Morgan and Kidder, Peabody & Co., and others for the sum of \$400,000. Yes, that franchise which the legislature gave away for absolutely nothing was sold the next year for nearly \$500,000."

"That's the kind of men your predecessors were, and it is the kind of men you are."

Then speaking of the entire situation, the speaker said: "This is a humiliating spectacle. It is a humiliating position for a great state, with millions of inhabitants, and with millions of invested property, with unlimited resources, to become a servant of its creature, for the West End company and the Boston Elevated company are the creatures of the people of Boston. The people of Boston made the creature, and now the creature asks the city of Boston, to become its servant and its serf. The part is becoming greater than the whole. If this bill passes this corporation becomes the master of the destinies of Boston."

"As I came from the south station this morning I saw that great structure twining around the streets of the city of Boston, and it seemed to me to be symbolic of the serpent that has twined itself around the city, and these men here are helping it on until it gets an entanglement that may never be uncoiled."

The closing words of MacCartney were applauded, although they were defiant. He said that such a tyrannous bill can only result in ultimate confiscation by the city of Boston of this monopoly.

Soon after MacCartney finished Representative Carey held the floor in favor of the labor section of the bill. On the previous day he introduced an amendment to the effect that the eight hour day shall apply to mechanics as well as to laborers.

Now Carey argued that the labor clause in the bill is not explicit enough. In order to avoid numerous strikes because of that labor clause it was important to amend same.

Speaking of the referendum amend-

ment he said that he understood many Democrats would vote against the referendum amendment because it might affect the election of the Hon. P. A. Collins for mayor. "There is no stone, no shrub behind which the Democrats can hide."

Mr. Walsh, of Clinton, received his share from Carey, who said: "The gentleman from Clinton denounces us because we will not drain a flask of evil to gain a drop of good; because we will not forever abandon principle to gain a temporary privilege; because we will not sacrifice truth and right upon the altar of corporate greed to meet the passing needs of the dying day."

The Coming Strike.

Strikes here, there, everywhere. Just look over carefully the daily papers and convince yourself of the restlessness of the two hostile classes in this country. As a result of the strikes against reduction of wages in the East the manufacturers threaten to remove their plants somewhere South or West, while in the West the manufacturers threaten to remove East. But in spite of threats, bayonets and unfavorable court decisions, the workers continue to strike, which is evidence of the general "prosperity" of the McKinley brand.

Some day in the very near future these workers will awaken to a sense of class consciousness and will strike for economic freedom. Then there will be no threats on the part of capitalists to remove their plants from the Pacific to the Atlantic or from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the workers will demand the unconditional surrender of all plants, of all tools of production and exchange.

Property vs. Lives.

Albany county, New York, now pays the bills for defending the "sacred" property of the United Traction Company during the recent strike in that city.

The pay rolls for the troops in service during the strike have been made out and amount to \$2,885.42.

Treasurer Howe, of Albany county, will go to New York City to pay the Twenty-third and Ninth regiments.

This is the care bestowed on the "sacred" property of the capitalist class. Workingmen's lives are decidedly not in it.

Machinists' Attention!

Strikes on at George F. Black Mfg. Co., East Cambridge; Goodyear Shoe Machinery Co., Boston (Golding & Co., Boston); Boston Woven Hose and Rubber Co., Cambridge; Atlantic Works, East Boston; Holmes & Blanchard, Boston.

Help us to better our condition by staying away from Boston until the present difficulties are settled.—Boston Lodge 264 International Association of Machinists.

Capitalists in Session

President Rockefeller called meeting to order. Sergeant-at-arms John W. Gates excused having gone to Europe to learn to "walk sideways" when in Wall street Judge Gary appointed to position pro tem. Reading of minutes dispensed with. Credentials received from Cotton Duck Trust, Engine Trust, Cincinnati Lighting Trust and delegates obligated. Credentials of an independent Texas oil combine rejected, being a dual body.

Temporary Business Agent Flint reported having stirred up the Indiana mine bosses to the necessity of combining, aided in amalgamating the lead combines, is helping the Copper Trust, which desires to raise the price on pennies, started a Cigar Store Trust for the Tobacco and Cigar Trust Received.

A communication was received from Emperor Wilhelm of the Rulers Union, in which he complained sadly that the best people of Berlin were terribly sore on him because he referred to them as being disloyal to his local organization. On motion a vote of sympathy was ordered sent to Brother Wilhelm.

Brother Hanna, of the Politicians' Union, wrote that the Supreme Court had decided that the constitution does follow the flag and don't follow the flag as the case may be, and that the profundity of this decision made itself evident that it was a great triumph for the C. L. U., the people and prosperity. Received.

Brother Turner, of the Manufacturers' Information Bureau, sent a letter stating that the proletariat had discovered his spies in the labor organizations, and that he was compelled to lay low awhile. Moved that Turner be paid his regular salary while out of work. Carried.

Roll call responded to as follows: Amalgamated Copper Trust—Senator Clark is in Europe getting control of a patent process to manufacture copper bars, sheets, etc., at a saving of a hundred dollars a ton. Prices however, will be kept up and wages down as Brother Clark, who is the friend of labor and Jeffersonian simplicity, is building a \$50,000,000 mansion in New York to make work for the workingman.

Billion-Dollar Steel Trust—Corporation now owns 75 to 80 per cent of the ores in this country and a like percentage of finished products. Desire to warn the public against giving land and money to fakirs traveling about pretending to want to erect steel plant. Trust claims exclusive jurisdiction in such matters. Demand \$2 a ton more for rails.

Coal Trust (anthracite)—Striking for more money by raising prices a dollar a ton and introducing economies, which will bring in additional \$75,000,000 per annum; struck in Chicago for reduction of discount to dealers from 50 cents to 40 cents, and will hammer discount down to 30 cents in July and further later.

Coal Trust (bituminous)—Brother Hanna has corralled the Massillon district and the Hocking and Sunday Creek districts are also lining up. So is Indiana, and the billion-dollar combine is in sight.

Chicago professor objects to the practice of putting the blame in the middle. Why doesn't the object to the capitalist practice of putting wages in the middle.—Worker

Humming Bird Trust—Got together in Indiana and are making things hum.

