

THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the Vanguard camps today,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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The Month's Story

A Record in Evidence

"What will the Socialists do when they get into power?" asks the American voter who has learned by sad experience to distrust platforms. The sceptical American, wise through his sorrows, doubts political pledges and cares only for political records. But until the Socialist party has been given political power, how can it make a political record? Thus our sceptical American is in the position of the Irish lad whose mother forbade him to go near the water until he knew how to swim.

For the American voter who wants to be shown, we point to the record of the Social-Democratic members of the Wisconsin legislature. It is a record of which any Socialist may be proud.

Just six Social-Democrats, pulling together, have made a big wake in the stagnant waters of old party politics. True, their best measures have been turned down. But that does not alter the quality of their measures, nor lessen the honor of their record.

The 70 bills and resolutions introduced by these Social-Democratic legislators were of three classes.

One class included bills for collective ownership and operation, as the bill providing for city coal and wood yards, for municipal works departments, for state insurance and other similar measures.

A second class, comprising a large share of these 70 bills, related to labor legislation. Our men worked for better child labor laws, for an eight-hour day for all public employes, whether of the state, counties or cities, for an eight-hour day for railroad telegraphers, and for better protection to workingmen engaged in dangerous trades, and in short, for all measures for the betterment of labor conditions.

Still a third class of measures aimed at the general welfare—as the bill for free text books—and for establishing genuine democracy, as the bills and amendments to bills offered by the Social-Democrats for the inauguration of the referendum.

On these three lines our Socialist members have worked—for democracy, for collective ownership, for the rights of the working class. And even our sceptical American citizen must admit that here was a noble beginning for a minority party.

Said an old party Assemblyman last spring, "I have been watching the Social-Democrats in the legislature, and I notice that when-

ever there is a measure that is aimed against the poor man or the common people or seeks in any way to do injustice, these Socialists are right there to fight it every time."

And you must at least admit, sceptical American voter, that such a party force as that is entirely a unique thing in American politics!

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Government by Spooks

Ever since the Social-Democratic party became the largest party of Germany, timid bourgeois have shuddered at the thought that a further Social-Democratic gain might usher in the rule of the Red Spectre. But these frightened souls little dreamed that at that very moment the German Empire was actually governed by "real" spooks, of the materializing, alphabet-rapping, table-tipping genus.

Yet so it is. The fact has leaked out that certain foxy noblemen have taken advantage of the Kaiser's love of the occult to play all manner of tricks on his credulity. Through a judicious use of seances and "messages" they have succeeded in getting him well under their thumb. Some queer scandals are the consequence. The German court and the German government have got a black eye.

Under the laws of "lese majeste," it will probably never be known how far Kaiser Wilhelm is mixed up with all these scandals. It would appear, however, that things are being run very strangely behind the curtain of the German government. At any time, planchette might dictate a policy. Or a spirit rapping might beat the tattoo for ordering out the German army. Or a tipping table might tip over the peace of Europe!

"Me und Gott" have been generally supposed to be taking care of the German Empire. It now seems that it was "Me and the ghosts."

Is not this the last stage of capitalist degeneration? When the German bourgeois would intrust their country to such degenerate cranks as William III rather than to a people's movement like the Social-Democratic party, with such leaders as Bebel and Kautsky at its head, truly capitalist society is rotting fast!

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In the Russian Duma

"A military hell turned into a factory hell," that is how Alexinsky, leader of the Russian revolutionists, characterized the change toward which the Russian Liberals in the last Duma were striving. This Duma, one of whose sessions is depicted in our frontispiece, was much more middle-class than its fiery predecessor. This, however, was nothing surprising. The government's intimidation of voters naturally resulted in barring out a good many of the most spirited Social-Democrats.

Even this Duma was too live for the bureaucracy. The living growth has been cut out. The Social-Democrats have been arrested and exiled. The flower of Russia will again perish in Siberian snows. The next Duma will be the submissive tool of the Czar. Yet there is no cause for astonishment in the present course of Russian events. Three

years ago, when Russia seethed with revolt and the Red Flag floated triumphant over the Black Sea for almost one whole week, some Socialists, more ardent than scientific, thought that Russia would prove an exception to all natural laws. They predicted that the oak would spring full-grown from the acorn. Russia, the most backward of European nations, would be the first country to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

But the law of evolution would not have it so. Socialism and democracy are two vast and slow developments. The Socialist Republic cannot be set up in a day.

This is the lesson of the Russian movement. It is a good lesson for American Socialists to lay to heart.

"Block by block, by slow and sharp endeavor," the Socialist revolution must be built up in "free" America or autocratic Russia. This is not the usual conception of a revolution, but it is the only practical method of "revolving" the great wheel of society.

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The Austrian Victory

The glorious victory in Austria has a more glorious moral. The 82 Social-Democratic representatives who will soon take their seats in the Reichsrath of the Austrian Empire are representatives of the triumphant principle of *International Socialism*. Their presence in the parliament of that curious patchwork of nations is an eloquent declaration of the brotherhood of man.

Austria is a queer empire—a crazy quilt of nations, a Babel of languages. In an area not quite twice the size of Great Britain are dove-tailed together Bohemians, Hungarians, Austrians proper, Slovaks, Slovenians, Poles, Ruthenians, Serbo-Croatians, etc., all speaking different languages, and all unanimously agreed upon only one thing—their sincere hatred for one another. What makes the matter worse is the fact that these people are not only of different nationalities, but also of different races. The Germans of Austria are racially distinct from the broad-headed, brunet Slavs who form a good share of the population. These again are divided, as by an entering wedge, by the Magyars of Hungary. The resemblance of the Magyar language to the Finnish tongue seems to father them on still another race. So it is not altogether strange that these queerly mixed up nationalities should fight each other like cats tied together by the tails.

And now on this stage of national hatred and national jealousies, stepped in a unifier of interests, a harmonizer of nationalities. And wonderful to say, this uniting influence was none other than the terrible Red Spectre!

Yes, strange though it may seem to those who see in Socialism only a "menace to society," the "peril of the age," in the Social-Democratic party was found the one idea which could bind together all these jealous and angry nationalities. Only under the red flag could the workingmen of all these races find a common ground of interests for Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Poles and Jews.

And what is true of the Austrian Empire, is equally true of all the nations of the earth. The "national feeling," carefully fanned by capitalist governments, writers, teachers and editors, has caused more human blood to be shed than the worship of Moloch or Huitzilopochtli, or any other of the more frankly bloodthirsty cults of our less hypocritical forefathers.

The "national feeling" may have been useful in its day, when the nation had to develop from the tribe. Today, however, it has become the breeder of ghastly wars like the Franco-Prussian war in the last century and the Russian-Japanese war in our decade.

The principle of International Socialism, giving to all the human race a higher and better ideal, is the great unifier of men today. It is, in fact, the great force which has prevented all the clashings of European governments in recent years from bursting out into a terrific European war.

And if Andrew Carnegie and William T. Stead were really as much in love with peace as they profess to be, they would throw up their Peace Congresses and build "Peace Palaces" for International Socialist Congresses. For these are the true unifiers of the human race!

