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CLEAR THE WAY FOR THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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## REPUDIATION

The little reformer is greatly worried. He knows the governments are corrupt. He perceives that vast aggregations of capital are falling into the hands of a few persons. Life for the common man is becoming harder and harder. Everywhere laws are made to bind the ordinary man and to free the capitalist.

The little man is convinced that legislatures and parliament and civic administrations are corrupt. Franchises are given which plunder the many and enrich the few. Enormous debts are assumed by representatives of all the people. These debts do not represent value received. They represent gifts made to the plunderer. Corruption everywhere and overblown millionaires resulting from that corruption face the little reformer.

The little reformer's philosophy and line of action are too small to solve the problem. The sacredness of contract binds his mind. A contract must be observed according to him, no matter how injurious it may be to the common people. The only way to break a contract is to prove fraud. The little reformer knows that the contracts given to exploiters of labor are fraudulent. But he cannot prove it. Hence he becomes a pessimist and joins the Conservatives.

But the socialists do not bother about the little restrictions in which the little reformer enmeshes himself. They realize that the whole of our civilization as represented in our laws, is based on corruption and class rule. The socialist realizes that the standards adopted as a test for contracts are unwholesome and inhuman. The whole of the present system must be swept away to give rise to a better system based on sound economics. If the system is bad it follows that the results are bad and those results must be eliminated and not carried forward as a burden to the new phase of democracy.

Therefore the socialists stand for repudiation. Debts, national, provincial or municipal, will be repudiated. Stocks and bonds will be abolished. The whole system of organized plunder which the millionaires have built for their own aggrandizement will be swept away and the millionaire will stand forth stripped and naked of all his great possessions and he will be but a man among other men.

If we are to build a system in which the standards will be the power to labor and the need of the individual, then the present system which is based on the power of the most cunning to corrupt and rob must be completely overturned. The little reformer wants that intact. All he wants to do is to tone down some of the most glaring injustices.

When you once perceive the socialist philosophy you become self-poised and at peace. You look forward to the coming of the revolution with confidence and hope. You do not worry over the thievery and the national corruption. You do not care to follow in their intricate windings all the phases of that corruption. You do not care who gets the plunder whether it is Mackenzie, or Mann, or Strathcona, or Forget, or Carsley. You know that when the revolution comes the paper certificates these plunderers have schemed for the binding of the nation, will be laughed to scorn by giant emancipated labor and the plunderers will stand forth stripped of their belongings and ashamed. If the plunderers can work at something useful, they will be made to do their share in the useful work of world. If they cannot labor, because of infirmities or old age, they will be numbered among the pensioners of labor, receiving support, as of right, in the category of the weak and the incapable.

## CAPITALISTS GIVING LABOR

There is a fallacy which the capitalists diligently propound. Their newspapers and all the functionaries who gain more or less of a soft living from contact with capital, also sedulously circulate it. This fallacy is that the capitalist gives labor. Quite frequently a group of men will decide to build a

railroad or a factory. Immediately a hundred men will be set to work, bricks will be bought, or railroad ties, and the undertaking will be accomplished. The ignorant man will conclude that the capitalist has given labor and therefore that the capitalist is necessary.

Let not the capitalist be confounded with capital. Capital is unpaid labor. The capitalist is a person who controls and owns capital. While capital may be necessary, the capitalist is not necessary.

Labor should be fully paid. Labor should be allowed to say how its reward shall be spent. When labor is only half paid, and the capitalist takes the other half of the pay which should go to the laborer, the capitalist is morally a thief. The capitalist may, under our present system, appropriate half the pay which should go to the laborers who produce the goods. The capitalist may have an income of a thousand dollars a day. With this income he may build factories or tenement houses. What he really does therefore is not give work but to plunder labor and with that plundered labor, to create new machinery for the further plundering of the proletariat.

Capitalists do not give work. They plunder workers.

## HOW WILL IT BE DONE

A question which puzzles the average man who has not let his brain wander out of the rut of bills receivable and bills payable, duns and taxes, is how the socialists intend to bring socialism into practice. The average man declares that socialism is fine in theory, but it cannot be put into practice. It is against human nature.

The trouble with these men is that they have a wrong outlook upon life. They actually believe that men have free will. They think that men control their environment and that the environment does not control men. In philosophy the average business man is an anarchist.