Lead Trust—Swallowed competitors, increased capital, demand more money.

Machinery Trust—Resisting demands of employees, who want nine hours and more wages, as it is feared they might contract sore eyes by sitting up nights to count their money, or they might hold champagne blow outs, or get lazy and rush off to Enrow for the summer.

Oil Trust—Playing fox and goose in Texas and having great sport. Bought Port Arthur and securing everything desired. Prosperity is fairly gushing forth.

Railroad Section—Received news from London that Brothers Morgan and Rothschild settled Northern Pacific matter and Brother Harriman will probably be the N. P.'s waiting delegate. Concentration continues and Wall street is now shearing lambs without undue haste.

Starch Trust—Closed 11 plants, gave work people holiday, and will increase prices. Want more pay and less work.

Watch Case Trust—Have notified work people to remain out of the labor unions, which are not good for them, or leave their jobs. The ungrateful and disloyal ones had black list declared against them.

Other locals made unimportant reports.

Legislative Committee stated that a Circuit Court judge in Illinois had kindly decided that blacklisting of employees is perfectly legal.

The point was raised by the chairman that in view of that timely and favorable blacklisting decision it would be unnecessary to take up the matter postponed at the last meeting, namely, the finding of ways and means to curb the seemingly uncontrollable desire of the work people for more wages and a shorter workday. All that was required now was to blacklist the agitators and the rank and file will become docile and learn their place.

After several congratulatory speeches were made dealing with recent court decisions and legislative and administrative acts, in which the proposition that labor may soon stick to a party of its own was ridiculed, the meeting adjourned.

(Cleveland Citizen)

The old parties defend the present system of wage-slavery and exploitation of the social Democratic Party proposes to abolish and substitute therefor a social democracy in which the industries will be owned by the people and carried on for use—not for private profit.—Rev. Vail

A Chicago professor objects to the practice of putting the blame in the middle. Why doesn't the object to the capitalist practice of putting wages in the middle.—Worker

Cigar-makers membership is now 34,000. Among other things, they paid out \$117,450 for sick benefits; \$23,897 out of work benefits; \$137,823 in strike benefits; and \$98,291 in death benefits all on 30 cents a week per member.—Ex

Socialism is after all, in its fundamental conception only the logical application of the scientific theory of natural evolution to economic phenomena.—Enrico Ferri.

GAZETTE'S UNFAIRNESS.

The Glasgow Street Railways Discussed.—Municipal Ownership as Compared with Private Ownership.—Facts, not Words!

The profits to the city of Glasgow from her municipal system of street railways are only about one-seventh the taxes which the city of Philadelphia receives from her traction lines. Put this down to be figured into the argument of your Socialist friends for municipal ownership of the street railways.—The Gazette

The Gazette tries to prove that the municipal ownership of street railways in Glasgow compares unfavorably with private ownership in America.

If the Gazette would be entirely fair it would compare public ownership with private ownership in the same city. At any rate, Glasgow and Philadelphia are very much unequal in all kinds of conditions.

The street railways of Glasgow were owned and operated by a private corporation up to 1894. In that year the city took over the lines and the result for the first eleven months was a net profit of over \$111,000, with an average fare of three cents and with an increase in the wages of the men employed. And more than that. The city also decided that every man employed on Sunday should have a day off during the week. The city introduced the penny fares, lengthened the distance which can be travelled for two cents, gave good uniforms to their men, abolished all advertisements from the cars and made in the second year of operation a net profit of \$416,335.

A very important point is this. The men employed belong to a Friendly Society and the city contributes 50 per cent of the funds to conduct this organization which has a sick benefit and other good features.

These are benefits which should be taken into consideration. Not only do the laborers profit thereby but also the rest of the community, inasmuch as these benefits react upon the entire population.

Has the Gazette anything of this kind to show in Philadelphia. In a lengthy editorial on this question the Gazette speaks of "the American rate of wages being more than double that paid in Glasgow. But this comparison is again unfair. It would be just as irrational to compare the wages paid to the letter carriers and clerks of Boston with that paid in Glasgow. The difference here is much greater than between the street railway hands of these two cities.

Now let us take the case of Glasgow with her electric service.

Let us suppose that one-half the passengers pay one cent fares and the balance two cent fare. This means a gross income of \$1,500,000 per year.

Electric traction of Glasgow costs only 14 cents per mile run for each car, including repayment of capital, all repairs, and operating expense. This means an expense of a little over \$1,000,000 leaving nearly half a million dollars for municipal profit and the few other expenses or a net profit of not less than \$400,000 annually.

Prof Frank Parsons proves beyond all question of doubt that a two cent fare in our large cities is sufficient to pay all expenses of trolley transportation, including insurance, taxes, depreciation and interest on actual investment.

We now quote from the Review of Reviews: "Street railways are not a private business, but a public service."

Further: "The whole principle of granting private corporations the use of public streets for their private profit is wrong. It is turning over the highways built by the people's money, paid for by the people by general taxation, to be used to extort further taxation from them in the shape of dividends to, private capital over and above the actual cost of the service performed."

The Boston Subway is leased to a corporation at 4% per cent annually on cost and this will in 40 years pay both interest and principal. This corporation subsidizes the trolley system, mark you this, to another corporation which guarantees 7 per cent on its common and 8 per cent on its preferred stock. The system is capitalized at two and a half times its actual value.

Now will the Gazette be kind enough to answer:

1. Who pays the bill?

2. Who reaps the rich harvest of nickels?

3. Which system is the best?

4. Which paper has presented the real facts of the case—the Gazette or the "Social Democrat"? Remember this. We do not say that in municipal ownership lies any salvation for the working class. Socialism only is capable of doing the work of complete emancipation from economic bondage. We merely wanted to show wherein the Gazette is unfair in its treatment of questions pertaining to public ownership.

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WILLIAM EDLIN, Editor and Manager

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EDITORIAL

Social Democratic Party.

Its Great Historic Mission as an Economic-Political Organization.