* * *

Worth Only
\$50

Teddy the Talkative is still haranguing on his favorite theme of "Race Suicide." He recently took occasion to express his "hearty contempt" for the woman who does not raise a large family.

But as a political economist, Roosevelt ought to know that the laws of supply and demand regulate the production of all commodities.

For—Oh shame to our modern civilization! Shame to church and state! Shame to America!—children in our land today are commodities.

And they are cheap commodities.

A prominent pastor in Chicago, in his investigation of the social evil, made this appalling discovery—that an innocent young country girl, on the average, costs only \$50.

That is the price which is paid to her enticers.

Think of the pity of it! The pure, happy child, born and bred in the smile of nature, feeding her chickens and petting the lambs, her little pink sunbonnet bobbing gaily through meadow and wildwood, her little brown hands full of daisies and windflowers, her blithe little heart as fresh and stainless as these! What can she know of the snares of a great city, where a little later she goes to work and help father pay off the mortgage? How can she know that, as the same pastor assures us, "A country girl coming to Chicago is pursued for months and sometimes even years"?

Alas, even a few days may suffice to wither our ignorant little spring-beauty, transplanted from the quiet farm to the filth of the great town. And then—

The curtain falls. It is not "nice" to pursue the subject further. Nobody cares for the future sufferings of the little country girl, after that.

She was only worth \$50, any way. Why, a black slave in the days of negro slavery was worth twenty times more!

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A Cheap Commodity Still, no matter how hard we may steel our hearts against her and the countless thousands of her guild, we must acknowledge the laws of economics. So long as children are so cheap, race suicide is itself an economic law. So long as the commodity *child labor* can be sold for only 10 to 15 cents per day in southern cotton mills, or only a couple of dollars per week for the little cash girl in northern department stores, we must admit that there is a fearful overproduction of children.

No, Teddy the Talkative, it would be better for you to orate less and think more. If we wish to see the *quantity and quality* of American citizens improved, we must take this commodity out of the market. We must first create a new economic world, in which LABOR OF ALL KINDS—child labor and adult labor—will CEASE TO BE A COMMODITY.

Then race suicide would pass away of itself. Then the thoughtful mother would have no cause for dread in the future of her little sons and daughters.

Then all babies would be welcome. There could not be too many of them—the blessed children!—because they would be BEYOND ALL PRICE.

Justice

By ALTRUIST

For thousands of years men have been seeking an exact definition of justice, but they have not yet found it. Philosophers in all ages have written of justice, of the principle of right. Justice is the central star around which human institutions revolve, the sun which vivifies all the conventions of men. No law is enacted, no enactment repealed except in the name of justice; the church, the state, the law, the government, the soldiers, the policeman, the judge, the court, the prison, the scaffold upon which society murders the wretched felon she has condemned to death—all these exist in the name of justice; all these are evidences of men's efforts to conform to a principle of right; and yet, what is justice?

Upon the answer to this question men cannot agree. If we say with the utilitarians that justice consists in giving to every man his own, or what he is entitled to, there is nothing determined, for the meaning is to give to every man what law or custom have declared to

be a man's own, and even on the basis of utilitarianism this may be the height of injustice.

Although we pride ourselves upon our civilization, we have not greatly advanced since the days of Aristotle. The Greek philosopher taught that "nature creates some men for liberty and others for slavery. It is useful and just that the slave should obey. There are in the human race individuals as inferior to others as the body is to the soul, or as the beast is to the man. These are the beings suitable for the labors of the body alone, and incapable of doing anything more perfect. These individuals are destined by nature to slavery because there is nothing better for them than to obey. The science of the master reduces itself to knowing how to make use of his slave. He is the master, not because he is the owner of the man, but because he makes use of his property."

It was upon this Aristotelian idea of justice that the ancient governments were founded. Justice existed only for the masters; the slaves embraced the great mass of those who performed the work of the world. We imagine that justice is a far more comprehensive term than it was in the days of Aristotle, and this is true. The notion of justice has been extended so as to embrace those who were entirely outside the pale of Greek society, but the science of the master has not advanced a step since the days of Aristotle. The science of the master still "reduces itself to knowing how to make use of his ———, Property!!"

With the introduction of Christianity the notion of justice broadened out. Under the influence of the teachings of the lowly Nazarene, men began to entertain new conceptions of the nature of justice. It then began to exist for the slave as well as the master. The slave began to be regarded not merely as a piece of property to be dealt with as a horse or an ox, but as a human being, having an immortal soul worth saving. Religion threw her protecting arm around the slave and demanded justice for him. The justice demanded was only of a qualified sort, it is true, not complete, such as was conceded to the master; but it was still justice. The slave was no longer entirely outside the pale. This bringing the slave within the pale, although ever so little, was a great revolution in ideas. It was a revolution that started the slave upon his long and painful upward march to full emancipation. He then began his toilsome and heart-wearying ascent of the hill on the top of which he has many times since then thought he saw the light shining. He has not fully realized the elusive nature of the substance of his dream, and many times when he has thought to have grasped her, justice has withered in his hand. He has been taught to worship her as a blind goddess, when in reality she is bright-eyed, beautiful, and radiant with light. But the new status which Christianity established for the slave was a grand thing in its day. It was the beginning of the peasants' wars of the Middle Ages and of the French Revolution. Its end will be the emancipation of the race.

Nineteen centuries ago Jesus Christ gave the world a rule of justice (Do unto others that which you would that others should do unto you), and all through these centuries the Christian church has taught that this is a golden rule of conduct, applicable to all men. And yet the

church vies with the philosophers in disputing about justice; finds it impossible to determine its nature; cannot define it. Why? Because the Christian rule simply tells men their duty without giving them the faintest idea of their rights. What has man a right to wish that others should do unto him? How can a man properly perform his duty of doing unto others as he would wish to be done by, unless he knows to a certainty that the thing he would wish others to do is the right thing? Before a man can properly perform his duty, he must know his right. Christ left the rights of man undetermined, and throughout all the centuries of its existence the church has continued to restrict itself to the narrow sphere of duty, while leaving right in the vague and unsettled condition in which she found it at the beginning of the Christian era. She still confines herself to the task of teaching men their duty without teaching them their right. Of what use is it? What is the use of telling a man his duty without giving him a clear and unmistakable definition of his right?

The church has left the rights of man to be determined by secular authority. To understand his rights, man must go to the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, P. J. Proudhon, Lassalle and Karl Marx. The most concrete expression of the rights of man was penned by the immortal Jefferson: "All men are created free and equal. . . . endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is a sufficient definition of right, the complement of the Christian rule of duty. Man has a right to his life to be free; he has a right to be happy in his own way so long as he obeys Christ's rule of duty and permits all other men a like freedom. In short, he has the right to wish that others should respect his life, his liberty and his happiness, and his duty is to respect the life, liberty and happiness of others. We need no more absolute rule of justice than this. Why do we still dispute about the matter?