The ordinary man thinks that the socialists have some deep-laid scheme for regenerating human nature. The ordinary man while claiming to be a Christian, nevertheless despises and does not believe in the Christian doctrine of the regeneration of the individual. When the socialist tells the ordinary man that socialism is not a scheme and that socialism does not aim at regenerating the individual, the ordinary man is completely nonplused. Ignorant himself, the only solution he can give is one based on the argument ad hominem. The socialist is a long-haired crank, who does not know what he is talking about.

The Utopian socialists, Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier and others, laid down schemes. They built paper societies and wanted men to conform to them. The modern socialist has no schemes. He has studied the trend of history and the evolution of industry. He has studied the laws governing the conduct of man in the aggregate. He knows that the outcome of industry must necessarily be a co-operative commonwealth. The question as to how socialism will come about does not bother him. He knows that it is inevitable. All that he endeavors to do is open men's eyes to its coming and to usher in the socialist state with as little suffering as possible to the human atoms that compose his particular state.

H. C. Frick of the Steel Trust, is said to be building a thirteen storey building in Pittsburgh. Of course, as the reports state that Frick is building it, there can be no one else helping him on the job. Will he dig the foundation with his own hands? Will he put up the steel frames and lay the bricks? Or will he get wage slaves to do the work while he draws the revenue?

Prof. Charles Zueblin, sociologist, of Boston, is declaring that Harri-man is a railroad genius and a financial pest. Under socialism his railroad genius would be utilized while he would have no chance to exercise his perniciously his thieving abilities.

## CAUSE AND EFFECT

Things are not what they seem. Erroneous impressions have passed for the truth through the ages. It has only been by the closest investigation that men have become able to find out the true course of events and to distinguish those phenomena which are the causes and those phenomena which are the effects. To-day vast numbers of men and women hold the erroneous impression that religion makes people good. They do not see that they are mistaking the effect for the cause.

A certain number of people holding a certain status in life with aims and ambitions of a similar nature gather together into a social organization called a church. They make unto themselves a certain standard of conduct, and, perceiving that a certain line of conduct is of benefit to themselves, they gradually erect that line of conduct into a universal maxim for the guiding of the world.

As time goes on individuals of the same status in life having the same aims and ambitions will join the church and increase its membership. A minister or priest is hired at a stated salary to propound their philosophy of life to the church members and to assert that philosophy and the aims of the members have impressed upon them the sanction of the Divine Being.

In general, religious experiences are a composite of blind emotion and irrational mental processes. This is readily seen at Salvation Army meetings and Methodist revivals, wherein emotion is worked upon and hysterical exhortations attempt to persuade the people to have faith and not think. It is also seen in more aristocratic bodies in the repetition of creeds in a solemn and uncouth manner. Reason is held in abeyance and emotion holds sway.

When the church adherents have become sufficiently faithful and unreasoning, a little reason is brought to bear by the church authorities. The church authorities begin to declare that it is their preaching and their ritualistic performances that make the church adherents possess the social status, the aims and desires which they do. The church adherents look within themselves and perceive the aims and desires which they possess. They look around them and behold the social status which they hold and perceive that it is a good one. Possessing faith, they swallow the words of the church authorities and repeat the sentiments of the authorities with blind and erroneously reasoning faith.

A church is an expensive institution to maintain, therefore the members must have a fairly good position before they can join and keep up their share of the burden. Thus the social status of the church members is not the result of the church and its preachings but the church and its preachings are the result of the social status of its members.

From this point of view, it can readily be seen how the various ecclesiastical organizations are arrogating to themselves the honor and influence which they do not produce.

Man is not naturally bad. Man is naturally good. He possesses the qualities of love and friendship, honesty and nobility. These qualities are repressed and distorted by the economic anarchy and commercial competitive warfare which desolates all modern countries. The churches in preaching the depravity of man have been working a monstrous hoax upon society. It is very doubtful whether the church organizations, either Catholic or Protestant, are really desirous of doing away with the evils which afflict Canada. The so-called bad men and bad women are the result of economic forces too great for the individuals who suffer from them to overcome. Remove these economic forces, or rather direct them in the right way, and the bad men and the bad women, they or their children, will become good.

But if the bad men and the bad women became good of themselves without the aid of the tom-toms of the Salvation Army, or the broad phylacteries of the Catholic and Anglican priests, the emotionalism of the Methodists or the speculative anarchistic philosophy of the Congregationalists, these various

religious organizations would have to cease as they would not be able to show a shadow of excuse for existing. The authorities could not point to the wicked and frighten their flocks into thinking that if they did not support the religious organization materially, morally and financially, they would become like unto the wicked.

