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OPEN LETTER.

To the Rev. Knapp of Painted Post, N. Y.

MODERN PHARISEEISM.

Socialist Publications and Speakers, Calumniated by the "Rev." Knapp as Deceivers of the Laboring Man, Shown to be the Laboring Man's True and Trusty Educators, While the Modern Pulpit is a Trafficker on the Bible in the Interest of the Class Whom the Nazarene Denounced, and to the Injury of the Class Whom the Nazarene Befriended and Whose Part He Took.

Sir—A word or two with you, if you please, on the sermon you recently delivered at Painted Post in this State on the subject of "Dangers of Socialism and Anarchism." In that sermon you give an account of a Socialist address delivered in Corning, and also of some Socialist publication that you received. The essence of your conclusions is, to quote your own words, that "Socialist publications and agitators are oily-tongued and deceive the laboring man."

In substantiation of this conclusion you use a variety of arguments. Let's take them up seriatim. The first argument you make is that neither the speech you heard, nor the publications you read, "referred to or recognized Jesus Christ and the Gospel." And upon that you claimed that "there is no theory, or argument, or platform by men on earth that can meet the social crisis while ignoring God, Jesus Christ and the Gospel."

Are you acquainted with a certain document known as the Declaration of Independence? Did you ever come across a certain other document known as the Constitution of the United States? Are you aware that for over a hundred years men like you have been denouncing the former as "atheistic," and that for generations men like you have been trying to "get God into" the latter and also denouncing it for "ignoring God"?

In your sermon you glorify this country as an unparalleled success—this country, whose two pillars are the above-named two documents. We now ask you, who is oily-tongued, who is trying to deceive the laboring man, the Socialists or YOU?

Then, also, what do you call "ignoring God," Jesus Christ, the "Gospel"? Do you mean to say that if these words do not actually occur in a document, then Justice, Right, etc.—the essence of what those words stand for—would be absent? Is Euclid or any other work on geometry to be rejected because those words are not found in its pages? Or is the essence of those words inseparable from the words themselves, so that, wherever the words occur the essence is there? Is that what you mean? If so, how do you explain the deep inhumanity, injustice and criminal character of the slave-holders and their parsons who, with "God," "Jesus Christ," the "Gospel" and the "Old Testament," to boot, upheld, defended and drenched the country in blood to uphold chattel slavery? Which ever way the question is put you are caught. We ask again: Who is oily-tongued, who is trying to deceive the laboring man, the Socialists or YOU?

Your second argument is that when the Socialist speaker stated to the workmen in his audience that they were slaves he said what was untrue, "he deceived them"—Do you mean to say that the workman, the man without capital to work with can keep all that he produces? The workman, you know full well, has no chance to work unless the owner of capital needed to work with allows him a chance. For that chance the workman must be satisfied with wages that represent a small fraction of what he produces. In other words, he must, in order himself to live, support the capitalist in idleness. What is the essential difference between that and chattel slavery? None. As far as the essence of slavery is concerned, the two are identical: The chattel slave had to work in order to live and keep his master in idleness; the modern wage-slave ditto, ditto, he has to work in order to live and keep his employer, the capitalist, in idleness. Did you ever hear of such a man as John Adams? Did you ever read his works? Did you ever come across this passage in which he describes slavery by comparing the chattel slave and the wage earner? Said he:

"There is no difference between the man who receives for his work no more wages than will supply the necessities of life, and the man who works and gets them at short hand. The latter is called a slave; the former a free man; but the distinction is imaginary only."

Again we ask, When the Socialist speaks to wake up the working class to an understanding of its actual condi-

tion, and informs it that it is a slave class, and when you seek to keep that same working class steeped in the illusion of freedom, who is oily-tongued, who is deceiving the laboring man, the Socialist or YOU?

Finally, as an argument that the Socialist speaker and Socialist publications are false, you quote your experience of a certain boy who raised himself from blacking boots and selling papers to such a condition of comfort as to enable him to go to college. Granted that your facts are correctly quoted. What of it? When that boy comes out of college what are his chances in life? He has no capital, consequently, he can not be an independent worker; if he wants to go to work, he must sell himself into wage-slavery, that is submit to receive for a living only a small part of his product. That will not enable him, let him be as economic as he will, to lay by enough ever to start as a capitalist; every year that rolls over his head increases the quantity of capital needed to start with in industry, and the increase of that needed capital moves upward faster far than his largest possible savings. But his troubles will not end there. Machinery, produced by his fellow wage-slaves, himself perhaps, but stolen from them by the capitalist class under the present system of capitalism, or legalized robbery, displaces hands; either he will be thrown out of work or will keep his job at reduced earnings, and thus his future will grow blacker and blacker, and that of your pew-holders and pay-masters brighter and brighter.

