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The Worker.

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VOL. XIV.—NO. 39.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 25, 1904.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Textile Mill Workers of New England.

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

SECOND ARTICLE.

(Continued from last week.) HOLYOKE, Mass., Dec. 3.—Leaving the cotton mills, other large industries are the writing paper and thread mills. Nearly all the writing paper mills are in the combination called the American Writing Paper Company. This combination has 28 mills in all—13 in Holyoke, two at South Hadley Falls and the remainder in various other places in the United States. The three mills owned by the Whiting Paper Company are independent of the combination. The combination was formed on July 25, 1890, with a capital of \$17,000,000 five per cent. bonds and \$25,000,000 of combined preferred and common stock. The probability is, according to expert authority, that the bonds represent fully the value of the property. The preferred and common stock is largely "water."

The interest on the bonds has always been paid but no dividends have ever been paid on the stock. The bonds and stock were largely distributed among former owners of the mills now in the combination. The bonds were put on the market at 95; they have fallen as low as 80; and are now at 80. The stock, as much as practicable, has been unloaded upon the public, care being taken, of course, to retain a majority for voting power. The preferred stock bears a cumulative 5 per cent. interest—35 per cent. is now due. At one time its value fell to 10 or 12 and is now at 20, but on the prospect, slim as it is, of the declaration of a small dividend, the preferred has gone up to 25 and the common to 6. None of the stock was sold to outsiders. Although the general offices of the combination are here, the large stockholders live in New York, Boston and other cities.

"When I started in making writing paper," said an old manufacturer, "every employer was an American. Now not more than one-half are American. They are chiefly Irish, French Canadian and a few Poles. The displaced Americans went to store-keeping, bookkeeping or other occupations more to their taste. Many young Americans preferred to earn \$500 a year in what they thought a genteel position as clerk in a store than \$750 a year in a mill. The French Canadians have recently been coming from the Irish and the Poles are now beginning to displace the French Canadians."

The same state of affairs is, in fact, either already in force or is a rapid tendency in nearly all the large factories here, although in the thread mills mostly French Canadians and few Poles as yet are employed. Beginning with American labor, which represented the highest standard of living and ideals, the factory owners have graded down the quality and nationality of their labor, until, in the Pole, the lowest standard, except the coolie, has been reached. Submissive, pliable, with either no ideals, or the consciousness of none, a worker can be exploited and accepting it as the regular, ordained method of livelihood, capable of existing in a way that would repel the American and of sustaining life with food which most other nationalities would turn away from in disgust, the average Pole is willing enough to work for the very smallest wages and from these he performs the miracle of saving something. If you are inclined to doubt that the Pole is an American as many of the apologists for the system here represent—if you point to his herding and his coarse, meagre food—they refer you exultingly to the savings banks which, say they, are full of "Polander" accounts. The mean abjectness of an adult in a supposed civilization—a husband and father—being forced to deny himself, his wife and children many of the common almost indispensable necessities of life in order that he might save a few cents a week to provide for times of stress or other objects—the abjectness of it all is lost on these complacent apologists. Once in a while, as at Chicopee and Chicopee Falls, the C. & W. steamer, determined, more intelligent spirits will shake the torpor out of the Pole's mind and heart and organize him into a mood for a strike, but a few weeks of hunger will drive him back into his old groove, resigned state. And what severe economic necessity does not do, the priesthood, with its control over the ignorant, will do, by telling him that it is his lot, by the Lord's will, to be content with his condition. He must not arouse the wrath of the Almighty. Even the makeshift strike, which sometimes betters matters a little, and sometimes makes them worse, but at no times aims at a scientific, enduring social reconstruction, is frowned upon by the priesthood.

Personal Element Gone. While the cost of production with more improved machinery has been lessened and the cheapest labor employed, another change in the industrial evolution has come. Each, for example, of the former independent paper factories now in the American Writing Paper Company, had its separate owner or owners who took a personal, direct interest in his or their mills. The era of severe competition forced the owner to give the mills his close, incessant attention, for he was engaged in warfare, the warfare of business, but none the less warfare, and he had to be prepared for battle every working day in the year. His tools were his machinery and his employees; and if he suffered a depression

THE SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Through The Worker Secretary Spargo Answers Questions.