Here in America our government is supposed to be founded upon the rights of man as promulgated by Jefferson, but as a matter of fact we have codified a contradiction. We swear by the philosophy of Jefferson but still worship the philosophy of Aristotle. We declared government to be for the protection of life, liberty and happiness, and then we organized a government for the protection of life, liberty and property. We called this a new theory of government. It was nothing of the sort. In the days of Aristotle, governments were instituted for the protection of property, and the essential nature of property is today what it was in the beginning. It has not changed. It is the negation of justice.

Government is instituted for the protection of life, liberty and property; that is, it is instituted for the purpose of performing an impossibility. The last term in the equation cancels the other two. Government cannot protect life, liberty and property at the same time. If it protects life and liberty, it cannot protect property. If it protects property, it cannot protect life and liberty. There is nothing anomalous in our present state of society here in America. Our present situation is the perfectly legitimate result of our original theory. Since our government started out with the idea of protecting property, it

could never have evolved into anything other than it is. The nature of property is to consolidate itself into fewer and fewer hands, proportionately to the whole number of persons in a community. Its nature is to create a proprietary class and a non-proprietary class, the latter bearing a constantly increasing numerical ratio to the former; and since a government of proprietors, it must necessarily evolve into a class government. It must become a government by the few, because a government established for the protection of property is naturally a government where the interests of the few are opposed to the interests of the many, and as long as it holds to its traditions the few will control; government will be administered in the interests of the few. It cannot be otherwise.

The many may say that they are oppressed; that conditions are unjust for them; that government is not affording them adequate protection for their liberty and their lives, and thus fails of its purpose. But government is giving them all the protection for their liberty and their lives it is capable of; it is as just as it can be. Here is where the antagonism exhibits itself, and the irreconcilable conflict between the ideas involved in the equation "life, liberty and property" becomes manifest. The proprietor's notion of justice is intimately associated with the idea of property; that of the non-proprietor with the ideas of life and liberty. The function of government involved in the phrase "protection of property" becomes the essence of justice, the first duty of government in the eye of the proprietor, while the function involved in the phrase "protection of life and liberty" becomes the essence of justice, the first duty of government in the eye of the non-proprietor. And there you have it. Exact justice cannot spring from such a condition. Plums do not grow on thistles.

But the non-proprietor is utterly blind to the cause of his troubles. He submits to the rule of the proprietor, under the delusion that by some hocus pocus which he does not comprehend, all men may be proprietors. He prates about justice and mouths over the formula JUSTICE! by Altruist—Vanguard—II

"life, liberty and property" as though it had a real meaning for him, and without perceiving that it involves a contradiction. He does not understand the nature of property.

"What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?

The pound of flesh which I demand of him

Is dearly bought, 'tis mine, and I will have it.

If you deny me, fie upon your law!

There is no force in he decrees of Venice."

That is the relation which property holds to the notion of justice. Justice becomes a mere matter of law, a simple question of legality in the eyes of the proprietor. "If you deny me my right of property there is no justice. Fie upon your law! I stand for judgment; answer—shall I have it?" And what can the law, the government, do but enter judgment, since it is organized to protect the right of property? That is the social bond. That is codified justice.

Give your government whatever name you like, and, if it is organized on the basis of property, as surely as the sun shines it will develop into an oligarchy of proprietors who rule the lives and destin-

ies of a great mass of non-proprietors with an iron hand. A nation so founded, although formally guaranteeing protection to the life and liberty of its humblest citizen, will surely develop into a nation of masters and slaves. It cannot be otherwise. For the right of property is simply the right of the proprietor to live without labor, to enjoy the fruits of the labor of others without the return of an equivalent. If the proprietor returned to the laborer an equivalent for what he receives from him, the right of property would be extinguished; there would be no force in it; the proprietor would then be as much a producer as another, and that is by no means the motive of property. It is to enable men to enjoy without producing that property exists, and so long as government is organized to protect property, it will protect the non-producer at the expense of the producer.

The horrors of our sweat shops, the terrible atrocities of our mining regions and our cotton mills, the heart-breaking and humanity-killing struggle of the common laborer to procure the means of subsistence for himself and loved ones, the millions of willing workers who are seeking employment and finding it not, the tramp, the prison, the insane asylum, the charity organizations with their ubiquitous soup kitchens, are all legitimate results of the reign of property. All the obvious iniquities of our civilization spring from the long continued efforts of men to get something for nothing, to obtain wealth without producing it, and the very essence of the right of property is to permit men to do that; in short, to legalize robbery.

Workingmen are deluded by the idea of property. They imagine it a fine thing to be a proprietor, and the very height of their ambition, their highest conception of justice, centers in a state of society where all shall be proprietors. Such a society is among the impossibilities. The right of property is the right to enjoy without producing. Just to the extent that a man exercises this right, he consumes without laboring; he uses wealth produced by and belonging to somebody else; he obtains wealth without the return of an equivalent. It is utterly impossible for all to exercise such a right. If all men were proprietors, property would cease to exist. The universal exercise of the right would destroy the whole institution. Men could then easily see that there was no advantage in it; that it was simply robbing Peter to pay Paul; and being animated by the desire to render exact justice they would abolish a right the exercise of which has kept the human race groveling in a mire of superstition and slavery since the dawn of history.

Men have a right to live the lives of human beings. It is just that men should labor. It is just that they should enjoy the fruits of their labor. Exact justice consists in giving men the opportunity to labor and leaving them in free and undisturbed possession of its fruits. Any institution that denies this is unjust, and the government that protects and defends such an institution is not administering exact justice.

"You take my house when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

Our House of Lords

By WAYFARER

For years the United States Senate has been sarcastically referred to as the "Millionaire's Club House." The resignation of Senator Spooner, giving the reason that he felt forced to step into private business life in order to recoup his private fortune, has again called attention to the situation in Washington, and some remarkable facts are coming to light. It may seem odd that this line of investigation should have gotten its impetus from a man like Spooner, the recognized spokesman and handy-man of plutocratic and high finance interests in the American House of Lords, but it is the fact nevertheless, and, whether Spooner's reason is on the square or not, the inquiry is on the way, and benefit is likely to come out of it. The fact that is standing out in the clearest relief is the undoubted one that the government of the nation is now almost wholly in the hands of the wealthy, with the average citizen shut out from any voice in the actual law making. The people must obey such laws as plutocracy gives them. It is asserted that only a millionaire, as a rule, can stand the demands of the life of a United States senator. If a man tries to live the part at all, he must submit to a most extravagant living. In fact, in the words of Senator Beveridge, "it is becoming every day more difficult for any but a rich man, and a very rich man at that, to live in comparative decency in Washington." The living at the capital, even for the man who economizes, is fearfully high. In even the more modest hotels the price for the cheapest room is from \$3 to \$3.50 a day, without meals, and no reduction for a monthly term. The cost of meals is very high, and, to make matters worse, there is always some constituent dropping in who must be invited to dinner, in common courtesy. Old time simplicity is out of fashion, and it is estimated that the living expenses of the household of an average millionaire senator is something like \$30,000 a year. That comparatively poor men are elected to the lower house is doubtless true in some instances, but the presence of such men in Washington's law-making body is scarcely even the exception to prove the rule. In fact, at the present day, the poor man in Congress is there at the peril of his honesty. Being sent there by the old parties, and being ruled by capitalistic ethics, such a man is very likely to give up the struggle to stay straight after a while, and to tread the path that others tread, succumbing to lobby influences, and settling down to "looking out for number one."