But, "ah," you may say, "his college education will strengthen his genius, he will be an inventor." What of that? He has no capital to operate his inventions; knowledge of them will leak through; capitalists who need his inventions will steal them, and the courts will decide in their favor and against him every time, as they have done in innumerable cases before, and there he will be, an intellectual pauper, the product of whose abstemious youth, studiousness and diligence is literally stolen from him, and who is unable to secure redress, due to the poverty to which the present brigand, God-quoting but God-despising capitalist, system dooms him.

All this is every-day experience. We ask again, Who is deceiving the laboring man, the Socialists who tear before his eyes the veil behind which the robber machinery of this robber system conceals its workings, or YOU, who seek to keep the veil down?

Now, Sir, look around you, are the working people in the churches? The question has been put from one end of the country to the other, from one end to the other, the answer has come, No! The reason why has been asked. You, the Rev. Morgan Dixes, the whole rabble-rot of pulpites, give the answer by your conduct. You have been found out. Your language brands you before the public eye. With the exception of such weak-minded working people, whom all of you have terrorized with descriptions of hell-fire and the like, into a mental condition that renders them incapable of thinking, your parson class is felt to be, is smelted to be, is known to be a villainously atheistic class, to whom "God," "Jesus Christ," "the Gospel," etc., etc., are but words to traffic with, and whose wages are the blood-money, the hush-money, that a criminal class in power pays you to seek to deceive the plundered working class.—Fy upon you!

But you may read the history of your brood in the history of the past. The good that "God," and "Christ," and the "Gospel" imply in the popular and the thinking mind can fortunately not be smothered by you. They ever have been in the keeping of the uprising-revolutionary class. The tidal wave is now forming whose flood will drown this inhuman, anarchistic social system that you are upholding. All the good that "God," "Christ," etc., stands for is to-day in the Socialist camp, and the Socialists are its apostles. Blasphemy no longer.

GOG AND MAGOG.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29.—A week before the election an alleged "Peace Jubilee" was held here, and during that time one of the most atrocious criminal accidents occurred ever known in the annals of any people. On the evening of the first day of the celebration some ladies walking along one of the streets picked up the leg of a child on the car track. An investigation followed and more of the body was found and then the rest of the child was traced to a street car which had traveled, with the little mangled body wedged under the car, several miles before the conductor discovered it. The car had to be jacked before the remains could be got at, and then the motorman dimly recalled the fact that on his down trip he had run into the rear of a wagon with a newsboy hanging on it, and the body was the body of the boy.

During that day, and the succeeding days, most of the street car conductors and motemen worked from 4 o'clock in the morning until after midnight, a period of 20 hours, without anything to eat and no sleep, the company compelling them to do this in order to handle the enormous crowds of people. This conductor, no doubt, was one of those overworked and bedevilled men, and he worked for a line that for years paid 45 per cent. dividend on its stock. I defy any place to show capitalism in a more damnable form than in Philadelphia. The illiterate and profane proprietor of the "Ledger," who represents the capitalist class to perfection, has not instructed any of his editorial writers to comment on this crime.

JAMES.

A CALL.

To Our New Friends and Sympathizers.

It is not enough to vote the Socialist Ticket—Our New Recruits Must Join the Party Organisation and by their Efforts, Time and Other Assistance Enable the Party Organisation to Enlarge its Agitational Powers—Our Literature Must be Spread, Our Organs Must Circulate, a Daily Paper Must be Set up.

Another election has passed over the land, the din of battle has subsided, the smoke has cleared away. Counting our ranks we find hardly a man missing, thousands of new recruits. A mighty shout rends the air, for behold, not only have we passed through the heavy cross-fire of the capitalist forces unhurt, but we have captured some of their number. You are one of them. You are ours by right of conquest, "thanks to the capitalist class for teaching us that word." But you are unaccustomed to our mode of warfare. Will you prove valuable accessories in the war against capitalism in 1899? Will you come to our councils of war year in, year out. Will you go from house to house to distribute our literature. Let us appeal to you now.

You have cast your first ballot for the S. L. P., no doubt expected to see your vote announced in the daily papers and you were sorely disappointed. That is your fault. You should not expect newspapers, owned by syndicates and capitalists, to announce the steady growth of the only true workingmen movement, a movement not only of this country, but far advanced in other countries where it is a decisive factor in their parliaments. To keep in touch with this wonderful movement, such as the world has never seen before, you must subscribe to and thereby aid our press, which is controlled by the party itself, thus enabling you to learn the truth about Socialism without exaggeration but also without extenuation; a paper of the people, for the people and by the people in the fullest sense of this oft misapplied phrase.

You will readily see that, the more subscribers we obtain, the quicker this movement will grow, for public opinion is largely shaped by the newspaper. Many of our old prejudices and political opinions are directly traceable to a falsifying press, a press that MUST FALSIFY TO LIVE. The press is controlled by the capitalists and their political henchmen; its chief aim is to control, to bewilder the ignorant masses, "ignorant" because "educated" by this selfsame infamous press. Will you deny this? Why, in your own experience you have certainly met with members of the wealthy, rascally and demoralized plutocracy, whose conduct is a blasphemy on man, yet in the daily press they are heralded as philanthropists, yes as veritable demigods and models of morality. We paint them as they are and fear no prosecution for defamation of character.