Only a Beginning is Made This Year, and it is Hoped that the Scope of the Work Can Be Much Extended Next Time—The Democratic Spirit in Which the Task is Undertaken.

Comrade Spargo, Secretary of the Board of Instructors of the School of Socialism which is to be started under the auspices of Local New York next month, writes as follows: "To all interested in the Socialist School."

"I have comrades—So many have written me, concerning the Socialist School that it is impossible for me to reply to them all individually, much as I would like to do. Will you, therefore, permit me to address them briefly through The Worker?"

"In the first place, to all who have asked for details concerning the different courses, as to what subjects will be taken up and the method of teaching, let me say that an elaborate syllabus of the whole course has been prepared for publication. This, I hope, will soon be ready, and each member will be provided with a copy. I believe that the syllabus will have a permanent value as a guide and help to students."

"There will be no separate course in statistics, but in the courses undertaken by Comrade Lee and myself special efforts will be made to provide the students with the latest and most accurate and comprehensive statistical data likely to prove of useful importance to speakers and others."

"Membership in the School is not confined to those intending to speak in the campaign and our women comrades are eligible for membership. "At present the Board of Instructors does not see its way to carry on a correspondence school for the benefit of comrades out in the state. We should be glad indeed to do so, but the expense involved would be very great. We should need to have all the twenty-one lessons printed in pamphlet form, and a paid secretary would be necessary. It is hoped that by another season something may be done in this direction."

"It may be possible to arrange for classes in places contiguous to New York to be taken by individual members of the Board of Instructors, or other comrades working in co-operation with them. The courses would necessarily be less elaborate. I shall be glad to lay such applications before the committee, but for the present it is of utmost importance that we make this school in New York a success."

"Applications for membership are entered as received. Comrades need not expect to receive letters in answer to their inquiries as a syllabus is issued which will receive copies by mail. "A number of comrades have written suggesting 'something else'—plans other than those which have been formulated by the Board of Instructors in conjunction with the committee appointed by the City Executive for the purpose. I cannot waste time discussing these, since the whole matter has been thoroughly gone into and the present plan decided upon as the best and most expedient in view of all the circumstances. It is a beginning only, and we hope it will develop."

THE CLERK'S LIFE.

Type of "the Worker with a Capitalist Mind."

Driven as Hard as Any Laborer and Paid as Poorly, He Calls Himself a "Gentleman." Hopes to Be a Boss, and Looks Down on "Common Workingmen"—Yet Even He May Awake.

In the New York "Times" last week appeared the following letter: OVEIWORKED BANK CLERK. To the Editor of the New York Times. Many thanks for your editorial "A Peril for Bank Clerks."

"As a member, I am glad when Sunday comes around to have my son at dinner with me. He comes home nightly exhausted with work at a bank between the hours of 9 a. m. and midnight. When a brass adding machine gives out they send and get a new wheel. No bonus can ever repair the worn-out eyes, straighten the stooping shoulders, or relieve the aching chest. Why don't the clerks band themselves into a union and demand the same rights legislated to animals? Surely the intelligence and honesty required from bank clerks demand decent treatment."

A MOTHER. The Worker appealed to an office worker who is interested in the Socialist movement for an opinion on the question raised in this letter and got the following response: "The clerk is on a level with the day laborer, with the unskilled laborer. He is a wage slave of the lowest order. He does not realize this. He looks with haughty mien upon the 'ordinary' workman. He feels himself on a level with his employer. He imagines he enjoys all the rights under the sun. Dear 'Mother,' do not expect HIM to organize into a union with his fellow clerks. He is too much of a hypocrite—too much of a 'gentleman,' whatever he means by that appellation. He works without grumbling, and at midnight, and even Sundays, feeling certain that he will sometime become the boss of the concern in which he is employed."