BY GEORGE A. HOEHN

It is impossible to fully comprehend the great importance of the Social Democratic movement, and to fully realize the absolute necessity thereof, without knowing the causes that have produced it. In order to clearly understand its aims and objects we must know the economic history of our country.

At the time of the Revolution America was mainly an agricultural country. Modern machinery was unknown. Chattel slavery was generally recognized, and so-called "free labor" almost unknown. There were but a few manufacturing establishments where a great number of men were employed; all the work was done by hand. The tailor, the shoemaker, the joiner, the weaver, etc., all of them were their own employers.

Thus it can easily be seen that a wage working class did not exist at that time, for every journeyman had a good chance to become a master mechanic, to be his own employer.

The American Revolution not only freed our continent from British feudalism, but it also cleared the way for modern capitalist production and wage slavery. Every student of our country's history is acquainted with the fact that King George prevented the colonial manufacturers from sending their woolen goods, hats, iron wares, etc., from one colony to another, the object being to compel the colonies to do most of their trading with England, and thus make them still more tributary to the King and his British manufacturers.

Naturally the colonial manufacturers became the most restless agitators against the rule of King George, because their interests were directly affected by this rule. Every free development of their legitimate business was checked, and they left no stone unturned to get rid of such embarrassing restrictions.

With the victory of the revolution the economic arena was prepared for the free development of capitalist production. The colonial manufacturers were no longer restricted by any laws; they manufactured as much as they pleased and sold their goods in any part of the colonies wherever they could find a market.

During the early part of the nineteenth century the steam engine came more into general use, revolutionizing the old manufacturing system and creating the system of modern industrial production. With the introduction of the steam engine labor-saving machinery began its historic mission of revolutionizing the whole human society. The struggle between human labor and machine labor began.

While, under the old system of production, every worker could own his own tools—his means of production—and be his own boss, or where a manufacturer could employ only a limited number of men, the concentration and monopolization of the means of production was impossible, it was quite different under the capitalist industrial system. The application of the steam engine, and of labor-saving machines, demands that production be carried on in gigantic proportions. Thousands and ten thousands of men are employed in one establishment as servants of one man or corporation, working for wages since they can no longer own their means of production—the tools. In the process of the industrial revolution these men have been expropriated, i. e., they have been deprived of their tools, and thereby forced into serfdom—wage slavery.

Under the old system people produced for use mainly. Under capitalism the production is carried on for profit only. The very moment production ceases to yield profit for the capitalist, the workmen are thrown on the street, free to enjoy the freedom of starvation. This modern capitalist system, in less than a hundred years, has brought about a division of society into two classes:

1. The class of capitalists, small in number, owning all the means of production, consequently also the means of life.

2. The class of wage workers, owning nothing but their labor power which they must sell to the capitalist in order to live; this class comprises the majority of the people.

The middle class—the small manufacturers and dealers—is being wiped from the face of the earth, while a few of these middle class people may yet succeed in "climbing up the golden stairs" of capitalism, the rest of their colleagues will tread the thorny path of ruin and bankruptcy and become a part of the vast army of the wage-slaving proletariat. No god can save them, no power on earth can prevent their horrible, deplorable journey. It is the iron law of the economic development.

Necessarily, there must be an everlasting conflict between the class of labor exploiters and the class of the exploited, the wage workers, because their class interests are just as diametrically opposed to each other as the interests of the highway robber and the man who is being robbed. The result of the two conflicting interests is a kind of civil war, a class struggle. The capitalists are ever eagerly endeavoring to extract as much profit out of the bones and muscles and sinews of their wage slaves as possible, while the latter, in order to save their lives, resist and demand better conditions of living. Hence the conflict.

Capitalism itself, by forcing hundreds and thousands of people into one factory, takes the initiatory step toward organizing the wage workers. As the organization of the capitalists is constantly extended and strengthened, so the organization of the wage workers is rapidly growing in number and strength.

While the capitalist class is organizing local, national and international trusts, pools and syndicates, thus concentrating and increasing its power of resistance, the wage-working class, by this very increased power of capitalist resistance, are compelled to organize into local, national and international unions, in order to protect themselves against the encroachments of capitalism.

During the last fifty years of this century our country has passed through an industrial revolution such as the world has never before witnessed. Like a tornado capitalism has swept over the continent, breaking down the barriers that prevented its free development, and tearing out the very roots of all middle class conditions. The proud, independent mechanic, the middle class manufacturer and merchant, the middle class farmer, all have had to make room for the modern capitalist, the king of industry and commerce.

Agriculture itself has become a branch of capitalist industry, wherein the division of labor is being carried out with as much advantage for capitalism as in factories and workshops. Our farmers, formerly the economic backbone of our nation, have been reduced to a vast army of bankrupt "free American citizens," or have

been forced into the industrial reserve army. Prior to the Civil War chattel slavery played an important role in agriculture. Owing to the capitalist development, to the unavoidable expropriation of middle class people and the consequent increase of the "free" wage working class, "free labor" had become so cheap, that it did not pay, in many cases, to employ slave labor. In the industrially more or less developed Northern States the capitalists were opposed to chattel slavery, because they failed to see any profit in it. In the exclusively agricultural South, slave labor, of course, was still profitable.

The capitalists of the North, who so "generously" advocated the emancipation of the black slaves, were by no means better than the slave barons of the South. Exceptions only confirm the rule. To the capitalist chattel slavery meant a restriction, inasmuch as the emancipation of the negro slaves opened to him a first class "free labor" market.

As stated before, the object of capitalism is by no means to buy slaves, because this would carry with it the obligation to support the slaves; no, the capitalist buys only the labor power of the slaves for hours, days or weeks, and cares not a particle whether the price paid for such labor power suffices to feed the slave or not.

It is a great mistake to believe that the Civil War was forced to an issue by the overwhelming power of Christian sentiment or by the general aversion to chattel slavery. No such thing. Chattel slavery had become incompatible with the new industrial system and it had to go. Anti-slavery was not only preached on the public squares and in the abolitionist halls, but in the counting houses and business offices of capitalism.

The plutocratic chattel slave barons of the South and the plutocratic wage slave barons of the North, fully conscious of their class interests, came into open conflict. A brave heroic nation sent her best sons to the battlefields of Bull Run, Gettysburg, Antietam and with the life blood of 600,000 men wrote the final order: "Chattel slavery shall be no longer!"