It must be clear to the dullest mind that the present situation should not be allowed to continue, that the government established by the people must be gotten back to the people; that the fount of our national laws must be cleaned, and wrested from the class that simply represents the most predatory instincts of capitalism. It must be democratic again. But how can this be done so long as there is old party dominance? Under the regime of the capitalist parties it is inevitable that the rich men should run the government. So that here

again Social-Democracy appears as the savior of the people. When the Socialists get the upper hand in the government all the wrongs under which a "free" nation now groans will of necessity fall away. The solution of the trouble is very simple. If the people do not want their national capitol to be a capitalistic law factory, let them stop sending capitalist party representatives there. So long as they continue in the old way, they must abide the consequences.

The Austrian Victory

By VICTOR L. BERGER

FROM present reports it cannot be exactly stated how many Social-Democrats have been elected to the Austrian Reichs-Rath (Congress). It is the *first time* that elections have taken place under the general franchise. It is certain that at least 80 Social-Democrats were elected. In the last Reichs-Rath there were 11. So there can be no doubt that our Austrian comrades have won a tremendous victory.

It was, before all things, a victory over *Clericalism*—a victory over the Roman Catholic church in politics. And it was won by the *best* disciplined proletarian army in the world, by the Austrian Social-Democracy.

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The electoral system in Austria is the same as in Germany, and a *majority*, not a plurality, is necessary for an election. And according to cable dispatches, even for the Stich-Wahl (the second test) the Social-Democratic leaders have given out instructions to vote *against* the clericals by all means and under all conditions. "Der Schwarze ist fuer uns immer der schlimmste Feind"—("The priest is always our worst enemy") said the Socialist election manifesto.

And the working class of Austria voted accordingly.

The result was simply stupendous.

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Fifty-seven Socialists were chosen in the first elections. To this should probably be added three or four who won out on the later election day in Galicia. Furthermore, twenty-two were chosen in the secondary elections last week. Therefore there are eighty Social-Democrats or more, who will take their seats in the Austrian Reichs-Rath, in place of the former eleven Socialist delegates.

And it is now not only the Germans in Austria, but also the Czechs and the Poles, who send Social-Democratic representatives to Vienna. Even Italians and Ruthenians have elected Socialists. In fact, almost all the nationalities of the Austrian Empire prove that international Socialism has taken root in their midst.

We have no figures as to the total number of votes which the Social-Democratic candidates received. In Vienna the Socialists in the first election polled 124,355 votes, to which, of course, were opposed

the 184,762 so-called "Christian Socialists" (Clerical - Antisemites). The total for the entire country is not known here at the present time.

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The political significance of these elections in regard to universal suffrage is highly interesting.

The continual enmities among the different nationalities in Austria and in Hungary, the incessant conflicts between Austria and Hungary, and the eternal fighting between the Germans and Slavs, have brought the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the brink of ruin. Its fall was only a question of time.

The Clericals—represented by the bishops and the high aristocracy—had ruled and exploited the empire for centuries. From 1867 to 1873 a short period of capitalistic liberalism was tried with no better effect. The government slid back into the hands of the feudal-clerical clique. Austria was almost as badly governed as Spain.

The "falling apart" of the empire seemed to every one unavoidable. The Social-Democrats have given it now a new lease of life.

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And this explains the curious phenomenon that just when the German emperor would like to try to abolish universal suffrage, at the same time the Hapsburg emperor—Francis Joseph I., the tyrant of 1848—has come out as a champion of *universal suffrage*.

The Austrian emperor—although probably the most bigoted monarch in Europe and a scion of a ruling house which gave the world a Phillip II. of Spain and the "30 years war," a religious war—yet even this man had learned a little in the sixty years of his rule. He had learned *one* thing: He could see no possible chance for the old feudal-clerical regime. He was also tired of the eternal strife of nationalities, which his predecessors and their clerical advisors had artificially fomented in the past—in order to rule according to the old proverb, Divide et impere, divide and rule!

Francis Joseph this time has shown far more wisdom than could have been hoped from a Hapsburg, the most stupid dynasty in Europe.

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Of course, the remedy was close at hand.

The Social-Democrats *demand*ed the general franchise. Being in absolute control of the trades union movement of the empire, they threatened to declare a *general strike* if the working class was not given the right to vote. So it was easy for the emperor to prevail upon the aristocracy, the bishops and capitalists to grant the franchise to the proletariat.

And the emperor's expectations in the power of Social-Democracy were more than realized. For the elections everywhere have dealt crushing defeats to the national parties.

The bourgeois press in Vienna admits that, after all, *only* the Social-Democratic party was victorious in Austria.

Yet Clericalism is still a tremendous power in Austria.

As a matter of fact the Social-Democracy is the only party capable of holding Austria together. This has been preached by the So-

cial-Democrats there for a long time. The Social-Democrats have no interest in seeing Austria fall to pieces. The German provinces would probably have to go to Germany, the Slavonic parts would be gobbled up by Russia—neither outlook was very much to the taste of the Social-Democracy.

If Social-Democracy is to accomplish anything towards the fulfillment of its ideals, it must do this also within the circle of present conditions.

Socialism is international. It has long ago overcome national prejudices within its own ranks. Social-Democracy alone will be strong enough to prevent capitalists big and small from using the cloak of nationality for the satisfaction of their own special interests. This is not only true for Austria. It will hold good for Hungary when it has also secured universal suffrage.

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For the first effect of Social-Democratic victory will be that the introduction of universal suffrage in Hungary will become inevitable. Our Hungarian comrades understood this at once. They celebrated their Austrian brothers' victory at the polls with tremendous demonstration in Budapest.

The ruling clique in Hungary will indeed make a hard fight for two reasons.

First, the property-holding class of the Magyars and especially the land-owning "gentry," like every other ruling class, abhors the granting of equal rights to the proletariat.

Second, universal suffrage will also menace the political hegemony of the ruling nationality in Hungary, of the Magyars. But this has transformed one-half of that tribe into office holders, big and small, something like the Mandchus in China, and very much like the Mandchus in character.

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It is claimed that the Austrian emperor is well satisfied with the results of the election. He hopes that in the future some way will be found to down Socialism, as the Social-Democrats have been used to end the strife of nationalities.

The advantage accruing to the government was, of course, not the aim of the Socialists, but only a necessarily obtained by-product. The Hapsburgs and their government are clerical to the marrow of their bones, and for that reason alone they will soon be sorry for having given the general franchise to the working people.

Yet the stagnation in the Austrian empire is broken, and the path is smoothed for the Socialist ideas to penetrate the depths of the people. Up till now church and state in Austria have erected a Chinese wall against any movement of modern life.

And the proletarians of the world are proud of the deeds of their well-disciplined comrades in Austria.

Socialist Women in Finland

The nineteen women members who took their seats in the opening of the Finnish diet on May 22 include eleven Socialists, and while they will work and act in accord with their male colleagues of that party, they promise to force some distinctively feminine and sex issues to the fore.