You hate sham and hypocrisy. You have often denounced these meanest and most dangerous attributes of the enemies of perfect civilization. Now we are men who think like you, but not only that, we devote our lives to this manly warfare against wrong and oppression. We have scraped and toiled until we were able to launch a paper into the open sea, until we secured a mouthpiece to proclaim our sentiments and convictions; your sentiments, your convictions.

Another point. How do you suppose we manage to scatter so much literature throughout the country? Do you think a capitalist is behind us, advancing money, so as to put us into his pocket? Do you imagine our campaign expenses are paid by some spirit sympathizer? Not so. Every man who desires to end the horrible condition of the wage-slave pays twenty cents per month, month after month, year after year into the party's treasury. This apparently trifling assessment supports our cause, brings us before the attention of the general public, provides us with the necessary materials to combat calumny, to thwart persecution, to enlighten the minds of our fellowmen.

Then there are monthly and bi-monthly gatherings for lecture and debate. Here the coming orator, the fearless agitator is developed. Here we learn one from another, the great truths of class-consciousness, that workmen in all countries suffer under the oppression of capitalism, competition, machinery, overproduction and through all these agencies enforced idleness, hunger and want. Go where you will among the civilized nations, the conditions, with slight variations, are the same. Here is engendered that sublime enthusiasm, that indefatigable energy, that grim determination, that class-consciousness, that certainty of ultimate success in the fight for truth, justice, and right; for liberty, equality, fraternity, and the final emancipation of mankind from the fetters of superstition and false political and social economy.

Will you help us? Then subscribe to our papers, a paltry sum, fifty cents per year. Do you believe we are right? Then read our literature and induce your friends to do the same. If you meet a friend on the street, in the cars, in the shop enter into conversation with him on the wage question, etc. Do not ask him to have a drink with you, and if he declines, do not force him to take a cigar, but let your daily

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TAXES.

Their Cause, Reason, Purpose and Significance.

Texas are a Running Sore on the Flanks of the Capitalist Class—They are the Results of the Inherent Weakness of Capitalism—They are Paid by the Capitalist Class out of What It Plunders the Workers of—The More It Plunders, the More it Must Pay out in Taxes to Keep the Workers Down.

Not less greedily than the landlord is the State, the Government, engaged in the work of paring off slices from the surplus of the capitalist. The modern State grew with and through the capitalist class, until the point was reached when the former became the most powerful means for the exaltation of the latter. Each has promoted the interests of the other; the capitalist class cannot forego the assistance of the State, as at present constituted; it needs the powerful hand of Government to protect it from internal and external foes.

The capitalist system of exploitation is by no means the product of specific laws. It is, on the contrary, the weakness of the system that have brought forth the laws that are to-day in force. These laws do not create the exploitation of the proletariat; they only provide for the smooth running of the system of exploitation, together with all the other processes appertaining to the existing social order. COMPETITION, being styled the main spring of production, law may be designated the LUBRICATING OIL, the object of which is to diminish as much as possible the friction between the social antagonisms in the present social mechanism.

For every weakness in the constitution or makeup of the capitalist system, a special function is required of modern Government.

It is a weakness in the capitalist system of production that its mechanism becomes more and more complicated, and the individual capitalists more and more interdependent. The prompt fulfillment by each individual capitalist of the duties that arise from his economic functions is a requisite condition for the fulfillment of their corresponding duties by all the others. Such a delicate social mechanism can suffer less than any of those that preceded it the individual settlement of disputes by the parties concerned or aggrieved. In proportion, therefore, as every single capitalist becomes more and more dependent upon the prompt cooperation of numerous others, the more involved, cumbersome and complicated grow their conflicting interests. Out of this weakness springs the necessity for an adequate system of laws and of judicature, and of a properly equipped Government, able to keep the individual capitalists to their duties. Hence arises the vast machinery of COURTS with their extensive appendages, intended to enforce their decrees.

It is a further weakness of the capitalist system of production that it digs the ground from under itself. The more it produces, the larger becomes the number of proletarians, and, consequently, the slighter the general capacity of the people to purchase their own products in the markets of their own country. Thus, capitalism in every capitalist country, restricts its own, the home market, at the same rate that it develops in vigor. Failing of a market at home, the capitalist looks abroad, and is pushed beyond his own political limits in search of foreign markets. Foreign commerce plays, accordingly, from the start an important role in capitalist production. In proportion as the latter develops, security abroad and the power to expand over foreign lands become vital questions to the interests of the whole capitalist class in a capitalist nation. In the world's markets, however, the capitalists of one nation run against those of another as competitors; in order to cope with each other, each set invokes the powers of its own State to enforce its "rights" at the cannon's mouth, or what it likes still better, to chase its competitors away. Formerly, wars were DYNASTIC, to-day they are essentially COMMERCIAL; in the last analysis, they can now always be traced to the economic conflicts between the capitalists of the belligerent nations. Out of this weakness of the capitalist system of production—the requirement to conquer and maintain itself in foreign markets—springs in turn the necessity for extensive armaments by land and by sea. Hence "War Departments" in government, with navies and land forces, whose size grows from year to year, with an ever increasing and expensive personnel of officers—an idle, unproductive class, that cultivates the "art of war" and must be supported from the surplus of the capitalists.