And how many of the capitalist patriots found in the bloody Civil War a Klondike! The blood that was flowing in the South fertilized the fields of profit for Northern capitalism.

The great French Revolution cleared the road for the triumphal chariot of European capitalism; the great American Civil War removed the last important obstacle from the final triumph of American capitalism.

IV

The Civil War is over; chattel slavery is abolished; the slave barons lost the game; twelve hundred million dollars of their property gone, labor is "free," free to make "free contracts" with capitalism, free to sell its commodity of labor power to the highest bidder in the competitive market. What a happy future for the nation!

Prosperity! Prosperity everywhere! Oh, how beneficently effective is such a bloody civil war—for capitalism of course!

Like mushrooms after the rain, so capitalist production grew and prospered after anti-slavery war. Railroads and factories were built, mines opened in all parts of the country, new machinery was introduced, prosperity everywhere. For about eight or nine years the commodity of labor power was rather scarce, owing to the extraordinarily strong demand caused by the capitalist boom. Wages, consequently, were better than ever before, and the average wage slave was apt to believe that this prosperous state of affairs would last forever.

During this period millionaires grew up over night by the thousands. In 1873, however, the first cry of alarm was heard: "Overproduction!" The era of prosperity has suddenly ceased. A general industrial crisis was the consequence. Factories and mines were closed, thousands of men out of work, failures in business, bankruptcy, ruin, despair. Conditions grew worse from year to year. The number of unemployed wage-workers, the so-called industrial reserve army, has been growing ever since, until today there are perhaps five million people without work.

Gigantic strikes and lockouts accompanied by scenes of civil war, are in progress during all seasons of the year. The industrial crisis has become permanent. Like dry leaves before the blast our middle class people are being industrially and commercially annihilated, and the process of pauperization is merrily progressing among the masses of wage-workers. The history of the last ten years is the history of a series of class struggles the like of which have never been recorded before, in this or any other country.

It is a picture of horror that presents itself to us: Here in this most fertile country on earth, where over 200,000,000 people might find the means to live in plenty and happiness, we see half of the 70,000,000 inhabitants on the verge of starvation! And this is not because our people have not produced enough, but because they have produced too much! Because there is an overproduction of everything in the way of food, clothing and shelter!

V

In view of these deplorable conditions every true friend of humanity must ask the question: What is to be done? How can our people be saved from degeneration and ruin? The organized wage workers of this country have made a noble fight against the powers of capitalism during the last decade. Many a hot battle has been fought. Many a victory has

been gained. But these victories of labor in the economic field compare very unfavorably with the victories of capitalism in the political field. The capitalist class has gained absolute control of the entire legislative, judicial and executive machinery of this great Republic. By means of this powerful apparatus it has obtained absolute possession of the land and all the means of production. By legislative means it has accelerated the process of the concentration of the nation's wealth into the hands of a comparatively small number of men, while nine-tenths of the people have been disfranchised, expropriated, pressed down into a cesspool of the direst misery whence there is no escape.

Today the class struggle is on in full force in the economic field. The Social Democratic party desires that his struggle be extended to the political field and that there, in the political arena, the final decisive battle be fought for the emancipation of mankind from slavery. We cannot hide the fact that the present war between capitalism and labor is a class struggle but every class struggle is necessarily a political struggle. Is it not a fact that in all our present labor troubles capitalism is making the best possible use of all political powers at its command? The lawmaker, the judge, the militia, the sheriff, the police, in short, all political mercenaries are ordered to the field of battle to fight the giant of labor who is still unconscious of his own power.

It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to lead in this great struggle for the emancipation of mankind. The millions of wage workers will constitute the rank and file of our great army of emancipation; by their irresistible power the glorious banner of Social Democracy will be victorious and the capitalist system of production, i. e., production for profit at the risk of many millions of human lives, will be abolished.

Social Democracy demands that the land and all the means of production and distribution be restored to the people as a collective body, that production be carried on for use only, and that the profit system by which one man may be enabled to subjugate his fellowmen, be entirely eliminated.

It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to organize the wage-working proletariat of this country under its flag into a powerful political party. It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to conquer the political power of this country, effect the necessary economic and social transformations, and bring about a universal co-operative system of production that will guarantee to every man, woman and child the right to enjoy life, freedom and happiness.

It is the mission of the Social Democratic party to realize the principles laid down in our Declaration of Independence, principles which are still a mere dream at the close of the nineteenth century.

The above paper is reprinted from the Missouri Socialist. We think it would make an excellent propaganda leaflet for the Social Democrats in every state.

THE EDITOR

Presbyterians Against Unions.

The recent session of the Reformed Presbyterian church held at Pittsburgh leaves but little doubt as to its attitude toward labor. By a vote of 71 to 54 the following resolution was adopted: We look upon membership in many of these unions as at present organized and controlled, as dangerous, and warn our members against joining any union which has an immoral obligation to keep inviolate as long as life remains any rites and regulations, the issue of which he is necessarily ignorant.

Several speakers, including ex-Moderator Foster denounced labor unions, saying that they did not leave a free field for labor, and that they were pernicious in their influence and wrong in principle.

Dr. T. P. Robb, of Sharon, Iowa, said that the sign of a labor organization was "The Mark of the Beast." Then, to emphasize the resolution quoted above, the convention by another resolution, re-affirmed its testimony against "most of the labor and trades unions as at present organized and controlled as dangerous," adding, "we remind our members that the law of Christ forbids them" joining these unions.

Many social reformers have criticized the church as hostile to the working classes; but the church through her ministers and other defenders has almost invariably denied the charge. But now, this great religious denomination, not unanimously, thank God, but by a majority vote, condemns, in clear and unequivocal terms, labor organizations.

They cannot deceive the hard-headed toiler by such qualifying phrases as "as at present organized and controlled," nor can they score him by any such "bogey man" as "the rites and regulations, the issue of which he is necessarily ignorant."