Radical changes in the marriage and divorce laws; equal recognition of illegitimate children and education for all are among the issues on the women's program, and if their male party associates hesitate to support them, they have a powerful weapon in their hands to bring the men to their senses.

The women of Finland have their own Socialistic party, which has grown with lightning speed, until now the ambition of every peasant girl in the village is to become an enrolled member. It is asserted that more than 70 per cent of all the working women and servants in this land of the midnight sun already are members of the Socialist Women's union. They aim to rule the country—through the men. The nineteen women in the diet and their wishes will be treated with respect, and the deference due to such a powerful and influential constituency as they represent.

School teachers, editors, washerwomen, farmers' wives and members of the old Swedish aristocracy are among the first women members of a national legislature.

The Socialist members are the most interesting just now because their party is the strongest of the four represented in the diet and because the women Socialists are more radical than the men.

Among the Socialist women members are three of marked political ability, Mrs. Milna Sillanpaa, Mrs. Maria Raunio and Miss Mimmi Kannervo.

Mrs. Sillanpaa is the only one who has a husband. She is 40 years old and an indefatigable organizer. She has walked hundreds of miles through the country, making speeches and organizing branches of the Socialist Women's union. She is the editor of a woman's Socialist newspaper in Helsingfors now and presides at the sessions of the central committee. She has written scores of special articles for workingwomen and published hundreds of pamphlets.

Miss Mimmi Kannervo, who comes from Abo, is a beautiful peasant girl, who has educated herself and has the gift of oratory to a marked degree. She is adored by her women comrades, who hang upon her words and are willing to listen for hours while she talks. No more radical Socialist lives in this country. At a meeting of many thousand working women in Abo recently she closed a stirring address with this impassioned address:

"More than the workingmen are we, the women who toil, enslaved by the present capitalistic society. Our first step must be to free ourselves from this slavery by taking an active part in lawmaking and the political struggle for our independence. How difficult has it been for me to educate myself after a hard day's work on a farm or in the factory while the woman of the privileged classes was wasting that

time in theater-going, expensive amusement or the pursuit of fashion. A single dinner of my former employer cost more than would a year's education for me in school. Down with our social oppressors! Long live the Socialist Women's union!"

Niiles Robert of Ursin, the political leader of the officers of the diet, is the son of an old scholar and an orator. He has written much for the foreign Socialist press and published an interesting book, "The Question of the Finnish

Working People."

A striking personality among the Socialists is Yorjo Sirola, editor of the Socialist newspaper, "Tyomies," in Helsingfors and secretary of the party. He is the son of a minister and has been a teacher. His program is a free education for every child, and free land for every farm worker. He said recently:

"I sympathize with the Russian revolutionists, but I do not like to mix our policy with the Russian. I hate the taxes and the army."

Is Socialism Theft?

By R. F. SUTHERS, in Clarion

One of the favorite, perhaps the favorite argument of certain opponents of Socialism is, "Socialism is robbery." They talk of Socialists as "the predatory party," and "the party of confiscation."

There are two kinds of people who use this argument.

First, those who use it because they are entirely ignorant of the aims of Socialists.

Second, those who, knowing the meaning of Socialism, seek to work on the fears of owners of property, especially workingmen owners, and to enlist their influence against the Socialists.

A leader writer in a Birmingham (Eng.) paper said recently, "Socialism means that every workingman with a hundred dollars in the bank, or a house of his own, will be compelled to hand over his property to the state."

Another writer said the aim of Socialists was "the taking away from the present possessors of certain advantages for the purpose of

conferring them upon others," and that "the temptation to annex the property of others by safe and legal means" was likely to be successful so long as human nature is what it is.

Socialism, according to one view, means the robbery of individuals *by the state*.

According to the other view, it means the robbery by one class of the property and advantages of another class.

The writer mentioned said: "The clearly expressed intention of the leaders of the Socialistic movement is to legislate wholly and solely for the benefit of the physical worker at the cost of those who do not labor with their hands."

I propose to show that (1) Socialism is not robbery of the individual; (2) that Socialism is not robbery by one class of another class.

The object of Socialism, as stated by Socialists, is the ownership and control by the people of all the

means for producing wealth.

At present the bulk of the property is owned and controlled by individuals, companies and trusts.

Does it necessarily follow that in order to obtain possession of this property robbery must take place?

Not at all. There is such a thing as purchase. This property can be bought—just as 1,000 municipalities bought their waterworks, just as 260 municipalities bought their gasworks, just as 300 municipalities bought their electricity works, just as 100 municipalities bought their street railways—just as the governments of Prussia and Belgium and Japan bought their railways and made them the property of all the people.

"But," our opponents retort, "it would be unfair to deprive people of their property compulsorily."

That is another question. No one can say it is robbery for the government to take a man's property if he is compensated.

The question now is, "Is it unjust?"

When the government requires a piece of land for a naval station or an arsenal, when a municipality requires a piece of land or a building in order to make street widenings, when a railway requires land for a railway sanctioned by legislation, how do they obtain these properties?

By compulsion, if the owner will not sell by agreement. Is this unjust?

No one would listen to such an objection. When it is decided that these measures are for the benefit of the whole people, the individual has to give way.

That is to say, it is generally admitted that the opinion of the whole people must be considered before the opinion of the individual. The good of the nation is of more im-

portance than the good of any individual or group of individuals.

Now apply this principle to the ownership of the means for producing a living for the people.

Is it for the benefit of the nation that these properties should be owned and controlled by individuals, or by the whole people?

Socialists believe it is not good for a nation that a few individuals should own and control the means of life.

If the Socialists are right, it would not be unjust for the people to take over the ownership and control of the means of production.

On what grounds, then, can Socialists be termed the predatory party of confiscation?

The late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge said: "The particular rules by which the enjoyment of property is regulated, differing in every country in the world, must rest at last upon one and the same foundation—the general advantage."

Our opponents say that it is the declared object of the Social-Democrats to legislate entirely for the benefit of the manual worker at the expense of those who do not work with their hands.

The only answer to this argument is that it is not true. No Socialist ever made such a foolish statement. It directly contradicts the published principles of the Socialist organizations, wherein it is set forth that the object of Socialism is the *national* ownership of the means of life and government by the people for the people.

That is to say, a Socialist government would govern in the interests of the *whole* people. Socialism stands for justice, and the brain worker would receive equal consideration with the manual worker.

Under our present system, neither muscles nor brains are fairly treat-

ed. It so happens that some manual workers are better organized than some brain workers, and they are beginning to make their claims heard. But that is not a reason for assuming that Socialism means legislation entirely for the benefit of the manual worker at the expense of the brain worker. There is no sense in connecting the two things.

Is Socialism Robbery?

Millions of people are robbed of life, millions are robbed of most that makes life sweet and worthy, today.

Socialism would not confiscate property, it would confiscate the power of private property. It would confiscate the power of private capitalists to say who should or who should not be employed. It would confiscate the power of individuals to live on interest and dividends they had not earned. It would confiscate all privileges which enable one man to enslave his fellow. If that is robbery, then Socialists are robbers.