"In many a bank he scribbles and adds accounts all day in the sub-cellar, rubbing his eyes by artificial light while his head hums, so that his employed may sit at his desk or in the well ventilated and cheerful sunlit office above ground. In other places he pines the pen in a gallery near the ceiling, in a dry, stifling atmosphere. He does not mind this, because he is not one of those ordinary workmen who are always kicking and never satisfied."

"The Manhattan Life Insurance Company of this city has followed the example of some Western concerns and posted a notice that no clerk shall carry unless his salary be one thousand dollars—and they see to it that a good part of the clerks never get that princely sum. So the clerk is doomed to 'race suicide,' although he voted for his gentleman friend, Teddy."

"The young ladies employed in that congested market, dressed as the boss sees fit. They are allowed to step into the elevator in groups of three or more, as that looks too much like a factory." So said the boss. "No, dear 'Mother,' there is no need of organization for the clerk, because his destiny is to be a millionaire or a tramp or a scab, with the chances largely in favor of the millionaire, and when all clerks have become millionaires it is plain that unions will have become superfluous."

"But joking aside, dear 'Mother,' your son voted for the conditions both he and you are suffering under. The Socialist have told him that he is a slave, that he is owned body and soul by the employing class, by those who own the means by which he gets a living. He would not listen. He called you crazy. His insanity makes him unconscious of his miserable condition. Tell your son, your brother, your husband, your father, to read The Worker. Tell them to subscribe for it and you will soon find them agitating for a state of society in which there shall be no overworked clerks, no overworked men and women in any occupation, no masters and no slaves. This sounds utopian; but read Socialist literature systematically, persistently, and be convinced."

NEW YORK'S VOTE.

Socialism Nearly Triples Strength in Four Years.

Social Democratic Party Registers a Gain of 10 per Cent Over the Somewhat Abnormally High Vote of Last Year—S. L. P. Loses Official Standing.

The official canvass of the vote of the state of New York is at last completed. The subjoined table shows the result for the Social Democratic Party, by counties, in comparison with its vote in 1900, in 1902, and in 1903. The vote given for 1900 and 1904 is that cast for the national ticket; that of 1902 is for Governor and that of 1903 for Judge of the Court of Appeals—the head of the ticket in each case.

Table showing election results for the Social Democratic Party in New York by county for the years 1900, 1902, 1903, and 1904. Columns include County, 1900, 1902, 1903, and 1904.

Totals... 12,880 23,400 33,320 30,853 Gains, per cent. 81.7 43.7 10.7

"Our gain in four years is 187 per cent. Our candidate for Governor, Pendergast, runs slightly behind the national ticket, receiving 36,250 votes. The S. L. P. national ticket received 9,127 votes, and De Leon, candidate for Governor, received 8,076. In 1900 the S. L. P. had 12,062; in 1902 it had 15,880; in 1903 it had 10,677. It loses official recognition by falling below ten thousand."

The Populists polled only 7,459 votes for their national ticket and 6,015 for their gubernatorial candidate. IN OTHER STATES. The Socialist Vote in a Few More States is Now Officially Reported. The following table shows the vote of the Socialist Party as officially reported in the states named in 1900, in 1902, and in 1904.

BETTER NOT TAKE THE BAIT. A dispatch from St. Johns, N. B., dated Dec. 9, says: The Canadian government has appointed Thomas Hetherington, formerly a member of the New Brunswick Legislature, immigration agent, and has authorized him to open an office in Boston. It is proposed to carry on a campaign in New England agricultural districts to induce farmers to locate in the Canadian Northwest. A special effort will be made by the government to get former Canadians residing in New England to settle in the new region or else return to the Eastern Provinces. If we may trust reports in the labor papers of Manitoba and British Columbia, as well as private correspondence from those regions, New Englanders who follow the advice of this Canadian agent will greatly regret it, finding that they have spent their little savings and not bettered their chances of earning a living. In the Canadian Northwest, as well as all over the United States, we are credibly informed, there are now large numbers of unemployed men, living from hand to mouth and often suffering great hardships.

