

**"DIGNITY OF LABOR"**

Roscoe A. Fillmore

"The dignity of labor." Say, did you ever get struck right between the eyes by that phrase? Maybe you noticed the item under the caption "Labor men invoke Taft's intervention" in the daily papers recently. We are told that that dignified laborer Samuel Gompers together with his fellow convicts (to be) Mitchell, Morrison, et al. visited the White House a few days ago bearing a draft of "legislation looking toward the improvement of the conditions of the laboring man which it is desired the President should incorporate in his annual message to Congress." All of which goes to show the remarkable "dignity" of the workers.

Fancy the representatives of two million workers going to visit the representative of "pious coal oil John," J. P. Morgan and a half dozen other pirates and begging for a few "crumbs from the rich man's table," and then talk of the "dignity of labor." Fancy the Canadian Federation asking that half cent piece be issued from the mint on the plea that even a coin would be a wondrous boon to the workers and then prate of the "dignity of labor." Fancy men who claim to have been robbed of their constitutional rights by the Republican administration offering to lap up the dust before Wm. H. Taft of labor injunction fame. And then chant of the "dignity of labor."

There are probably twenty-five million workers in the United States and Canada. These millions, muscled men, and women who can wield a bolt pin with deadly effect, send petitions to "their" legislatures begging for a few crumbs in the shape of palliative measures. And when it suits the legislators will pass out a sop in much the same way in which a person will throw an old coat (that is too small for him) to a beggar. Remarkable proofs of the "dignity of labor."

Probably every reader of this paper has at some time or other been on a job where he had to keep one eye on his work and the other on the boss. Remember how you would "dig in" and perform prodigies of labor when somebody whispered "here comes the boss." More dignity. And so it goes. At every turn, every day of our lives we workers are compelled to "knuckle under" to some other person who controls our means of life. If we happen to differ from our boss or the political questions of the day we must keep our faces closed or prepare to hike. All of which is very dignified in a class that performs every useful function of society.

"The dignity of labor!" It is a windy, high-sounding phrase coined by a bunch of political hyenas for the purpose of duping the workers. It is the "good doggie, good doggie" that you use when you want to get Carlo by the collar so you can thrash him for some misdemeanor. But let it be said to the everlasting honor of the dog family that Carlo usually gives you a wide berth while the workers are always stung.

Honestly now, do you suppose a tribe of Anthropoid apes in the jungles of Africa would cut up such laughable antics as do the workers? Do you suppose that any creature, other than man, would make such an ass of himself as to ask permission to live of a bunch of thieving coyotes? And then to add dignity to the whole performance "our" labor (mis) leaders must point out to the masters (a mere handful of men) the fact that the better the wage-slaves are fed the better they will work. And so it goes on.

But will it always go on in this way? We Socialists say no. We believe that some day the workers will see the absurdity of the whole thing. They will then decide in favor of juicy steaks, good clothes and decent homes and allow the dignity incidental to working for a master to go to blazes. More than that, they will compel the afore time masters to taste also of the "dignity of honest toil."

The working class has the whole thing in its own hands. It is by permission of the workers that the Morgans and Rockefellers own and control the earth. And whenever the workers withdraw that permit and take the earth for their own use the Morgans et al. will be compelled to taste of the "dignity of labor."

When that time comes, when the workers awake they will take the governments and the machinery and natural resources of the earth and use them to provide protection, food and shelter for all useful members of society. And in the place of huge dividends for the few and misery for the many we will have a race of happy, healthy men and women, in the place of sweat shops and brothels we will have happy homes. In the place of child labor halls we will build kindergartens, schools and

beautiful parks in which the children of the workers may grow up healthy and happy. All this and infinitely more when the workers quit praying and petitioning for sops and vote for the earth and the fullness thereof.

Now you say this is a dream. Perhaps so but I will tell you of something that is not a dream. I can tell you of an army that is millions strong tonight and growing stronger every day. And that army has for its object the complete overthrow of wage-slavery and the realization of this dream of happiness for the race. That army is not a dream but a mighty stern fact and force. And you have only to throw away the catch penny phrases of your masters anent the "dignity of labor" and "identity of interests between capital and labor" and institute the motto "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain." When the workers realize this, capitalist institutions will speedily grace the junk heap. When a united working-class decides to free itself who shall say it nay?