But what about that sacred hundred dollars of the working man? He is told that the state is going to take it from him, and he is given to understand that the state is going to take it from him and give him nothing in exchange. That is, to rob him.

Let us first ask what is meant by the state? Who is this state that is going to rob the working man?

When our opponents think of the state, they think of the government of

today. When Socialists talk of the state they mean "the whole nation."

So, when our opponents tell the working man the state is going to rob him of his hundred dollars, he is led to think of a Government like that of today, taking his hundred dollars and giving him nothing for it.

But, as I have explained, any person whose property is taken over by the state is compensated.

And, as the gentlemen who write these lies well know, Socialism does not mean dividing up either, and their lies anyhow kill each other when they are brought face to face. Socialists cannot at the same time rob the working man and fill his pocket with other people's money.

We cannot establish Socialism until the people desire it. Our opponents seem to think that it is possible for a handful of Socialists to "rob" the rest of the nation.

No. Socialism is not robbery. It is a system of society, based on justice, and the taking over of the land and capital would only be the beginning of that system. Our opponents seem to think that it would be the end of our society.

But given Socialism, given cooperation instead of competition and all the strife and waste and friction caused by the disorderly scramble for a living, and our power to produce wealth would be enormously increased. That is what our opponents fail to see. The means of a decent life would be obtainable by every worker—hand or brain.

A tramp was one day strolling through a wood that belonged to the Duke of Norfolk.

The duke happened to meet him, and said:

"Do you know you're walking on my land?"

"Your land?" said the tramp. "Well, I've got no land of my own, so I'm obliged to walk on somebody's. Where, though, did you get this land?"

"I got it from my ancestors," said the duke.

"And where did they get it from?" went on the tramp.

"From their ancestors," said the duke.

"And where did their ancestors get it from?"

"They fought for it."

"Come on, then," said the tramp fiercely, as he pulled off his coat, "I'll fight you for it."

But the duke, retreating hastily, declined to accept this fair offer.—Washington Star.

State Aid for the Child

By ALD. EMIL SEIDEL

The greatest need of our schools is a staff of teachers who have chosen this vocation for the love of it.

However, let us not forget that the worry over a livelihood exercises a depressing influence upon the activities and aspirations of any person in any walk of life; and just so with a teacher.

In our GREATER MILWAUKEE we pay a teacher as little as \$400 per year, or less than \$7.60 a week. Some one will say it's more. 'Tis true, it's more. SEVEN DOLLARS AND SIXTY ONE AND NINETEEN TWENTY-SIXTHS OF A CENT. This magnanimous sum for the teacher of my boy and girl! We can not hire the most unskilled labor for that price. But the man that protects the copper penny that I carry in my pocket is started with a weekly pay of over \$16 per week—more than twice the amount we pay a teacher. If wages are a standard—then the rights of a boy and girl are only, or less than, half as sacred as the rights of a cent.

Here is the second great need of our schools. Give our schools the same chance that we are giving our police department and I assure you the schools will do better work than the best police department can ever do. Our schools are the only real enemy of crime. **OUR SCHOOLS NEED A SQUARE DEAL.**

Do not be deceived, my fellow citizens. You cannot cheat our youth. Not any more than you can cheat our mother soil. Whatsoever ye sow that also shall ye reap. The

prosecution of a criminal is costlier than the proper education of a child. And what you save in the expense and maintenance of our schools you will pay back with compound interest for penitentiaries.

The playground has never yet come into its right. It is but natural that an age of work and toil deprecates or at least ignores the existence of this important factor. Even to this day the voices are but few that are raised in behalf of more, larger and better equipped playgrounds. Our age is preeminently the age of toil. To that degree it is materialistic. An undertaking that is not paying meets disfavor. This spirit has so permeated our every tissue that one of the latest suggestions brought forward in the world of pedagogy is to put the school on a self-sustaining basis.

Why is the boy from the country stronger and more aggressive and a shrewder observer, and more powerful of voice and muscle and mind, and more successful than the boy bred and reared in our city schools? Answer for yourselves!

So long as the family plays the part in the life of a child that it does, and the state does for the child what it does, both have a claim on the child—the family and the state.

The state draws upon the children of the family for its citizens. And since a poor child, ignorant and ill-trained, can not be a good citizen, the state has recognized its duty to see to its schooling.

But what shall we do? The course of school must not be at an end with the age of fourteen. When

children must work throughout the day we must provide clubs and clubrooms for them, where we can give them a wholesome relaxation, and the so necessary recreation that they crave. Remember the youth of the city are social creatures. You cannot begin to confine them for the few hours that are allotted them.

These boys and girls can be divided into classes and clubs. These clubs must pursue such work as minister to the mental and physical needs of their members. Let the musically inclined have their bands, and their orchestras; their quartets and their choirs. Provide them with directors, this being necessary only for some period of time, as in due time these institutions will supply their own leaders. Some have love and desire for art; let them have their clubs for sculpture and painting, and drawing, and sketch-

ing and designing. Give them teachers.

Dramatic clubs will follow stage work. Athletic clubs will perfect the physique.

Literary clubs will develop those with literary inclinations. Reading rooms must be supplied. Games can be played. The social feature must not be neglected. They must have their amusements. They shall have their entertainments. At these they shall shine. Their exhibitions of skill and ability will fill our hearts with delight and afford them pleasure.

Along with all this must go a course of training and preparation for citizenship that will make them the peers of their parents in understanding of our government and its institutions. This will prepare them to be useful to the country and happy for themselves.

Socialism not Communism

By FREDERIC HEATH

Socialism has been again proven a failure! This time it is the surprisingly long deferred breaking up of the Equality colony in the state of Washington that furnishes the capitalist editors with their text. The following headlines are from the daily papers: "Free Love Wrecks Colony—Socialists Carry Ideas to Extreme, and Washington 'Equality' Is Bankrupt." So that it "appears" that not only did "Socialism fail to work" in this instance, but the Socialists carried their principles to the "extreme," which is "free love," so that the wreck was also an immoral one. This sounds like old times, this capitalist paper report. For it is not so many years ago that many people were kept from listening to our principles because the capitalist newspapers had a free field in which to miseducate them with regard to us and what we stood for.

Now, in the first place, Communism is *not* Socialism. Communistic experiments have nothing to do with the principles of Socialism, and when a communistic experiment goes to pieces, and there are economic reasons why they are bound to fail, it is not the principle of Socialism that has failed. Equality was not an experiment in Socialism. Socialism has to do with a phase of society, with its

evolution toward a higher civilization. Socialism cannot be tried in little spots and on a small scale, any more than you could successfully color a square yard of the ocean red. Socialism means the collective ownership of the means and forces of production and distribution. How could you change all of this in an experimental way in one small place? It would take the mind of a Muenchausen to even think of such folly. And even the communistic experiments, which *can* be tried in a small locality, are soon engulfed, like the square yard of red color in the ocean, by the surrounding element.