A further weakness of the capitalist system of production consists in the antagonisms it generates between exploiters and exploited, between property-holders and proletarians. This weakness the capitalist system shares with all of those that have preceded it, all of them being based upon human exploitation; but it intensifies the ill, and reproduces it in an aggravated form. The more the capitalist system develops, the greater becomes the friction, and the sharper the antagonisms, between these two leading and now only remaining classes—capitalist and proletariat, and the larger, more powerful becomes the proletariat. Increasing numbers, increasing uncertainty of livelihood, increasing want and de-

pendence—all these causes combined conspire to make the proletariat more and more redoubtable to the capitalist class. Out of this weakness or this danger, springs the third function of the capitalist State, the function of keeping the working class down. This specific function is filled by extending those previously mentioned. Hence the necessity of a still larger system of repressive forces—constables, police, official Pinkertons, militias, etc., etc.

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Lastly, it is one of the conspicuous weaknesses of the capitalist system of production that it generates a special worthless, disgraceful, criminal class—the SLUMS. As capitalism grows, the ground is narrowed upon which people can stand. The uncertainty and dependence of the masses become fatal to character; the weakest of the population, morally, sink swiftly below the class of the proletariat, they fall into the slums and become a part of that sink of moral putrefaction. The slums are recruited both from the capitalist and the proletariat classes, with numberless additions from the middle class. The steady increase of the capital necessary for production, ruins the capitalists, whose property is not sufficient to carry on the competitive struggle; it crushes out the members of the middle class; and it plays havoc among the proletarians. Fraudulent practices, crime in some form or another—from the lightest to the blackest—become the methods that the most unfortunate, the weakest, or the worst disposed of these resort to. Out of this weakness of the capitalist system springs, in all capitalist countries, the necessity for that extensive branch of government—the penitentiary, with its numberless appendages of jails, houses of correction, reformatories, etc.

These four functions and duties of the capitalist State which correspond to the four leading and general weaknesses of the capitalist system, cause heavy outlays, and they reduce heavily the capitalist surplus. In capitalist republics, there is still a fifth source through which the capitalist class is plundered of a goodly portion of its surplus by its own State. This arises from the concerted action of the slums and their extensive ramifications upon the political field. Universal, at least manhood suffrage places in the hands of the slums a weapon that it often uses with unerring certainty, and by means of which it not infrequently puts its own representatives into government offices. These representatives of the slums in governments act like a tap upon the capitalist class; they tap it of floods of wealth that are poured straight into the hands of the slums, thereby rendering them still more worthless, vicious and criminal. Of all republics, our own furnishes the most frequent and striking illustrations of this phenomenon. The slums have their representatives in all our Legislative bodies and fill many an Executive chair. Of the many instances of this fact, the most conspicuous is presented by the city of New York, where Tammany Hall, the organized crime of the city, i. e., the slums, holds sway and is a thorn in the side of the local capitalists.

Thus, in all these several ways the State, or the Government, reduces the profits or surplus of the capitalist; as the capitalist system develops the causes that lead to that result are intensified; despite all capitalist manoeuvres to stem them, the inroads increase upon the surplus which labor produces and which capital grabs.

Unmasked.—A "Reverend" and a "Radical" Journal Agree.

FOR A MIGHTY NAVY AND A GREAT ARMY.

We should have a great navy and a standing army. War is a great curse, and we all long for the time when the angel shall ring in the thousand years of peace. We all know, however, that that time is not here. Humanity is the same. Society's foes were never so fierce and brutal, so long as labor leaders stir up strife, so long as there are fierce race riots and anarchists and those who have no property conspire against those who have property, so long will we need protection. So with a widening of the country, we need a larger force for defence.—Rev. Morgan Dix, Trinity Episcopal Church.

The above is from the New York "Journal" of November 25. There is our "radical" sheet publishing what? That capitalists have become so grasping that the workers need a large "standing" army and a mighty navy to keep organized capitalists from stealing their few remaining crusts? No. That, at least, we need an increased army and navy to wrest from the exploiters of honest toilers some slight concession in the way of a short day of slavery? No; not even this—but that the increased army and navy shall be used AGAINST the crust-eaters—"those who have no property."

There can be no mistake about the above. "Reverend" Dix, pastor of tenement-owning Trinity, a minister (save the mark) of God's Gospel, says, openly mind, that the larger army and navy is NOT to be used to protect the poor ("those who have no property"), but is to be used AGAINST them, because they organize for mutual protection!