Whether the motive be ignorance, prejudice, or policy, this convention has dealt a vicious blow at organized labor, the laborer's only bulwark in his daily economic struggle for bread. We should be cautious not to judge hastily so great an institution as the Christian church. However, this last act of this great section of the church will only strengthen the conviction already held by the masses of working men and many great reformers that the church is arrayed on the side of capitalism, supporting plutocracy with its right hand and holding the toilers in poverty with its left.

The writer may not fully understand the spirit of the convention;

"Ye Shall Know the Truth, and the Truth Shall Make You Free."

Socialist Jack

OR THE BOOK OF THE WANDERERS.

BY JACK ARMSTRONG, P. T.

Assisted by the Contributions of ED. NEWMAN, M. A., (the Converted Parson); ELIJAH CLARKSON, (the Prophet); and other Valuable Contributors.

EDITED BY WILLIAM HARRISON RILEY.

A PATCHWORK PREFACE.

Abe King, my trampmate, says: "Most of the folk who buy your book will want to burn it before they have read a quarter of it." I guess that Satan would like to burn the whole edition, with the author on top of it. If this book were irreligious or immoral the Father of Lies would welcome it, but I have not written to please the Prince of Darkness or any other prince or potentate, pope, parson, or president, sultan or nabob. I have written it with the hope of helping my brothers and sisters, the wide world over, to understand the Truth, knowing that only a knowledge and practice of the Truth can make them Free.—JACK ARMSTRONG

It is the most unique and interesting work of the kind we have ever read, and should sell well, but many of its readers will be angry before they have read a dozen chapters of it.—THE PUBLISHERS

It is the most irregular book we have ever printed.—THE PRINTERS

There are better books, and worse books, but there is no other book at all similar to this book.—THE EDITOR

Did you want a book to join you in your nonsense? Did you want a book that told you only what you had read before?—WALT WHITMAN

Mates all! Men and women! This book is meant for YOU! If you are already Free, you will welcome it. If you are yet in bondage, it may help to liberate you.—JACK ARMSTRONG

I. The Misses Pripperton.

I, John, the son of John, write this book, in my own manner. It will not be written to please grammarians, aldermen, or charity-intercepting organizations. Some clergymen, even, may not like my book.

Until I was fourteen years old, I lived in England. Two gentle old maids were my first school teachers, and they tried to make me understand that the world was round, and very large, also that there were lands in which dwelt people of strange color, and who used strange languages, and had strange customs. And my gentle teachers—who had never been fifty miles from their birthplace—told me of great ships—which they had never seen—that sailed to lands that were very hot and to others that were very cold.

How prim, genteel, and chaste were those elderly maiden sisters! They revered the crown and the constitution. They were extremely orthodox. To eat their buttered toast without saying grace was as inconceivable as that they might take a walk without shoes and stockings.

The world as my first school teachers knew it was a very tidy, well regulated, buttered-toast sort of world. The world as I have found it has rougher places in it than the Misses Pripperton, and some other genteel people, ever thought it to have. The Misses Pripperton never laughed aloud. To laugh aloud was vulgar, and vulgarity was a cardinal sin. They seemed to regard all untidy persons as irreligious, and ragged persons as ruffians of the lower orders.

Nothing was to be done in a hurry. If a radical fly—of the lower orders—was found trespassing on one of the Misses Pripperton's speckless windows, it must be caught in a dignified manner, with gloved fingers—the gloves to be fetched from the kitchen glove hook, which was below the bellows.

Whenever one of the Misses Pripperton was afflicted by a cold in the head she was confined to her room, and was said to be "indisposed." No person, except her mother or her sister, had ever seen her apply a handkerchief to her nose. Pupils who had nasal colds were either sent home or, if the affliction seemed very temporary, were directed to use their handkerchiefs in the back yard.

The eyes of my teachers, an uncoiffed woman was very improper, and a moustached man was a profane. (Bearded faces were very uncommon in England, in those days. They did not become numerous until after the Exhibition of 1851, at which time many foreign persons, of irregular and untidy habits, visited England.)

Two trees existed in the neighborhood of the Seminary, a poplar and a weeping willow. I believe that my teachers were not familiar with any other kinds, and that they were unable to distinguish a birch from a maple. But they were highly accomplished ladies for all that. They knew that hens laid eggs, although I doubt if either Miss Letitia or Miss Amelia Pripperton was quite sure whether hens usually laid a score of eggs each day or only a dozen; but, of course, no human being is omniscient.

On the contrary, labor unions are but the awkward and imperfect beginnings of a great co-operative movement, which must expand and develop until it embraces all in the great co-operative commonwealth, exterminating selfishness and substituting therefor the doctrine of brotherhood heretofore by the Christ; and the church will have cause to regret if it does not enter into this mighty movement to emancipate the race from the bondage of mammon.

WM. A. KENNEDY.

ATTENTION!

Special meeting of Haverhill Local, S. D. P., next Wednesday evening, June 12, at O. L. U. headquarters. Members should not fail to be present.

born in Frisco, fought in the war, has scouted a little, been a lumberman, a brakeman, a teamster, a lake sailor, and sundry other things. At present we are both tramps, and do chores for our grub.

The editor is a city chap. I don't know much about his past life, but I know he is a sympathetic fellow. He uses more long words than I generally do, and thinks he can punctuate, but I reckon he's square as a book. Although I'm known as "Radical Jack" he seems even more revolutionary than I am, which makes him out to be one of the most revolutionary men in the world. His chief fault seems to be vanity. When I permitted to let him revise my work, I didn't suppose he was going to alter every line I wrote, as he has altered the first chapter.

(Editorial Interpolation—Jack—let it be Jack—is joking. I have not revised so extensively as he states. He can use long words and construct good sentences when he thinks it advisable to do so. One of his faults is an affectation of illiteracy.)

The few experiences in this book will be mostly other fellows' experiences—mostly tramps. Perhaps you don't know as much about our modern tramps as you do about the tramping Israelites, Romans, Goths, Saracens and Normans, or about the tramp Columbus. Probably you never quite realized that the Carpenter's Son was a tramp.