This particular experiment in Washington, the "Equality" colony, is not at all unknown to the Socialists. When the old *Coming Nation* of J. A. Wayland was green in the movement and led a number of its followers to ruin in an ill-starred colony down in Tennessee, called Ruskin, it was also much used by other communists in order to put various utopian dreams into execution. One of these dreams was known as the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and it proposed to colonize a western state and "establish Socialism." So many did it mislead that when the national Socialist organization was formed in Chicago in 1897 it had strength enough to graft upon the organization a colonization department, spite of all the actual Socialists in the convention could do. A year later the thing was thrown off. The Socialists having been overwhelmed in number by Communists and Anarchists, had to start the national party over again. The little, hard-scrabble colony of Equality was all that came of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth movement and its convention victory, and its subsequent history has fulfilled all the warning predictions the Socialists made for it at the time. It was a failure and an injury to most of those who went into it.

As to that "cause" of the wreck; the "Socialist idea carried to the extreme!"—that the Socialist idea carried to the extreme is the thing bourgeois editors refer to as "free love," is certainly comical. If there was any of that sort of thing in the colony, the best we can say is that the colony was not able to keep capitalistic examples out. Perhaps there were Thaws, and Whites, and imitators of the steel trust and other millionaires there, although we are not very sure. Most of such people, as a rule, have such wide open opportunities outside that they are not apt to want to take to the woods. However, we have before us an answer to a letter to a Socialist official in the state of Washington, in which he says: "So far as the writer knows Equality had few who believed in free love." And he says that the break-up was due to inharmony.

All communist experiments give "reasons" for the inevitable failure, but to the student of social science the cause can always be traced to the one fact: The impossibility of driving people backward to a primitive condition of labor as an escape from capitalism. The remedy for capitalism, the only possible one, lies not in going backward, but forward—not in tearing down the structure evolution has erected, but in completing it—for capitalism has been organizing industry ready for the mass ownership of Socialism.

The Municipal Program of the Socialists

Realizing that the first victories of the working class must be won in the cities, we accept the gauntlet thrown down to us by the capitalist class, and will fight in the municipality for such principles and methods as will secure for the people who work with hand and brain, security of life, health and means of culture.

Our opponents in the Republican party have finally accepted the principle of collective ownership as applied to the municipality, and this principle is no longer even debatable. For sufficient evidence, we refer to the last message of the governor of Wisconsin to the state legislature.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

In principles of management of municipal utilities, however, the following striking difference between the ideals of the capitalists and those of the Social-Democracy, must be recognized:

First—The capitalist administration would operate municipal utilities on the usual principle of commercial transaction, giving rebates to large consumers of water, light, gas, etc.

On the other hand, the representatives of the working class demand that public enterprises be operated:

(a) Either free of cost to the public, and paid for out of the general fund; or,

(b) Services to be furnished at a cost of production; or,

(c) When service is furnished at a profit, the profit shall be applied

in such manner as to benefit the whole people, and not to reduce taxes.

Second—Capitalists maintain the basis for graft in public enterprises,

(a) By creating official positions with high salaries, and insisting that only members of their class are fit for these positions;

(b) By positions involving large responsibility but paying inadequate salaries;

(c) By perpetuating the contract system in public affairs, giving opportunity for rake-off and boodle.

On the other hand, the Social-Democracy demands:

(a) Application of the civil service principle through all ranks of public service, and also the equalization of salaries.

(b) The inauguration of a complete system of public works department in municipal affairs, and abolition of the contract system.

Third—Capitalist administrations aim to control municipal utilities for the capitalist class.

(a) By limiting the financing and bonding power, so as to throw the control in the hands of the bankers and money power;

(b) By giving absolute authority during the term of office to public officials, thus enabling them to sell out the people.

Social-Democracy, on the other hand, demands:

(a) That cities be empowered to issue bonds for productive properties, and that the state shall loan money to cities for these purposes, so as to deliver the people from the

money power and the bankers.

(b) The introduction of the initiative and referendum on all matters pertaining to the public welfare and to the holding of public office.

TAXATION.

To secure funds for the carrying out of some of these plans, we demand:

First—That all assessments for taxation shall be based upon an accurate statement of the actual value of all properties.

Second—That there be no discrimination in favor of profit-making enterprises and business establishments, in the making of assessments. We do not believe that the homes of working men should be assessed at from two to four times the rate applied to manufacturing establishments, as is now often the case.

Third—We demand that the city be given the right to purchase any piece of property at 10 per cent above its assessed valuation.

We believe that the application of these principles will furnish ample funds for the carrying out of all wholesome measures for the benefit of the people who work, and they will not do any injury to honest industrial or commercial enterprises.

We demand the right of recall from office of any public official by

referendum vote.

We demand that all public servants be given salaries adequate to the position which they are called upon to occupy, and the services which they are expected to perform, so that a working man can afford to accept positions of public service without fear of losing his living.

We demand that organized labor be recognized in all city work, and that the eight-hour day be the rule for city employees.

We demand that the city shall provide work for its unemployed citizens.

We demand that the city shall employ a number of attorneys to conduct just cases for the poor. The fee system for justices of the peace and constables shall be abolished.

We demand that the city shall declare a public holiday on all election days, which shall be compulsory, and that a penalty shall be exacted from all employers of wage labor who shall ignore the order.

We demand principals in public schools shall be required to devote one-half of their time to instruction. The salaries of assistant teachers to be raised first, before those of highly-paid principals. The large hall in each school building shall be available for public meetings of every nature.

That big Socialist victory in Finland shows who is marching all right. By the election of eighty members of parliament the Finland Social-Democracy takes the lead of all national divisions of international Socialism in the number in the national body. And still we have to confess it that of almost all the leading nations of earth the United States of Capitalism is the

only one in which Socialists have not as yet entered the national law-making body. However "not yet—but soon!"

Internationally the workers are "the lower classes." Nationally they are "undesirable citizens." And locally they are "scum of the earth." At least this is the ruling minority's opinion of them.

An Outworn Garment

By VICTOR L. BERGER

ARISTOTLE, the great Greek philosopher, in his famous work on politics, described the constitutions of all the different states known to him. And he said that the state existed longest and prospered most which was readiest to change its constitution and adapt it to changed conditions.

This rule holds good today. It holds good for the United States, and for the state of Wisconsin.

* * *

Our last constitution was adopted in 1848. At that time, Wisconsin was virtually a frontier state. The greatest part of it was covered with one vast primeval forest. The largest city, Milwaukee, had about 30,000 inhabitants. There were only a few towns which had a population of from two to five thousand.

Manufacturing in the United States was then in its childhood, and there was hardly any manufacturing done in a border state like Wisconsin. Corporations in the present sense were not known.

In those days a corporation meant a city or a township. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no telephones, and of course, no street cars. Public schools were few and far between. A man who could read and "reckon" was looked up to as a wizard in very many country places. Capitalism in its present form and development was not even dreamt of.

The constitution adopted at that time, of course, was made to suit those conditions. It was made to express the needs of a frontier state. It reflected the political, social and economic conditions of the day.

* * *

What a great difference between the Wisconsin of 1907 and the Wisconsin of the Black Hawk war! Today Wisconsin is the seventh state in the Union as far as manufacturing is concerned. The total output of manufactured products was \$360,818,942 in 1900.