When the people come to see clearly that religious organizations are exploiting the good instead of creating it; when men and women become clear-brained and are swung by a sane and reasoning emotion, our present church institutions will disappear and we will look back upon the philosophies, priestly robes, religious alms giving and other church paraphernalia of the present churches with the same broad minded contempt with which we now look back at the Aryan, Pelagian and Jansenist controversies which afflicted humanity and furnished the church authorities of the early and middle ages with remunerative, word-splitting occupation.

## BREAD AND CIRCUSES

Bread and circuses is an old scheme. If the people won't be frugal and become restive under robbery, give them a rattle to amuse themselves with. The circus was an old idea of the Roman Emperors. When a Roman Emperor had waded through blood to the Imperial throne and the Roman inhabitants were in an ugly mood, then the people were distracted with huge spectacular exhibitions. Wild beasts, the tiger, the elephant, the bear, the lion, would be gathered together and kept hungry. Then the arena would be thronged and the citizens would forget their anger against the Emperor because of the spectacles he had furnished for them. Christian women and children would be flung alive to the wild beasts. Gladiators would kill each other and the citizens would howl with delight at the fierce encounters between lion and elephant. If the people howled for bread, corn would be imported from Egypt and given free to the inhabitants of the city of Rome.

Bread and circuses is still the cry. It is still the idea which haunts the rulers for the pacification of the mob. Free soup kitchens are not established because of Christian charity. The soup is flung as a sop to the brute beings of the slums, creatures our multi-millionaires have bred and whose wrath they fear? The Salvation Army has been taken up as a means of giving free bread to keep the people quiet. It is a cheap way of giving bread as the Army exacts its pound of flesh from the recipients of its charity.

As for the circuses, this is an age of spectacular exhibitions. The average newspaper devotees two pages a day to sports. Baseball, football, horse racing and fist fights are arranged to keep the mob quiet. If a wage slave can be got to turn his attention to Jim Jeffries or Jack Johnson he will not be thinking about how much Lord Strathcona or Colonel Carson or Sir Frederick Borden is taking out of his pay envelope. Here again the exhibitions are not giving free as they were in Rome. The wage slave has to pay to see the game. He has to buy his sporting paper to read the news. Like the Salvation Army for bread, so the organizations for sport are paid for by the wage slave.

There are exhibitions which are free. The gee-gaws of the Governor General are a free exhibition. The king in state is another free exhibition for the people to gape at. But the people are getting tired of this kind of spectacle. Edward and the Czar have just met. But the people were in an ugly mood and this exhibition was not public.

Bread and circuses worked well for the rulers of Rome. Bread and circuses, however, are not keeping the modern citizens quiet. The socialist organizations are in every country. These socialists are sapping the foundations which the parasites rest upon. In a few years, with peace, the multimillionaires and the titled aristocrats will be pulled down from their positions of protected thievery. Bread and circuses do not work and the rulers are experimenting with imperialism and militarism as a counter attraction. Militarism is a dangerous experiment which may sweep the rulers into a bloody oblivion.

## THE LESSON FROM SPAIN

Spain is teaching the nations an international lesson with regard to the strength of the spirit of social revolt. Spain, to protect some mining concession in Morocco, has engaged in a war with the Moors. At the first intimation of war the Spanish people protested. When troops were withdrawn from Spain the people of Barcelona and of the north of Spain broke into a revolt. The troops stationed in Barcelona refused to fire on the rebels and it was only by the importation of soldiers from other parts of Spain that any impression could be made by the reactionary government of Madrid.

There was a time when a foreign war could be used to quiet home troubles. The riotous spirits were drawn off to foreign countries by the hope of plunder. That day has passed. Russia attempted to quell her home troubles by the distractions of a war with Japan. The war removed the soldiers and the people left at home broke into rebellion. Spain is passing through the same experience.

Everywhere labor is against war. The master class, frightened by the solidarity of labor and perceiving their own coming overthrow, are massing troops to protect themselves against the rising of their slaves. The German army is not so much an instrument for foreign wars, as an instrument for the subjugation of German citizens. The British Army is being groomed for the work of the slaughter of Englishmen.

The master class have learned that it is dangerous to let soldiers stay long in one garrison town. Italy originated a plan of sending troops from the north to the south of Italy. The southern soldiers were sent north. Hypocritical as ever, the government declared that the authorities desired to have an unified Italy and had introduced the system of exchange in order that the citizens of Italy might grow together in one spirit. The authorities knew that in the case of a disturbance northern troops would not be likely to fire on their own kindred.