"PEACE ON EARTH AND TOWARD MEN GOOD WILL."

Christmas Day. In tradition, in romance, in our own memories of childish days before we came face to face with the realities of life, how much of joy and mutual love those two words embody. "Peace on earth and toward men good will." That is the historic motto of Christmas Day.

But if we turn for a moment away from the pretty books and the sweet comfortable sermons, if we will look for a moment at the world as it is—not as dreaming sentimentalists or flattering parasites picture it—where is the longed-for peace, where is the evidence of good-will?

Some hundreds of thousands of poor people will be fed by charity this Christmas Day? Is that a thing to be proud of? Is it a thing that would please that poor Carpenter of Judea were he back on earth? Hundreds of thousands fed by charity on Christmas Day—which 'comes but once a year'—means hundreds of thousands in need of charity, hundreds of thousands who would go hungry without it, hundreds of thousands who did go hungry last week, who must go hungry again the week after? Is it a thing to be proud of?

And these hundreds of thousands, remember, belong to the Carpenter's class, not to the class of Herod and Pilate. They are workmen and working-men and working people's children. Part of them are men and women who have toiled hard at productive labor all their lives for a bare living wage and who now are too weak and worn for any boss to make a profit out of them. Others are men and women willing and still able to work, whom capitalism itself has thrown into idleness and want. And then there are the children of these workers, forced by poverty out of the home and the school, into the shop or upon the street, to try to eke out the family's living by the labor of their little hands, doomed to ignorance, probably to vice and crime, almost surely to disease and premature death—you can see their wizened old-grown faces and their stunted forms by hundreds on the streets of all our great cities and in the mills and factories and department stores where the philanthropists' profits are piled up through all the weary round of the year.

Yes, Christmas comes but once a year, and by feeding a part of the victims of capitalism on that day, and hiring priests and parsons to tell them of "peace on earth and good will toward men," our modern Herods and Pilates think to atone for the year-long profitable slaughter of the innocents, the year-long business-like Crucifixion of Labor.

Here is a true Christmas story of this year of grace 1904: Last Sunday morning an old couple—the wife sixty, the husband sixty-eight—were found lying unconscious in the snow on East Seventieth street. They were taken to the station-house and there the pitiful story was told. The husband had worked hard whenever he could find work. The couple had lived quietly in a single little room, not complaining, facing the world bravely, suffering often but proud with the fierce pride of the toiling poor. But the man was old; his strength was failing; he could not "keep the pace." Wages were low at the best; prices went ever up and up. Winter came and with it unwilling illness. The few dollars saved by bitter self-denial soon went. The rent was overdue. The husband tramped the streets, begging only for a chance to work. Saturday night he came home to find that a dispossessed notice had been served, and the wife was guarding the little shabby furniture on the sidewalk. Strength and courage were gone, and they lay down together in the dark and the growing storm, to die as quietly as they had lived.

What did capitalist society do for them? It arraigned them for vagrancy, sent the wife to that moral hell called the poorhouse, gave the husband a meal and sent him out again on the vain search for work. And while Michael and Bridget McGuire were being arraigned in the

been committed by the local election boards or the county clerks and that we have been cheated out of three-quarters of our vote in Alabama. The comrades in that state will have to take energetic measures to prevent the recurrence of such political highway robbery. Missouri. We are informed that we were in error, two weeks ago, in crediting the S. L. P. with 4,708 votes and that the true figure is 1,500. We had reason to believe the other report which we used, but the smaller figure certainly seems much the more preferable. The Tory is useful as the brake on the wheel," says an apologist for conservatism. "But the path of progress is a toilsome ascent, and one doesn't put on the brake on a hill.—Brisbane Worker. A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than a philosopher forging a learned apology for his chains.—Kosuth.