**Socialism in Brief**

We are often asked for a brief statement of Socialism. Here is a very fair one from the columns of a non-socialist publication. It shows the influence that Socialist agitation is having on the editors of non-Socialist papers:

"Because Socialism is in its infancy and the true principle of the socialistic movement have not yet entirely emerged from crude ideas and passion its effect is perhaps not understood or fully realized by many people. We give below a brief summary of what true Socialism would accomplish as set forth by one well acquainted with the socialistic movement:

Briefly, Socialism will accomplish this:

It will give every worker the full value of the product of his labor.

It will reduce the hours of labor in proportion to the increased power of production.

It will entirely do away with child labor.

It will do away with the landlord and the capitalist.

It will give employment to all who desire it at remunerative pay.

It will pension the old.

It will do away with charity and give the people justice.

It will abolish poverty, want, destitution and the poorhouse.

It will permit every member of society to develop the highest and best there is in him.

It will do away with class legislation.

It will prevent strikes and lockouts.

It will make it possible for the people to make or reject laws for their government, according to the principles of the initiative and referendum.

It will do away with the trusts by making them the property of the whole people, to be operated for the benefit of the whole people instead of for the benefit of a few rich men.

It will do away with private ownership of street railways, lighting plants, and all other public service plants, and make them public property, to be operated for public benefit.

It will bring about the public ownership of railroads, coal mines, iron mines, oil wells, gas wells, the ships, the forests, the lakes, the rivers, the canals, the telegraphs and the telephone systems.

It will make labor-saving machines a blessing to mankind instead of a curse.

It will eliminate not only the poor idler, but the rich idler, both of whom are now supported by society.

It will introduce a social and an industrial system that will put an end to rent, and interest, and profit, and all forms of usury.

It will do away with armies organized for destructive purposes, and organize armies for constructive purposes.

It will remove the fear of want and poverty and make the earth a paradise.

It will prevent crime and criminals. It will encourage study, exploration, invention and art.

Socialism is what every one wants as soon as they know what it is. The reason why it is opposed by many is because they want read.

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**Workers Come to Us**

CLARENCE V. HOAR

A few months ago, a debate was held in Boston between the State Secretary of the Socialist Party, James Carey, and the Secretary of the Boston Employers' Association. The latter had claimed, in one of his lectures, that Socialism was only a creed of despair. He was promptly challenged by the Boston Socialist Party and the debate was arranged. Needless to say, Jim Carey wiped the floor with him; you have only to read the concluding parts of his speech, as reported in the capitalist press, to see that the defender of capitalism was so badly rattled he didn't know where he was at.

But, after all, Socialism is, to a certain extent, a creed of despair. We wage-slaves did not come into the Socialist movement out of any humanitarian motives; we are not Socialists because it is just, or because of the high moral ideas which the movement would give us.

It is a fact that many party "leaders" continually chatter about "eternal justice" (whatever that may be), about the "rights of the common people," etc. But they are not true representatives of the rank and file. It is not so with us, the proletarians in the Socialist Party have had a better working-class education than any other class of people. We know that no childish ideas of justice could convert us to Socialism, that no moral (or immoral) teachers could bring us to realize that capitalism was wrong and Socialism right.

Economic Determinism has forced us into the party of the working class, in the same way as it has compelled the great mass of bankers, merchants, manufacturers, money-lenders, priests, politicians and lawyers to belong to one of the old parties. From this point of view capitalism is right and Socialism is wrong; capitalism is founded on liberty and Socialism on slavery. Under the present system, they have the right to oppress the workers, which is to them liberty, but when the Co-operative Commonwealth has been established that right will be taken from them—hence their very logical fear.

But with the proletarians it is wholly different. We despair of living under capitalism as we wish to live.