So, with a widening of the country, we need a large force for defence. Why? Think a little, you long suffering proletaires! For what other reason than that those who "annex" more territory will speedily deprive the added workers of what little property they still enjoy. Then is when our capitalist lackeys—the Reverend Dixes—will call on the propertyless masses for volunteers to shoot down their propertyless brothers and sisters, in order that capitalist private property may be protected. How many men—spurred

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THE VOTE.

It Promises to Run Above 80,000 this Time.

DEVELOPING STRENGTH.

Incomplete Returns With Many Places to Hear From Already Show an Increase of More than 33,000 Over the Last State Votes—The S. L. P. Beats the Populists in Chicago and Runs up a Large Vote in the State—Washington State Joins the Roll of Honor 1,000 Strong—"The Lone Star" State Promises to Push Washington Close-Colorado's Magnificent Fight.

What exactly this year's vote is, can not yet be accurately ascertained, that, however, it will reach 80,000 is now certain. The following table may give an idea of the situation:

Alabama (incomplete)	344
California (incomplete)	3,537
Colorado (incomplete)	611
Connecticut	2,807
Iowa (incomplete)	523
Illinois	4,434
Indiana	722
Kansas (three counties)	1,715
Kentucky	584
Maryland	355
Massachusetts (incomplete)	8,737
Michigan (one county)	359
Minnesota (incomplete)	1,238
Missouri	1,056
Nebraska	248
New Hampshire	359
New Jersey	5,427
New York (incomplete)	22,290
Ohio	5,874
Pennsylvania (incomplete)	3,683
Rhode Island	2,651
Texas (incomplete)	583
Virginia (one city, incomplete)	89
Washington (incomplete)	940
Wisconsin (incomplete)	1,371
The vote in 1897	69,636
.....	55,550
.....	14,106

The vote at the last State elections (1896)

Thus incomplete though the returns are, they already indicate an increase of 14,106 over last year, and an increase of 33,062 over the poll of the previous State elections in 1896.

The following special dispatches have been received at this office:

COLORADO. DENVER, Nov. 22.—The official count in Arapahoe County credits the Socialist Labor party with 544 votes, at the previous gubernatorial election the whole State did not poll that many Socialist votes. The large increase is explained by the lively agitation of the party throughout the whole State. In the mining camp Williamsburg, Fremont County, the Socialist ticket polled more votes than that of any other party.

CONNECTICUT. NEW LONDON.—The Socialist Labor party polls here 24 votes.

IOWA. GRINNELL, Nov. 24.—There were cast here 10 Socialist votes, 2 last year.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. As far as reported, the Socialist vote rose from 228 in 1896 to 350 this year. The Debs-Gordon party, which was to sweep the State, incidentally wipe out the S. L. P., has 263.

The vote for Whit-house, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, so far reported, was as follows by counties:

Berknap	5
Carroll	1
Cheshire	4
Chos	3
Grafton	167
Hillsborough	10
Merrimack	26
Rockingham	113
Strafford	2
Sullivan	350

NEW YORK. The official count of Westchester gives the S. L. P. 624 votes; last year 558. Of these Youkers polls 261, New Rochelle 72, Rye 63, Mount Pleasant 57.

TEXAS. So far the following detailed vote is known:

Falls County	3
Houston	72
Galveston	104
Buffalo	2
Grayson County	16
Waco	10
Lampasas County	14
Austin	3
Corsicana	3
De Witt County	4
Uvalde County	2
Bexar County	273
Claude, Armstrong County	2
Austin County	9
Miller County	3
Falls County	533

Authorized Agents for THE PEOPLE.

BUFFALO, N. Y.: Peter Steenmans, Jr., 52 Gifford street. SYRACUSE, N. Y.: Geo. F. Whaley, 115 May street. UTICA, N. Y.: K. F. A. Nitzsche, 88 Columbia street. LYNN, MASS.: John A. Henley, 45 Green street, rear. ST. LOUIS, MO.: Henry J. Poelling, 2140 College avenue. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.: G. Rempler, 1233 Madison street. MILWAUKEE, WIS.: J. Rammel, 510 18th street. PITTSBURGH, PA.: J. S. Bergmann, 1324 Ann street. PHILADELPHIA, PA.: Max Keller, 1016 Hope street. PROVIDENCE, R. I.: Lawrence Lee, Box 206, Olneyville, R. I. PAWTUCKET, R. I.: Austin Beaudreau, 40 Lucas street.

NEW TRADES UNIONISM.

At the recent convention of the International Typographical Union, held in Syracuse, N. Y., retiring President Prescott introduced a resolution strongly urging the local unions to provide in their "orders of business" for the "discussion of the various phases of the labor question and other matters of public moment having direct bearing on the welfare of the wage-earners." The resolution was adopted. In the "Typographical Journal" for November 15, Comrade W. J. M'Lavey, of Syracuse, had the following article on "The New Trades Unionism":

The action of the Syracuse convention in adopting the suggestions contained in President Prescott's address relative to the discussion of economic and political questions can not but be encouraging to those who give heed to the tendencies of the times. The possibilities contained in the action of the delegates upon this matter depend with which the membership at large greets the proposed plan. But however great or small this co-operation may be, it is only a matter of time when the logic of events will force us into action along this line. The printers of this country are looked upon to take the initiative in effecting needed reforms in the system of trades unionism at present prevailing here. Intelligent action must be founded upon a clear understanding of the situation, and this can come only through a careful study of the underlying causes.