THE OLD REVOLUTION AND THE NEW. The developments we are now noting in this country are not the manifestations of any new principle. It is no new thing in history to see on the one hand a class living in debasing luxury, and on the other hand a class crawling on its belly in subjection, with only here and there one or two with intelligence enough to rebel. The same careless waste that characterized society in France under Louis XV; the same fool-feeding of "after-us-the-devils" which precipitated the great revolution of '89, sits flitting with destiny above the social boilers to-day. But unlike the masses in France, there is in America to-day a leaven of intelligence in the working class which may substitute the ballot for the bullet. The hand of the class-conscious worker is reaching up to grasp the lever; his fingers are clasping themselves about the throttle valve; he is learning the secret of forced draught, and the great social engines are throbbing a dithyrambic hymn of freedom. —Franklin H. Wentworth.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1901. THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its annual general election in a grand victory. It is indicated and its speedy victory foretold by the great increase of its vote as shown in the figures below.

Table with 3 columns: Year, City, Total. Rows for 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. The Socialist movement appeals with special force to the young people who have to face industrial conditions different from those of the older generation.

Under present conditions it is almost impossible for the young man of a working class family to rise out of his class, and it is almost sure that the young man of the middle class will be forced into the ranks of the working class to struggle for a job. Material "success" can now be attained by very few and the few who do achieve this "success" can do so only by ignoble and degrading methods.

Instead of this sordid idea of success—this greedy and conscienceless dollar chasing in which even the most crafty have so little chance of winning—the Socialist movement gives a much greater hope and a far nobler ideal to the young people of the working class. The purpose of the Socialist movement is to establish a condition under which all will have the opportunity to work and to enjoy the full product of their toil.

The young man or young woman, seriously facing life for the first time, must form some idea of what will be the most important thing in life to them, what will give them inspiration and hope and be the source of their deepest feelings and the object of their highest endeavors and most earnest thoughts.

NICHOLAS AND THEODORE. President Roosevelt, it appears, wherever he goes, is surrounded with a treble cordon of secret service men, detectives, spies, ex-Pinkertons, and other choice companions, to protect his precious life.

Can anyone imagine a Washington, a Jefferson, a Jackson, or a Lincoln thus watched and guarded? No, nor any other self-respecting chief magistrate of a republic. The greatest of our Presidents would have preferred—nay, did prefer—not the chance, but the certainty, of assassination to such monarchical bulwarking against fate—as would any really brave and not merely blustering man.

UP THE STATE. Frankly, the Social Democratic vote in the state of New York is a disappointment to us. We ought to have had at least 40,000, instead of 26,883. Comparing this year's vote with that cast a year ago for Charles H. Matchett for Judge of the Court of Appeals, we have gained only 3,484 votes in the state—hardly over 10 per cent.

During the three periods covered—1900 to 1902, 1902 to 1903, and 1903 to 1904—the city gained 73 per cent., 15 per cent., and 30 per cent., respectively, or 158 per cent. in four years. The rest of the state gained 108 per cent. in the first of these periods and 103 per cent. in the second and lost 15 per cent. in the third, making a net gain of 200 per cent. in the four years.

The Worker has said in another connection that when an abnormally large gain is made in any region at one election and a part of it is lost at the succeeding election, the loss is not a due occasion for surprise or alarm; that it is to be regarded as a warning of the necessity for earnest work on the lines of education and organization; but that, if the loss is repeated, it is a sign that something is seriously wrong.

It is a pity that, when the State Committee makes a serious effort, immediately after election, to arrange for sending good speakers through the state at frequent intervals, as it is now doing, it should meet with a half-hearted response. Up to a week ago only ten locals up the state had arranged their willingness to arrange meetings once or twice a month for such speakers.

local active in such circuit work, three speakers could be kept in the field and, by a judicious arrangement of tours, the expense to each local could be made still lower than with twenty locals and one speaker.

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER. The New York 'Times' devoted nearly a column of its editorial space last Sunday to the task of proving, to its own satisfaction, that the Socialist Party is going to be swallowed up by the two old parties, because Bryan is going to reorganize the Democracy on 'radical' lines and Roosevelt has committed the Republican party to the 'socialistic' principle of government control of railway freight rates.