Moses found no rest in Egypt, he and his race were in the worst kind of slavery. He despaired of finding freedom under the rule of Pharaoh, so he led the Children of Israel to a land where they were their own masters. Luther despaired of finding religious liberty under the rule of the Roman Church and he fought that Church's Rule of Gold as long as his life lasted. Ingersoll, born one hundred years before his time, found no liberty within the "Christian" Church of the nineteenth century. His creed of despair led him to atheism and religious freedom.

So with the awakened working-class of the twentieth century. For hundreds of years we have lived before the advance of capitalism. At times we would fight, in a half-hearted manner, but we had no useful weapons, and would always lose; we fought singly against great odds. At other times we would bitterly complain but only to be met with contempt.

The inevitable result—we became desperate; surrounded by wolves of greed on every side, we gave up the struggle; we had played the game and lost, and nothing was left but black despair.

But lo! The darkest hour is just before the dawn, and even in our despair, we can see before us the bright star of human hope, we can see our own power, an irresistible force, in the presence of which nothing is impossible, and before which the capitalist system, though bulwarked with all its fabulous strength, and all the power given it by the one time ignorance of our class, must fall.

Come to us workers, we need you, as you need us, we must "rise or fall together, dwarfed or god-like, bond or free."

Come to us, workers of the world, accept our creed of despair, and with it our surety of ultimate victory and political and industrial liberty.

**Bernard Shaw and the World**

By ROBERT HUNTER

How can you call America a free country when you know of the poverty of the masses and the frightful conditions of child labor in the Cotton mills in Carolina, which are worse than the mills of Manchester were a hundred years ago?—George Bernard Shaw.

What rubbish. There are nearly ten times as many paupers in Great Britain as in the United States—one in every thirty-six persons by the latest figures. There is nearly as much frightful poverty of the masses in London alone as in our entire vast country.—The World.

Rubbish? Bernard Shaw talk rubbish? Pish! You don't know Shaw. The facts are these. There are about two million paupers in Great Britain. In 1891 Professor Richard T. Ely and Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, then Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, estimated that there was no less than three million paupers in the United States. Today there are not less than four million.

The Board of Trade of Great Britain publishes statistics of unemployment. For ten years, the number of Trade Union men out of work has never exceeded nine per cent of the Trade Union membership.

The New York Bureau of Labor

publishes statistics of unemployment in New York State. The number of Union men out of work in 1909 averaged twenty-two per cent of the total membership. In 1908 it averaged thirty-four per cent; in 1907 fourteen per cent.

In the worst months of 1908 the percentage of unemployed among Trade Unionists rose as high as thirty-six per cent. In other words, out of every three Trade Unionists one was unemployed.

Nowhere in Great Britain, and, in fact, nowhere else in the entire world, are there such conditions of unemployment as exists here in America.

And now will the editor of the World question Shaw's statement that child labor in the South is as bad today as it was in Manchester one hundred years ago? The editor is evidently a very reckless person, but will he go that far?

As for the frightful poverty of the masses in London, is the eye of the editor so discerning that he can discover any material difference between the poverty of London and the poverty of Pittsburg, or of the lower East Side?

Does he happen to know that Mr. Jacob A. Riis estimated some time ago that about one-third of the people of New York City were dependent upon charity at some time during the eight years previous to 1890?

Does he happen to know that one out of every ten persons who die in New York City is buried in a pauper's grave?

And does he care to know that one out of every fourteen families in the Borough of Manhattan is evicted each year?

Rubbish? Do you really consider this rubbish?

If the editor of the World wants to know the facts about riches and poverty in Great Britain let him write and ask Mr. Bernard Shaw for Fabian Tract No. 5.

If he would also like to know the figures of poverty, misery and unemployment in the United States, Mr. Shaw will doubtless furnish him with these also.

Some one, I fear, has told the editor that Mr. Shaw is a humorist, without mentioning also that he is an economist, fairly conversant with the facts of poverty.

But while the editor does not know Mr. Shaw, Mr. Shaw unquestionably knows him.

G. K. Chesterton says: "The English Philistine complains that Mr. Shaw is making a fool of him, whereas Mr. Shaw is not in the least making a fool of him; Mr. Shaw is, with laborious lucidity, calling him a fool."