For some time past there has been a growing division of sentiment among trades unionists as to the best means of attaining the ends for which they are organized. The conservative element is represented by the "pure and simple" trades unionists, the radical side by the Socialists. The former believe that fair relations can be maintained between employer and employe through the medium of labor unions, with the strike and boycott as weapons for enforcing their demands, and, as an adjunct, they have a legislative commission to use its influence with the old party politicians in securing labor reforms. The Socialists admit that trades unions have accomplished a great deal of good, but insist that these organizations are no longer able to cope with latter-day capitalism. They maintain that the social problem can not be settled in the industrial field, but that the issue must be fought out in the political field; that organized labor must present that same solidarity politically as it presents industrially, and that there is but one, class-conscious political party in existence, and that is the Socialist Labor party.

This last claim of the Socialists may seem arrogant, but an examination of the attitude of other political parties will bear out the claim. The Democratic and Republican parties are dominated entirely by the ruling class—the capitalists. The basic principles upon which these parties were organized have long since been lost sight of, and for years both parties have sought the favor of the public through the personality of their respective candidates rather than through principles involved. Latterly the war sentiment, upon which they worked for so long, has died out, and they have come before the people openly as the representatives of various capitalist interests. The tariff issue, upon which the workers of this country arrayed themselves against each other at every election, was simply an opportunity for the latter to choose which of two sets of capitalists should have the privilege of fleecing them of their earnings—the producers of raw material or the manufacturers of that material into commodities. No matter which side won, the condition of the workmen as a whole was not appreciably altered. After bamboozling the laboring people as long as possible with promises of better conditions following the settlement of this issue, the politicians changed the claims for recognition of another group of capitalists—the gold and silver mine barons—and the workmen decided that they preferred to be fleeced by the gold miners. When the "better times" promised fail to materialize, they will undoubtedly turn to the other side to be plucked. Occasionally organized labor is "recognized" by the throwing of a political sop to some individual "labor leader," who, after having been taken from the labor field into the political field, is used as a tool to keep the labor interests in line for his party until whatever prestige he possessed has waned, when he is allowed to become a "heeler," and labor is again honored by another selection from its ranks.

When, however, the workmen find their industrial conditions unbearable and go on strike to better them, they discover that the whole governmental machinery is set in motion against them, and that the friendship of which the politicians spoke so warmly from the stump is manifested in the form of injunctions, militia, regular army and bullets, as witness Homestead, Coer d'Alene, Buffalo, Tonawanda, the great miners' strike East of the Mississippi, the miners' trouble in Cripple Creek, the Pullman unpleasantness, the Brooklyn railway strike, the scenes at Hazleton, Pa., and the latest massacre at Virdet, Ill., not to mention the "keep off the grass" incident at Washington. This record speaks volumes for the "friendship" of the old parties toward the "horny-handed sons of toil," and is a commentary upon the wisdom of our seeking reforms from the legislative, executive and judicial divisions of the government, which are made up almost entirely of lawyers, serving in the capacity of retainers for the trusts, monopolies and combines which they represent.

Of the side issues which have come forward with panaceas for the cure of all our ills within the last few years, the one which made the most progress was the People's party. This party stood upon a platform which criticized as strongly as do the Socialists the prevailing order of things, but all this was the sugar-coating around the pill which the silver barons wished the people to swallow, viz., the 16 to 1 medicine. When the silver mine capitalists had used the People's party long enough to establish a prestige for themselves, they discarded it and hired the Democratic band-wagon. The power of the

silver mine owners' money being now taken away from the People's party, those who made up the rank and file will proceed to go into innocuous desuetude.

Then there is the single tax theory. Henry George proposed to transform this earth into an eternal paradise by abolishing all forms of taxation save that on land. It is admitted that this, like nearly all other reforms, would serve as a palliative to our ills. One of the strong points urged in favor of this theory is that, if put into practice, it would serve as an incentive to owners of vacant land in cities to build upon that land, inasmuch as it would then be taxed equally whether it was improved or not. It is also urged that the vacant farm lands would be thrown open to the unemployed of the cities. Why, we already have houses to burn—and this is not infrequently done to acquire possession of the insurance money. What we need is the employment to enable us to pay rent for the houses that are already built. And as to the farm lands, what would the unemployed city people do with the land—eat it? They have no money to buy even the necessities of life, to say nothing of buying the implements necessary to conduct a farm and compete with the labor-saving machinery of the bonanza farmers of the West, who find it difficult to secure a market for their products, or even get them to market, unless they "stand in" with the railroad carriers. Besides, how many men could make a success of farming, even on a small scale, if they did possess the necessary implements? There are enough farm products destroyed annually to feed a whole nation because the farmers can not secure a price for their products to cover the cost of transportation to market. But the main objection to this theory is that it would require an amendment to the constitution of the United States to give it force. This would require as great an effort as would the adoption of the whole Socialist platform. Then why cut the dog's tail off little by little?