Now just as the physicist, in formulating the law for the motion of a falling body, assumes it to be falling through a vacuum, without friction, and then, in applying that law to definite problems, makes allowance for the resistance of the air and for deflection by the wind, according to the special conditions actually existing at the time; just as the chemist, in working out a formula for a certain compound, assumes his materials to be absolutely pure, and then, in applying the formula in practice, makes allowance for the presence of certain impurities.

It is the aim of the Worker that comrades make a great mistake when, before election, they indulge in extravagant predictions about the increase of our vote, and when, immediately after election and before the official figures are known, they publish a thousand gloomy estimates that can possibly be made. During the late campaign many of our enthusiasts talked confidently of a million, fifteen hundred thousand, or even two million votes.

Let us have no two-million talk for 1906. With the best of work on our part and with the most favorable conditions we cannot reasonably expect more than 800,000 votes two years hence. Much more probable will be 700,000. Seven hundred thousand votes would probably mean one or two Congressmen and a dozen more members of the Legislature.

When we speak of commodities we mean things which are commonly produced, not directly for use, but for sale. In a primitive state of society there are no commodities. Various articles are produced, but they are not commonly bought and sold. The savage catches fish or kills game, directly for the sake of the fish or game—for consumption by himself or by the members of a communistic family group.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

IV.—The Capitalist System — A Chapter Which Should Have Preceded That On Value, But Now Comes In as a Parenthesis.

[This is one of a series of articles, begun in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an attempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the assistance of those who really wish to study (not merely to read something easy) and who have too little time to undertake larger and more complete treatises. Those who find any points not made clear, or who have pertinent questions suggested by these articles are invited to write to the Editor of The Worker, and are assured that an earnest attempt will be made to answer them.]

IV.—The Capitalist System. From some comments and questions elicited by the preceding article I see that I have not begun this series in just the right way. Let me attempt to right the mistake now, postponing for a week the chapter on 'The Value of Labor-Power.'

I should have said, before taking up the definition and law of value, that the economic laws which we should set forth are distinctly the economic laws of capitalism, of the modern system of production; that many, perhaps most of these laws would be inapplicable to the facts of production and distribution in a primitive communist society, nor in a feudal society, nor in a slaveholding society, nor even fully in a society of independent small producers such as existed (approximately) in the northern part of the United States a century ago.

Now just as the physicist, in formulating the law for the motion of a falling body, assumes it to be falling through a vacuum, without friction, and then, in applying that law to definite problems, makes allowance for the resistance of the air and for deflection by the wind, according to the special conditions actually existing at the time; just as the chemist, in working out a formula for a certain compound, assumes his materials to be absolutely pure, and then, in applying the formula in practice, makes allowance for the presence of certain impurities.

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production in the world to-day; it is this that rules the world and use-production (as, for instance, with the small farmer who produces a large part of his family's food directly by his own labor and sells only the surplus) is rapidly disappearing and, so far as it still exists, is subjugated by the greater power of commodity production and forced to obey its laws.

Now to return to our definition of capitalism. We know, of course, that there do not and never did exist a state of society in which absolutely all production was production of commodities; there is always some production for use—as in the case of the farmer already mentioned, or of the housewife who bakes the family's bread and makes her children's clothes. Again, we know that not all production is carried on by wage-labor; there is still a considerable number of small producers owning their own means of production and producing partly for their own use and partly for the market.

These represent the qualifications we have to make before some of the modifying circumstances we have to allow for, in applying our economic laws. The most important of these modifying circumstances is the trust or capitalist combination. Of this we shall speak later.

But, subject to these qualifications, capitalism as it exists and is developing to-day is fundamentally what we have defined it to be. We must formulate our laws for a typical capitalist society and then apply them to the society which actually exists, which is essentially but not absolutely in conformity with that definition.

We shall now proceed to a consideration of 'The Value of Labor-Power,' which will involve, of course, the fluctuations of its price—wages. A. L.