When you bought this book did you expect to read some adventures of slaughtering knights? Did you want some more romantic lies about the bombastic fellows called kings and nobles and their murderous marauding expeditions? Most of you have been misreading and mis-hearing since you were babies, so you do not appreciate the romance of today—the romance on the roads, in the mines, in the fields and factories.

Such respectable people as some of you are, turned up their respectable noses in the year 32, when the Carpenter's Son passed by, dressed in the garb of the lower orders, followed by a "gang of tramps." And those respectable ladies and gentlemen probably entertained themselves with old traditions and fables, as you do, and were unable to see how anybody could be interested in the sayings and doings of a lot of vulgar demagogues. So they went to the library and asked for some more books like the Adventure of Samson or Jonah, and yawning over the dullness of the times—"Nothing interesting now really. There is no romance nowadays. We have been born in very humdrum commonplace times, really."

There are, nowadays, many ugly and filthy tramps, but they are not so numerous as the usurers, scribes and picture-makers represent. And these tramps are usurer-made. Born of usury-scourged parents, they have been pushed lower and lower by the heartless despotism of the usurers, who at this day, are the real legislators in every civilized land.

Are you angry when a tramp spends your dime for whiskey, instead of for the bread he spoke of? Angry you should be, but not at the tramp. Your anger, amply multiplied, should be practically and wisely exercised against the tramp makers.

Think of the pitiful condition of a man who begs money to buy drink. On the day he was born, some other babies were born. One of them, the son of a millionaire, has kept several mistresses. His cigars and champagne cost ten dollars a day. He pays with money obtained by fraud. Although he legally steals his drinks—while the tramps only beg them—he is "respectable." He wears fine raiment. The raiment is also stolen, but he is respectable, nevertheless. The ragged, drink-begging tramp is one of his victims.

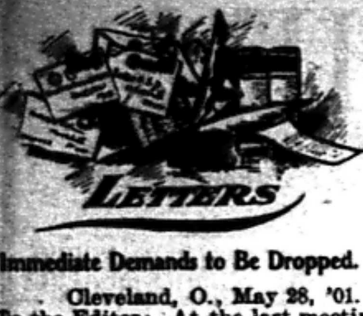
Last winter, in a wood chopper's shanty, I talked to its occupant, Jerry O'Brien—but let us have the account of the interview under a separate heading.

(Continued next week.)

How did you attain the reputation of being so very profound?" inquired the habitual interrogatorist. "By making the idea in a poem difficult to discover," answered the great author. "And by what method is this best accomplished?" "By not putting any idea into it."—Washington Star.

Railway engineers, at their convention last month, unanimously voted that "this union should study and act on all the problems of labor making Socialism as our ultimate goal." We nearly forgot to mention that this convention was held in Japan—not in America.—Citizen.

"How did you attain the reputation of being so very profound?" inquired the habitual interrogatorist. "By making the idea in a poem difficult to discover," answered the great author. "And by what method is this best accomplished?" "By not putting any idea into it."—Washington Star.



LETTERS

Immediate Demands to Be Dropped.

Cleveland, O., May 28, '01. To the Editor:—At the last meeting of Branch 1, Local Cleveland, the following resolution was passed: "That all demands attached to the platform of the Social Democratic party as steps in the direction of Socialism be eliminated from the platform because of their tendency to confuse the Socialist propaganda."

W. B. SLUSSER, Recording Secretary.

From Newport, Kentucky.

Dear Comrade:—Enclosed find 25 cents in postage stamps for which please credit me for six months subscription to the "Haverhill Social Democrat."

We hope the comrades of the old Day State will make it interesting for the two old relics of a "Past Age" next fall.

We are planning for an active campaign in this part of Old Kentucky and if we don't succeed in shaking up the dry bones, it will not be for want of effort. We feel very much encouraged by our showing last fall, our first appearance as a party here when we polled 841 votes in Kenton and 206 in Campbell county. In the town of Bellevue, the home of Father McGrady, we received over three per cent of the total vote. We are well organized here, and have about 100 active workers, are thoroughly class-conscious, and determined in the line of action we have decided upon, and no attempts at intimidation of any kind by the old party adherents will have any effect. We know what we want, and intend to have it.

Yours for the cause, H. L. NORMAN, Newport, Ky., May 31, '01.

From National Secretary.

Comrades:—The National Executive Committee having affirmed the date of July 29, as the date for the opening of the unity convention, I hereby advise all comrades to that effect. Credentials are in the hands of the printer and will be mailed to all Locals and state committees in a few days, with instructions as to the election of delegates. All comrades who have been members of our party prior to June 30, are entitled to representation providing they are in good standing. Therefore, in order that all comrades may be represented at the coming convention, they are requested to pay up all their dues promptly.

Locals are also reminded that an assessment was levied equal to ten cents per member and all those Locals or sub-divisions which have as yet failed to pay same are requested to do so at once, as the N. E. C. would like to report to the conventions that all obligations of the party have been paid.

These state committees which have not yet settled their International Delegate Stamp account are urged to attend to same without delay.

Let our party be fully represented at the convention so that it can be said it was the largest gathering of Socialist delegates at a National convention ever held in the United States.

Yours fraternally, WILLIAM BUTSCHER, National Secretary.

The New Jersey Plan for National Organization.

We the Social Democratic Party, in Convention assembled, in order to secure harmonious and united effort among the Socialists of the United States, submit plans to all National Socialist organizations, independent Socialist state organizations, and unaffiliated Socialist bodies.

1st. That the respective Socialist organizations elect a National committee, said National committee to consist of one member from each state and territory, except as hereinafter provided.

2nd. Where in any given state there shall be two or more independent Socialist parties, they shall be entitled to one member each upon said National committee.

3rd. Each state shall have one vote.

4th. Where there are more than one representative from any given state, the one vote of that state shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative, based upon the number of members in the organization represented by him.

5th. Upon the election of such representatives, their names and addresses shall be forwarded to the secretary of this convention, and upon 20 or more states complying herewith, a meeting of the said National committee shall be called at such time and place as the committee may determine.

6th. The said Socialist parties so represented shall consent to exist as independent national organizations, and become merged into this organization, representing the Socialist Social Democratic movement in the United States.