The master class of Great Britain are scheming for reliable troops. They speak highly of imperialism which means that Canadian boys should join an imperial army to be moved wherever the bosses want them to go. It would highly please Balfour and Chamberlain and Rothschild and the other plunderers of British labor if they could persuade the good shots of Canada to form themselves into an army that could be depended upon to shoot down the striking coal miners of Lanarkshire.

The Barcelona troops refused to fire on Barcelona working-men. Lanarkshire troops would probably refuse to fire on their Lanarkshire kindred. Hence, the constant shuffling of troops. Hence the frantic endeavors of Lord Strathcona to inveigle Canadian workmen into becoming the plant tools of British labor thieves like himself. Hence, the cheers which greet Fred Borden when he froths about Canadian loyalty and the readiness with which, in his opinion, Canadians can be got to act as murderers.

Did the capitalists feel sure of the result there would be an international war to-morrow. There are so many rich pickings to be got in a financial world out of loans and army contracts that the capitalists long to start a war that will kill off the surplus labor and at the same time enrich themselves. But the capitalists are afraid. The plundered laborers are in an ugly mood and the capitalists fear for their own necks should their protecting armies be sent to a foreign field. Spain is an example which has put the fear into the hearts of the murderously disposed international capitalists.

## THRIFT

One of the bluffs which the oily capitalist likes to work off on the laborer is that of thrift. The English lord or the American multimillionaire is great on preaching thrift. He will paint in glowing colors the benefits which the working man can derive from being thrifty. Comfortable old age, happy grand-children and the respect of the King or President is the alleged

reward to the working man for being frugal. And all the while the millionaire or lord is planning in his crafty head how he can get the pennies saved away from the thrifty worker.

Let the workingmen save and their pay will be cut down. Let it be seen that the workingmen can pay more and his rent will be raised. Capitalism is a skin game for doing the workers out of everything, but a bare living. The less he spends the quicker the boss will cut down his wages. The idea of frugality is impressed upon the workers by the bosses in order to give them false notions and to send them on a wild goose chase after riches. The game is loaded before hand. The masters will see to it that the men do not enjoy the fruits of their frugality.

These fairy tales about the poor worker attending conscientiously to his duties and building up a huge fortune by his own initiative are nonsense. The men recognize that the slower they work the longer they will hold the job. They realize that the more they do for the bosses, the quicker a commercial crisis will come when they will get the sack. They know that the interests of the boss are not their interests.

It is true that men rise from poverty to great riches. It is a fact that it is more possible to roll up great wealth now than ever before. But that wealth is not obtained by doing honest work at the bench. It is done by being a craftier thief than the big thieves. It is done by plundering the labor plunderers.

Vast wealth shows itself by means of paper titles. Bonds and stock certificates and title deeds to lands and houses are the representatives of wealth. A certain factory or group of factories will cost a million dollars a year to run. The products will realize two million. Whoever therefore possesses the title deeds, the stocks and bonds of this factory or group of factories will have an income of a million dollars a year clear and free. Wealth therefore will not come to the fool laborer who goes into the factories as a wage slave with the hope of working up. He is nothing but a slave. Let him try to get out of his slavery and the Canadian judges, Canadian policemen and Canadian soldiers will mighty quick show him where he belongs. The possession of wealth does not come from working at the bench.

The possession of wealth comes to that individual who schemes to get the title deeds of the factory. Rigging the stock exchange, bribing officials, getting special laws passed by parliament, cajoling people out of good money to put into worthless enterprises and taking that good money to buy the bribed officials, these are some of the crafty ways of becoming rich.

In the meantime, the labor thieves preach frugality to the wage slave. The less the wage slave will consent to live on the more plunder there be for the plunderer and to peacably divide up or querulously snarl over.

Senator Stone of Missouri threatened to shoot a darky waiter on a Pullman car because the waiter told the Senator that he had to wait his turn in being served. The Senator, however, contented himself by calling the waiter a black dog and striking him on the mouth. Police Magistrate Graham of Baltimore, before whom the Senator was haled for assault, dismissed the charge declaring that the Senator's actions were justifiable when a waiter was dilatory. Thus plutocracy sneers at equality and justice.

Two injunctions have been issued recently. One injunction has been issued preventing the aldermen of the City of Halifax selling a lot of city land at low rates to a private company. The other was in Toronto preventing the city fathers from doing the same thing. Our courts as yet are not so capitalized and corrupt as those of the States.

At last the revolution is stirring in Spain. It is the fact that the revolt is in the seaport town of Barcelona and in the manufacturing regions of the North which show that the revolution is the result of economic causes.