The Prohibitionists, like the single taxers, leave untouched the whole competitive system, and busy themselves with treating effects, entirely ignoring the cause. So long as the present iniquitous system prevails, so long will there be poverty and unhappiness, and so long will the victims of this system seek to banish their cares in the cup that cheers but inebriates. Morals are the fruits of our environments, not the roots. Change the environments of our people and you make reform possible; attempt to teach or preach morals, and you may talk until your tongue wears out and accomplish naught.

The Socialist Labor party, however, is based upon the science of Socialism as doctrinated by Karl Marx, a German philosopher, historian and economist, who spent the best years of his life, in scientific investigations and historical research to secure the data upon which he founded his comprehensive economic work, entitled "Capital," which is called in Germany "the workingman's bible." Marx's materialistic view of history caused him to reject the theory propagated by the old-school political economists, that society was governed by a blind natural law, as inexorable as that which governed the natural phenomena of the universe. He proved that society is an organism and subject to the same laws as other biological forms; that what is his grown out of something else that was; that the history of our race shows a series of preparations, and that the present is the parent of the future; that each epoch, at a certain stage of its development, produces the material agents which work for its dissolution and call into existence the negation of the system so dissolved. Thus, slavery gave way to feudalism and serfdom, and this in turn to the present system of unrestricted private enterprise, or capitalism. Human progress has a tendency to shorten the life of the various epochs through which society passes; and while it took centuries of time for the preceding systems of social life to pass through the evolutionary process necessary to our present development, the advances made in the sciences and in the intelligence of the masses, as well as in the industrial world, are rushing us on to the culmination of the present era with all the speed of an express train.

The French revolution in 1789 gave political expression to the death of the feudal system and the birth of individualism, but it was not until the greatest revolutionist of the age, steam power, burst into the industrial field, a few short years ago, that the new era began to assume its full power. With such leaps and bounds did this new factor hurry us along, that it was less than a score of years before the ruling class was confronted by a troublesome offspring of the new industrial conditions in the form of the economic issue of slavery, which would not down until thousands of lives and millions of dollars had been sacrificed in a bloody revolution. In less than half a score of years after the adjustment of this trouble came the first of a long series of crises in the life of our nation. With each recurring crisis came a shortening of the intervening period. The industrial revolutions of 1877, 1886, and 1892, serve to mark the progress of our swift march toward the culmination.

Of course, the historical development of this sentence is probably a misprint. Comrade M'Lavey shows quite clearly in the latter part of the paragraph that the single tax would not even act as a palliative for the ills that to-day afflict the working class; under it the competitive system of production would continue its course with just as much devastation as marks its trail to-day. The single tax idea is quite fully covered by the following pamphlets published at five cents each by the Labor News Company, 64 East 4th street, New York: "Socialism and the Single Tax"—a debate between W. C. Wright and H. Q. H. Mr. Wright represents the English L. R. Restoration League, while Mr. Quich, who is a well known English Socialist, presents cogent reasons to show that there is nothing in the single tax for the working class. The debate took place at Birmingham, England, two years ago. "Single Tax vs. Socialism"—a debate between Comrade Job Harriman (who has just conducted such a vigorous campaign for Governor of California) and Congressman McGuire, also of California. McGuire is the high priest of single taxism, and it will do the Socialist good to see how little the high priest knows about Socialism. For obvious reasons the Single Tax League has never circulated this debate. "And for an article that makes the average Socialist look ludicrous, see THE PEOPLE of Seattle, Dec. 25, 1898, wherein Comrade Fred. Long has an article on the subject entitled: "The Philosophy of Red Herrings."—Ed. THE PEOPLE.

of society is but one of the many phases of the question with which Socialism deals, but it has been dwelt upon at some length in this article because of the disposition of some of our craftsmen to sneer at Socialism as Utopian and idealistic, and to regard Socialists as a pack of visionaries. Why, Socialists are the result of the present system, just as are the trades unionists, with this difference: The latter are satisfied to deal with effects, while the former have gone past that stage and are striving to remove the causes which produce the effects. Regardless of the existence of Socialism, the laws which are impelling the capitalist system on to destruction would continue to operate. Socialists do not create those laws; they simply point them out and endeavor to hasten their final outcome. They do not desire the trades unionists to forsake their organizations, nor do they wish them to rush pell-mell into political action, endorsing this or that party or candidate. They insist that the emancipation of the laboring class must be achieved by that class itself. We must be clear upon the fact that not until we have overthrown the capitalist system of private ownership in the machinery of production, and made this the property of the people; not until we can vote intelligently for principles, not men; not until we have recognized the fact that politics is not, like religion, a private concern, any more than are our wages and our hours of labor; not until we understand that for the same reason that the organization of labor dictates wages, hours, etc., in the interest of the working class, for the same reason must it dictate politics also, and that politics is inseparable from wages; not until we are perfectly clear upon these points can we hope to progress in the right direction.