Frank Jones's Portsmouth Ale. STANDARD OF THE WORLD. If you are going to drink Ale, Why not drink the Best. The Best is Frank Jones's GOLDEN CREAM ALE. T. F. CARROL, Local Agent. Frank Jones's Cream Ale Sold in Barrels, Halves and Quarters for Family Trade. Haverhill, Mass.

7th. Complete state autonomy is hereby guaranteed. The duties of the National committee shall be to call National Conventions and fix basis of representation; to maintain national headquarters, exercise general supervision over the national movement and conduct a general propaganda. They may maintain an official National paper, to be sold by subscription. The expense of National headquarters to be met by per capita tax of 25 cents per year from each member of the organization represented. The term of office of the members of the National committee to be determined, and the expense incurred by them in attending meetings of the National committee to be met by their constituents, in the states represented. Special meetings of the committee may be held upon call of five states, in which the place of meeting shall be named. A quorum to consist of states represented, not members present. This call is issued to all organizations who definitely subscribe to Social Democratic principles.

Originator of Unity Plan.—Comrade G. H. Strobell, of Newark, N. J., referring to the above plan for unity, says: "I went to the Chicago Convention in March with the sincere determination to do all in my power to end the present miserable diatribe, ready to offer this plan as an alternative should the desire of Socialists for a Union convention be defeated. I found a most harmonious gathering which was determined that unity should be accomplished. My plan met with the most cordial reception and favor, and nothing but the conviction that in the present tension it might be looked upon as a device for blocking unity prevented its acceptance."

Most of the delegates besides, having come instructed by their constituents, voted for a convention, after having passed a resolution unanimously endorsing the plan and recommending its adoption by the Unity convention for the future organization of the Socialist movement. It will be well to add in conclusion that we, who favor this plan of National organization, would heartily assist in the adoption of any plan of still greater promise. It is time, high time, that division and consequent weakness should cease, not for this time only but for the time to come. Let us establish that real Democracy in our ranks of which our present political system is but the shadow and we will place upon an enduring political foundation the conquering hosts of the co-operative commonwealth.

G. H. STROBELL, 44 Hill Street, Newark, N. J.

New Hampshire State Committee.

S. D. P.

The state executive committee of the Social Democratic Party of New Hampshire met on May 30 at Dover, in the rooms at 464 Central avenue. Louis Arnshein was elected chairman. The office of state treasurer which was made vacant some time ago by the resignation of O. G. Layton was filled by the election of Benjamin T. Whitehouse, of Dover. It was decided to send out two organizers throughout the state, one French and one American.

The most important work of the committee was the passing of a motion that a state convention be held on July 4 for the purpose of selecting delegates to attend the National Unity Convention to be held in Indianapolis on July 29.

Socialist Speakers in the Field.

Comrade Spargo will speak at Port Chester, N. Y., June 11; Bridgeport, Conn., June 12; Ansonia, June 18; Waterbury, Conn., June 14; Danbury, June 15; New Haven, June 16; Stonington, June 17; New London, June 18; Montville, June 19; Meriden, Conn., June 20; New Britain, June 21; Hartford, June 22; Unionville or Windsor Lake, June 23; Rockville, June 24; Springfield, Mass., June 25.

Comrade Vall will speak at Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn., June 6 and 7; Fargo, N. H., June 9.

Comrade Origo will speak at Brockton, Mass., June 8; Fall River, 4; Lawrence, 5; Amesbury, 6; Nashua, N. H., 7; Portsmouth, N. H., 8; Adam, Mass., 10; Bennington, Vt., 11; Rutland, 12; Ludlow, 13; Montpelier, 14; Barre, 15; Grantville, 17; Burlington, 18.

Comrade Geiger will speak at Portsmouth, Ohio, June 4; Xenia, 5; Toledo, 6; Fremont, 7; Mansfield, 8; Cleveland, 10; Allegheny, 11; York, 12; Yoe, 13; Reading, 14; Pottstown, 15; Camden, N. J., 17; Stapleton, N. Y., 18.

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To Locals of Mass.

I have been requested by the National Secretary at Springfield to procure and forward to him the names and addresses of all members of all the Locals in Massachusetts in good standing. This information is important and must be in his hands in order to avoid all possible controversy that might arise relative to the membership of our party or the seating of delegates in the coming convention to be held in July.

Every Local is requested to give this immediate and careful attention. Fraternally yours, ALBERT G. CLIFFORD, Fin. Sec. Mass. State Committee.

Concord, N. H. Representative James F. Carey of Massachusetts will deliver a lecture on Socialism in Temple hall next Saturday evening, under the auspices of Concord Branch. Public cordially invited and admission free.

JAMES S. MURRAY, The International Socialist Review.

The June number of the International Socialist Review, which terminates the first year of that publication, is a very notable number. The leading article is a discussion of "Paganism and Christianity" by an anonymous author who takes up the startling thesis that the modern Socialist movement derives much more of its inspiration from Pagan than Christian thought, and this position is defended with a wealth of illustration and breadth of knowledge that cannot fail to attract attention. Herman Whitaker points out some "Misconceptions of Marx" that are current among Socialists as well as opponents of Socialism. "Socialism in Belgium" by Emile Vinck, is the most thorough historical and descriptive treatment of the Belgian Socialist movement yet published in English. "The Revolutionary Movement in Russia" is the official statement of the Russian Socialists on the recent events and is an exhaustive review of the circumstances leading up to these as well as a discussion of the present situation.

Other interesting features are a poem by Earnest Crosby and an article on "The Monopoly of Intellect" by Miss E. T. Andrews, as well as the usual departments on "Socialism Abroad" and "The World of Labor."

"Commercialism is a Moloch"

Mr. Edmond Kelly, in his second volume of "Government or Human Evolution," says: "The conclusion which it has been sought to draw from the aspect of human history and particularly from that part of it which pertains to industry and commerce, is not only our existing institutions do work injustice, but that they must do so; and that whether we be angels of light or instruments of the devil, we are all alike, consciously or unconsciously, partners in the human misery which inevitably results from them. Commercialism is a Moloch which has almost without resistance obtained ascendancy over us. To this unclean god, with equal indifference, we hourly sacrifice guilty men and innocent children; and of the cruelty this cult involves we are essential factors for it is a part of our competitive scheme that all of us—even those who have the tenderest hearts—should, innocently and unconsciously, in silent submission to its laws, be strangling one another."