"G. B. S. calls a landlord a thief, and the landlord, instead of denying or resenting it, says: 'Ah, that fellow hides his meaning so cleverly that one can never make out what he means, it is all so fine spun and fantastical.'"

"G. B. S. calls a statesman a liar to his face, and the statesman cries in a kind of ecstasy: 'Ah, what quaint, intricate and half-tangled trains of thought! Ah, what elusive and many-colored mysteries of half-meaning!'"

It is only too evident that Shaw had the editor of the World in mind when he said in the interview from which the World quotes: "I notice that Americans never know anything about their own country. They always are astounded if you tell them what is going on there. For instance: They are ignorant of the fact that liberty does not exist there."

**All Wanted**

"A large portion of our farmers, professionals and other members of the 'middle classes' are directly and materially interested in the realization of the Socialist program, and many persons of all classes are sympathetically inclined towards Socialism for its ethical and idealistic aspects. They should all be brought into our movement. We address ourselves to the workingmen, not because they are a class of superior intelligence or virtue, but because our appeal touches more directly their material interest, and we are, therefore, more likely to succeed with them. It is a question of conservation of energy, not of principle, and if any farmer, intellectual or even capitalist overcomes the barriers of his economic class-interests, training, environment, etc., and comes to us, adopting our program and methods in good faith and without reservation, he is as important an acquisition to us as any working-man."

—Morriss Hillquit in N. Y. Sunday "Call."

**One Effect of Factory Legislation**

The horrors of the early portion of the nineteenth century in England under the domination of "Free Competition" called forth State interference in the interests of the wage-slaves who were being used up, and gave rise to the combination and the organization among the workers themselves. Increase in the cost of labor-power which followed as a consequence of slight improvements in the condition of the workers gave an impetus to the development of machinery; and that in its turn led to greater capital being required for carrying on any particular department of manufacture. The greater the capital required, the smaller became the number of competing manufacturers, quite apart from the keenness or otherwise of the competition for the sale of the commodities produced."

H. W. Lee, page 4, "The Triumph of the Trust under Free Trade."

No one should lack who is willing to work.

It is not homes, but homelessness, that capitalism will destroy.

When the workers take to studying the masters take to bludgeoning.

"Men in earnest have no time to waste in patching fig leaves for the naked truth."—Lowell

The more combinations and concentrations of industry there are, the sooner will come the Socialist state.

A few Socialists are made through sentiment. But more Socialists are made through the pressure of economic facts.

When the workers strike it is because they know that they must fight for even a living wage. A worker dreads a strike more than does the big boss.

Secretary of War Dickenson, U. S. A., is not going to buy any more goods from the wicked Standard Oil Trust. This is another sideplay to the gallery.

No change in human nature is required. Socialism is coming because human nature is as it is. Men and women want the good things of life. The capitalists get them without working for them, the workers produce them without getting them. Hence the class struggle.

As long as the plutes can keep the farmers busy raising crops without thinking, so long will the plutes be happy. But as soon as the farmers want publicly owned elevators and government railroads and credit without interest, then the plutes get uneasy and squirm. Watch them squirm at the western Grain Growers Association.

**THE SELLING OF TIME**

Life is measured in terms of time. How often do ministers of the gospel preach that the golden seconds flow into minutes, the minutes flow into hours and days and years? These minutes should be sacredly used for right and not for wrong. Ministers of the Gospel declare that a judgement day is coming and that we must give an account of how we have used the minutes God gave us.

I have no fault to find with that teaching. If God has given to men golden minutes to use then these minutes are the gifts of God to men. If each man has to answer individually to some higher power for the manner in which he uses the minutes of his life, then for the sake of God and for the sake of man, let us free men from the bondage of wage slavery.

An expropriated wage slave must sell his labor power to get a living. For ten long hours he is at the beck and call of the boss. Sometimes in Canada under capitalism, the worker is bound to jump at the word of the boss for twelve, fourteen, sixteen and twenty-four hours at a stretch. Under capitalism the worker sells his time to his boss. The boss can direct the worker in the spending of that time. The boss can compel the worker to adulterate whiskey, can rotten food, sell shoddy as all wool, and to do many other rascalities. Nevertheless, according to the preaching of many ministers, the worker is responsible to God for the manner in which he spends his minutes.