What is the first great step in this direction? The formation of lyceums and debating societies in connection with our trades unions for the study and discussion of economic and political questions. President Prescott is conservative in his views. He has, however, the faculty of foreseeing with remarkable clearness the probable outcome of given conditions and of acting accordingly; and it is the duty of every Socialist, as well as every member who is dissatisfied with our present trades organization, to strive for the success of his proposed innovation, for therein lies the key to the situation.

This article certainly reveals thought. A few years ago the printers were in the habit of sticking their thumbs in the arm-holes of their vests and saying: "Your inventor can never invent a machine that will think; therefore there will always be type to set." About that time a group of capitalists began to exploit one Otto Mergenthaler, of Baltimore, and, although the inventor has not invented a machine that will think, the Mergenthaler Linotype is evidently making the printers think.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Landrum, 1037 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

Meeting of Nov. 29th, with W. H. Wherry in the chair. The financial report for the week ending Nov. 26 showed receipts \$201.18; expenditures \$222.77. His Stahl is as treasurer of the committee and A. S. Brown was elected in his place. The last communication of Union No. 10, headed "Truth vs. Fiction" was ordered printed in THE PEOPLE as a document, together with the other document in the Steinberg matter. Communications from Buffalo, explaining that addresses for Sila had been sent, and setting forth the reasons for the delay, were received and the matter considered settled. The State Committee of Washington reported 909 votes for their candidate for Judge of Supreme Court, with fifteen counties still to hear from. Section Saginaw, Mich., reported having organized an English branch, and will, in the near future organize also a Polish branch.

A communication was received from the Board of Appeals bearing upon the trouble in Section Detroit. The committee on Detroit matter being unable to report before next meeting, consideration of the foregoing communication was laid over. The business report of the "Arbeiterzeitung" Publishing Association was received and placed on file. Charters were granted to new sections in Munde, Ind.; Norwood, Mass.; New Castle and Latrobe, Pa. L. A. MALKIEL, Recording Sec'y.

A special meeting of Section Philadelphia will be held in the Labor Lyceum, 6th and Brown streets, on Sunday evening, December 4th, at 8 p. m., to consider the advisability of going into the municipal campaign of 1899. All Philadelphia comrades are urgently requested to be present at this meeting. By request of the Central Committee. Fraternally Yours, FRANK STREET, Secretary.

THE TOCSIN

The Northwestern Advocate of the Socialist Labor Party

The Tocsin is issued every Thursday, under the direction of the S. L. P. of Minnesota. It will contain All the News of the Labor Movement from All the World. You want it! Send for it. Subscription, 50 cents a year; 25 cents for six months; 15 cents for three months. Sample copy mailed free. Address THE TOCSIN

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DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

- 1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

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Trades' and Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding three lines) will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADES AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 22, Duane street, Room 96, New York City. General Secretary: William L. Brown. Financial Secretary: J. J. Murphy. General Executive Board meets at 8 p. m., Secretary Board of Appeals at 8 p. m., Secretary Board of Appealants at 8 p. m., 1016 Horse street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF NEW YORK. Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 E. 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the Corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

21st WARD, BRANCH 2, S. L. P. Brooklyn. Lectures on political, economic and social questions at the Club House, 95 Myrtle street, every Saturday evening. Regular meetings every first and third Monday.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION, N. L. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street, District I (Baltimore), 331 East 7th street, New York City. District II (German), at 10 Stanton street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 30th street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m.—District IV meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Vathauer's Hall, 1501 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

EMPIRE CITY LODGE (MACHINISTS) meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: PETER STABLE.

GERMAN WAITERS' UNION OF NEW YORK. Office: 285 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday 8 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. Telephone Call: 1751 Spring street.

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, N. L. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A. Headquarters: 70 East 4th street. Meetings every Friday, 12 o'clock noon. Pres. Hartmann, Pres.; Aug. Lantz, Cor. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th street.

METAL SPINNERS' UNION OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY meets every Monday and last Friday in the month at 8:30 o'clock at 231-233 E. 33d street.

SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P. Meets second and fourth Sunday of every month at 10:30 o'clock a. m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158-160 3d avenue, New York City. Subscriptions orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, Scand. Am. Arboretan.

SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB, S. L. P. 34th 35th & A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d ave. and 14th street. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTERS & TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 68 of 8 T. & L. A. Headquarters, 61 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum. Regular meeting every Thursday evening at 8 p. m.

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF YORKVILLE meets every Monday evening at 20 E. 10th street. This Society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Com. and Join.

Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S SICK and DEATH Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 10,000 male members is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with intervals of recovery. Members of the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is guaranteed for every member and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly fixed rate levied according to the number in cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3d avenue, Room 53, New York City.

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For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers see "Vorwärts."

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