Nature's Marvels

Undoubtedly one of the most wonderful trained animal exhibitions ever seen in the world is that of Captain Woodward's trained Sea Lions, with the Adam Forepaugh and Sells Brothers' 20th Century Colossus. It is a very remarkable thing about these animals that Captain Woodward had been training and exhibiting them for several years in various performances chiefly as musicians and jugglers. Some two years ago, while in winter quarters, he discovered a new and entirely new method of training them. That method has produced the most wonderful results. The method was simplicity itself, and that was to study the marvelous instincts of these strange creatures and develop their own extraordinary actions. One of these instincts is the possession of remarkable powers as equilibrists. This is undoubtedly supplied them by nature in order that they may catch and secure their food, which in their native element is fish. Although of enormous size in body they have a very small mouth, a comparatively small mouth. Their neck is long and sinuous and they can tuck their head out with the swiftest of the swift striking at their prey. Grasping a fish in their long needle-like fangs they kill it but it is too large for them to swallow at once. The fish is released without sink to the sea and as they have a hands with which they can hold the fish they needs must balance it upon the tip of their long sharp-pointed nose until they can gradually bite off a piece of it and eat it, holding the remainder on their nose while doing so, then repeating this operation until the fish is entirely consumed. It was the observation of this fact that led Captain Woodward to develop their skill in balancing objects on their nose and he substituted for fish sticks, balls and other objects. The result is a past-bellied exhibition of equilibrium. Likewise had he developed their ability to pass a ball from one to another the ball being caught and balanced on the nose until he gives the word for them to drop it. This is only one of a number of most extraordinary feats these strange animals do, and they must be seen to be appreciated. They may be seen when the Adam Forepaugh & Sells Brothers' Shows appear here on Thursday, June 30.

News From Lynn.

Some two years ago the Republicans of a representative district in this city nominated a workman from the shoe factory to represent them in the Legislature and of course, being a Republican, he was elected. He is one of those that Comrade Carey delights to designate as "good fellows," but perhaps a little sadder the many of his Republican brothers in that great august body that make the laws for the people in this glorious Commonwealth.

Salter is a man that "sees things." He believes that many of the Socialist ideas are "progressive" and worthy of support. He believes that the average voter is becoming interested in municipal reform, state ownership of railroad, etc., and he decided some time since that the way to advance himself as a politician was to catch on to the "new fad," "whooop-er-up" for the common people, and in spite of political leaders launched out boldly in support of the cause of the common people. So far the rank and file of his party has been with him and in spite of all opposition from the men who pull the string in the game of political preference he has held his own while our "good Shepard" and his influential gang of political leaders have looked on aghast at the audacity of the young shoe outer in ignoring their wishes. His introduction of a bill for the abolition of grade crossings in this city and the opposition by the capitalist class seems to have added to his popularity. Then his introduction of a bill two weeks ago, asking that the state appropriate \$25,000 and that the Park Commissioners at once erect a public bath house at Nahant Beach, met with approval.

Salter overlooked one fact, namely, the capitalist class are very much in evidence in this section of Lynn and its aristocratic suburb Nahant. This Lynn Beach, so called, is in the town of Nahant, the home of that champion of the capitalist system, Henry Cabot Lodge. It has been for years a resorting spot for the working people of the city. Bathing houses, dance halls, and everything that goes to make a miniature Coney Island had been erected here. Here was the summer public forum of the Socialist parties of the city and each Sunday during the summer months, the residents of Nahant were gathered on the beach, enjoying the common herd and the laughter of the children of the working class as they waded in the water or played on the sand of this, one of the most beautiful beaches in the country. The peace of the Sabbath was disturbed and it infringed on the rights of the rulers of the earth and it was a menace to society; for those wicked Socialists were there every Sunday spreading the gospel of discontent among the working class and it must be stopped, and this is the way they stopped it. The Nahant beaches were presented to the state and the members of the Metropolitan Park Commission took the matter in hand; the buildings were pulled down, band stands, bathing houses, etc., removed and Lynn's summer breathing spot, to which the poor working people of Lynn and their children could go without money, was changed in such a way that it has lost its attractiveness to the great class of working people who need recreation on the Sabbath.

Salter's bill to erect a bath house only aroused the ire of the wealthy aristocrats again. Speaker Myers announced himself at once as opposed to the bill, and the capitalist class were beginning to get in their work, but finally after consultation with Mr. Salter it was decided that the latter should introduce a substitute motion which would let Salter down easy with the public and postpone the question for another year. This resolution which has passed, both houses may fool some of the people, but not all of them.

It instructs the Metropolitan Park Commission to investigate as to the expediency of erecting a bath house, prepare plans, and estimates of cost and present to the next Legislature. And I will wager a dollar to a doughnut that no bath house will ever be erected within the limits of Nahant on this beach until the Socialists control the Legislature of this state; and the probabilities are that Mr. Salter instead of being nominated for senator as he expects, I understand, will be retired to private life for the trouble he has made for the local leaders of his party.

Now, Mr. Salter would probably say: "I believe in Socialism." Then why does he not leave that party which is lambasting the working man with false promises and come out boldly and unreservedly for the ally party which stands for the complete overthrow of that damnable institution known as the capitalist system and the establishment of a new order of things in which every man shall have the full value of what he produces and in which rent, profit, and interest shall have no place, and where every man shall have equal rights and privileges with every other man—the Social Democratic Party? The day will come soon when Mr. Salter and many other aspiring politicians will be tumbling over each other to join us, and thereby hold onto their "pull" with the working class.

The West Lynn Branch has changed its meeting night to Friday evening.

It is earnestly hoped that the members of the Central Branch will come to the meeting on the 10th, as an important business will probably come before the body. The State and National Conventions are near at hand. NEMO.

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ADMISSION, 50c. Children under 9yrs, HALF PRICE. Reserved Seat Tickets will be on Swett's Drug Store Sale at Usual Prices at

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