NOTES FROM GERMANY. The 'Volksstimme' of Magdeburg tells of a recent Agrarian congress which was held in that city to discuss the question of forming a landowners' chamber as a part of the legislative machinery of the Reichstag.

'THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.' The peasants that are perpetually sung to the dignity, honesty, and worth of manual labor by our ministers, teachers, and politicians are natural, and in a way, always enough; for it is recognized that it is no use to do the hard labor there would be no ease and comfort for the retainers. But for all the honesty, dignity, and worth of his toil, the manual laborer is commonly looked upon as a socially inferior being.

When one man is overthrown by luxury, another man must be starved to death. When one man is satisfied with his position there is somewhere another man whose life is incomplete. I protest against a society which is so hideously out of order. I protest against the starved lives of the world, the lives without rest, without sunshine, without art, without music, without travel, without any opportunity to rise above the level of vulgar mediocrity. I want all men equal women to be free, free to develop the whole hidden talents of manhood and womanhood. I want a complete life for every human being, lived in an atmosphere of freedom, liberty, and brotherhood.

IN THE BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

The Circulation Manager's Talk to Readers of The Worker Who Wish to Extend Its Field of Service—Statement of Circulation for Last Two Weeks.

In order to put The Worker on a self-sustaining basis, its list of subscribers must be brought up to the 25,000 mark. To this end, all comrades are urged to send in lists containing the names of all the men they can think of, who are most likely to become subscribers.

CIRCULATION MANAGER, 184 William St., New York City.

'There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at its flood, leads on to fortune,' as the late lamented William Shakespeare says. We are glad to report that the name requested are coming in like a flood. Just at present, which is in the highest degree encouraging to the Circulation Manager and ought to be equally so to all the comrades who have the interests of The Worker at heart, and entertain an adequate appreciation of its importance to our movement.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

By Peter E. Burrows.

Capitalism is a system by which the products of human labor are confiscated and appropriated by an armed class. It is a system of operations, self-arranged, self-controlled and self-supplied, just as we speak of the human system not as a chart of the human body but as an economy of action, an arrangement, a control and a supply of active self by active self.

For capitalism to stop in any one of the three angles of its automatic life grind of the world, would be for capitalism as a system to fall out of reality, then out of action and then out of the disheveled past. Upon such a miracle of stupidity, voluntary blindness and slavery does capitalism rest, as to the matter of being able to base the supply of its own activities on the consent of its own victims, that a man from Mars would have thought the age of miracles was still here. Not so, my Marsian friend, the laborers are miraculously stupid, more stupid than you, or to anything else within science. If there is free will, it is the workers not only supply their own bodies as the first fuel of the capital fire, but they supply out of their own brains the opinions, and from their own fingers, they keep their masters, well opened, the free markets of the world. To set itself capitalistically free, labor must set the capitalistic system free of responsibility and obligation towards labor. It must teach its own offspring to keep the laborer, it is suckling for the capitalistic shambles next year, that freedom of contract is a sacred thing meaning freedom from contract on the part of capitalism and the state towards labor when contract means any obligation to protect labor-life or contract the volume of profits arising out of its own defenceless freedom. Labor must teach its own offspring that for labor to be free it must be utterly defenceless, but for capitalism to be free it must not be interfered with by any person or any combination of persons outside. It must run its own business in its own way.

Will our friend from Mars believe that labor will take that view of liberty at the bidding of its master? Will he believe that with such an opinion he will go to the ballot box and vote for Republican protection for the master with the man left out; or that labor will vote for free trade in itself without restriction, or that the laborer will vote for pieces of money and who have no institution to sell those pieces of money, or from which to receive those pieces of money, but the capitalist class.

So long as this supply does not fail, so long as the self-selling laborers come up every day to the capitalist guillotine machinery to have their labor force chopped up into a few use values for themselves and a large portion of exchange commodity values for the system, the system can go on supplying itself from the outset with the means of subsidizing courts, parliaments, armies, churches, schools, printing presses and all the other cogs which must keep moving to make the year's revolution of almighty capitalism.