If the ministers of the Gospel believe that the workers are responsible for the manner in which they spend their time, let the ministers begin the fight against wage slavery. Let them help the socialists conquer economic freedom for the workers. As long as man is bound by pay to his job, the laws of Canada declare that he is not free to do as God directs but as the little worm of the dust boss directs.

Let the ministers of the Gospel join in the fight for Socialism. Let them join in the fight to make men free from bondage to a profit-hunting boss. Until that time has come, the worker is not free to spend his time as he thinks God would like him to spend it. Capitalist laws make a man's responsibility to God for the way he spends his moments a mockery and a hypocrisy. The man who is forced to work for another has not his moments to spend as he likes, while the dividend-drawing idler has not only his own moments to dispose of, but also the moments of the men who work to make him profits.

Why do I write this? Because I recently heard a minister of the Gospel declare from his pulpit that the poor man had as many minutes given him as had the rich man. I write this to point out that under capitalism this is not so. The capitalist system has transferred the moments of the poor to the rich. Under socialism when economic freedom has come, the statement of the minister will be true; under capitalism it is not.

**YOU receive a Sub Blank with this issue of Cotton's. This is at this particular time a very important piece of paper. On it depends the future of Cotton's. If it remains unused, it means the retarding of the spread of our ideas and perhaps the failure of Cotton's to carry forward the propaganda and force the issue. If it is used, it means the bringing to the front the truths you believe in and have made sacrifices for, and putting in legislatures and parliament men who will fight for the principles you hold dear. It behooves you to use this blank. It spells the ultimate triumph of our cause.**

**PROFITS CREATE SLAVERS**

"To the motive of business profit is due beyond question the influence which creates and upholds this traffic. The procurers who seduce, or otherwise entice the women to leave their foreign homes, the importers who assist them in evading the law, or who bring them into the United States for sale, the pimps and keepers of disorderly houses who exploit them body and soul, have only profit in view. The work is strictly foreign commerce for profit. Although many of the girls are brought here, innocent, betrayed into a slavery rigid in its strictness and barbarous in its nature, the price offered to the victim is only that of higher wages and better economic conditions."—Senate Document 196. (Commonly known as the white slavery report of the United States Immigration Commission, page 6.)

The above quotation is not taken from the tongue of a demagogue; its hideous indictment against modern industrial conditions does not find its source in the little speech of some woman sold into slavery, but is the calm expression of federal investigators and months of investigation, conducted by the United States Immigration commission, produced facts. The disclosure has a double horror. The conducting of the white slave traffic enlists minds of a high power, while at the same time girls, beaten down by murderously low wages, driven to despair by scant food, fall easy prey to men and women who are skilled diplomats, as deft schemers, as ever guided an intrigue.

It is organized cunning against hopeless weakness. It is master craft fighting for the great money stakes to be won by the sale of women—in the twentieth century A. D. It's not ancient Rome, or Tyre, or Sidon, but modern Paris, and Budapest, and New York and Chicago; it's just the slave market of the modern world. While over the huddled slaves stands "Necessity" cracking the lash of "Hunger."

For once the voice of sniveling hypocrisy has had to say. There is no talk of "fallen sisters"; there is no cant. The report tells the facts plainly, truly and with full understanding of their significance.

—Chicago Daily Socialist.

Frederick Greenwood, a London journalist, has just died. His death calls to mind the fact that it was through his suggestion that the British Government purchased the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal. These shares have since quadrupled in value. The Laurier government would never think of buying over cheap securities which will become expensive. That would prevent its friends, the labor thieves, from making money. The Laurier government is busy buying in the other direction. It is handing over large lumps of valuable franchises and land to its favorites at nominal prices, and then giving the labor thieves a lot of cold cash to help them do business.

The former editor of the New York Call was much worried over the fights that took place within the Socialist Party of America. He wrote to Fred Long about his fears and worries for the future of the Movement and the bad effect the scraps would have on the members. Fred Long wrote back that "Rearing bull pups is not a pastime for refined old maids."

The only class hatred that Socialists teach is hatred of classes.