In 1848 we had no proletariat in the present sense. Entirely new classes have come into existence since that time. In 1848 any man with a strong pair of arms and moderately good habits could not only make his living comfortably, but also lay the foundation for a prosperous second generation by simply sticking to the land. Today we have not only an economically powerful class of capitalists, but also a very numerous proletariat which to all ends and purposes has become a *fixed class*.

We have tremendous aggregations of capital, big railroad companies, public service corporations, and greedy and grasping corporations of all kinds. Their oppressive power is felt by the last pioneer farmer in the northern part of the state.

In 1848 the only evil influence which the people seemed to fear was the issuing of wild-cat money by the banks. And the people took especial pains to provide against this in their constitution. Today there is no wild-cat money. The bank money is good enough if we can get hold of it. But the banks themselves have become simply the handmaids of the big corporations and trusts.

The economic conditions have changed absolutely.

* * *

Now, if we were influenced only by party motives, we should simply say, "Keep your old constitution. Under the present constitution, our legislature cannot make good laws. All good laws, such as are made to fit changed conditions, are necessarily unconstitutional. And if no laws are made to alleviate the hardships of the people, the people will, of necessity, become revolutionary and Social-Democratic."

So, from a Socialistic party standpoint, the present constitution would be just the very thing we should want.

But this is not the way we reason. We have so much confidence in the righteousness of our cause and the inevitableness of Socialism, that we know that even the strongest constitution cannot stop our progress in the end. On the other hand, a good and timely constitution will do away with a great deal of *avoidable* friction. It will make *sane* and *constructive progress* possible.

* * *

I will just mention a few details of our constitution as they happen to come to my mind.

There is, for instance; the item of compensation for the state school superintendent. That was fixed in 1848 at \$1,200 a year and was sufficient for that time. But the state school superintendent still gets only \$1,200, although the salary of the superintendent of the Milwaukee public schools is \$6,000 annually. In order to get a state school superintendent who is in any way competent for the position, resort is made to a form of graft. The superintendent is given a number of clerkships, which he does *not* fill, but draws the salaries. Now, if this should be done in any other position, it might be considered a criminal offense. Yet that is the only way that the office of state school superintendent can be upheld.

* * *

Another important point is the way the corporations are treated. In our constitution, only the cities and townships are mentioned as corporations. Virtually, the Milwaukee street railway company and the city of Milwaukee are on the same level, as far as the constitution is concerned, although one represents men and the other represents only dollars.

The power of cities is exceedingly limited. Milwaukee, for instance, a city of 350,000 inhabitants, has no home rule whatsoever. Even in small matters, it is absolutely governed by the legislature. Now these legislators may be well-meaning men, but they are men from up state who know little or nothing about the vital needs of a large city like Milwaukee. In 1848, that was all well enough. There

were then no large cities in Wisconsin and the conditions were very much the same in all parts of the state. Today this arrangement is obsolete and dangerous, and is the cause of a great deal of hardship and even of *graft*.

* * *

Another point. The state cannot be a party to any interior improvement under our present constitution. So the great state of Wisconsin has not the power to build a little wagon road two miles long. Its own constitution forbids that.

* * *

Amendments to the constitution are very cumbersome. They have first to pass through two consecutive legislatures, which in itself is very difficult, on account of certain vested interests which like to fish in the muddled waters of our constitution. Then each amendment must be signed by the governor, and afterwards voted upon by the people, before it is adopted.

And, at best, such amendments can be only patch-work. The constitution was made for a state in its childhood. This same state has since come to maturity. The constitution is simply a cloak for our body politic. To compel us to live under our present constitution is very much like compelling a grown person to wear baby clothes.

* * *

But it has been said by some ultra-conservative people who hate everything that looks like a change, that the lawyers and the courts understand this constitution and know how to interpret the laws accordingly. They would first have to learn a new constitution, and this would make trouble.

Now, in the first place, the constitution is not made for the lawyers and for the courts, but ought to be made for the people.

We all know that every law is interpreted in three or four different ways, according to the personal likes and prejudices of the lawyers and the courts. Even the decisions of the Supreme courts have been fearfully inconsistent. A tremendous amount of injustice and barbarism is rampant, on account of our antiquated constitution.

* * *

I repeat that the constitution of Wisconsin was all well enough in 1848 and for its day and its conditions. So were the constitutions of Crete, of Carthage, and of Sparta, in their time. Aristotle mentions them as model constitutions. But would we want to apply them to Wisconsin?

And are we to be tied to an antiquated document for the sole reason that some vested interests worship it as a fetish, because there is no efficient way to curb them under this constitution? Because, when the constitution was framed, their existence was not foreseen?

Are we to live forever under a constitution which makes provision against duelling, but none against trusts?

This is one of the questions that our present legislature has failed to answer.

Shots at Capitalism

By INDEX

Corey, the steel trust profligate, had four stewards, a maid, a valet and five servants to attend himself and his comic opera bride in their trip across the Atlantic. Thus, again, do we see the beneficent working of the capitalist system, which the reckless Socialists wish to destroy. Mrs. Corey No. 2 was indisposed the first part of the trip and remained in the "green boudoir," attended by her Italian maid. All meals were served in the "white drawing room." The "coming and going up and down the private stairways of the servants during meals" was not noticed by the passengers, the dispatches say. (Of course, you, Mr. Common Worker, with your early trudge to the factory, your cold tin pail dinners, and your dodging of butcher and grocer bills, are too "common" to even dream of taking your wife to Europe on a honeymoon, but if you could, you'd have to go steerage, just one plane removed from the bilgewater, and there'd be no "green boudoirs" or "white drawing rooms" in yours, for you are only a maker, not a receiver, of wealth. Capitalism has sentenced you to hard labor in order that the Coreys and their ilk may live their regal, perfumed lives, and go to their final rest amidst costly flowers and under granite monuments. Instead of disapproving of the Coreys, you should be mighty glad there are such, else who would provide you with work and keep you from starving? You keep **them** going, you say! Tut, tut, that's seditious talk, that only a Socialist would be guilty of. Get over the foolish notion that nature makes one man the same as another and that it is society that dooms a few to gilded indolence and the many to endless drudgery. That's rank, staring Socialism—and a Socialist is an undesirable citizen!

There is a sentence in the reply made by Adj. Gen. Bulkeley Wells, of Colorado, to former Adj. Gen. Sherman Bell's attack on him that is worth a moment's attention. Says Wells:

"When I succeeded him as adjutant

general I found the forces **disorganized**, but that was no fault of his. It was inevitable in the circumstance of the service the men were called upon to perform. **The men were unwilling to re-enlist and the regiment had almost dwindled away.**"

From this it appears that the shocking misuse of the state troops in Colorado in 1904 recoiled on the state administration, and that disorganization resulted. The state militia lost caste with the people and it was hard to get men to enlist. And in the face of this lesson the state has been again prostituting the military in the Moyer-Haywood kidnapping affair. And the Colorado military history also shows how utterly bad is the present system of state military organization, in which only a small part of the people are armed and those who are, must be at the command of any old party politician who happens to become governor. The thing inherently spells despotism and dangerous abuse, and the people should have none of it.

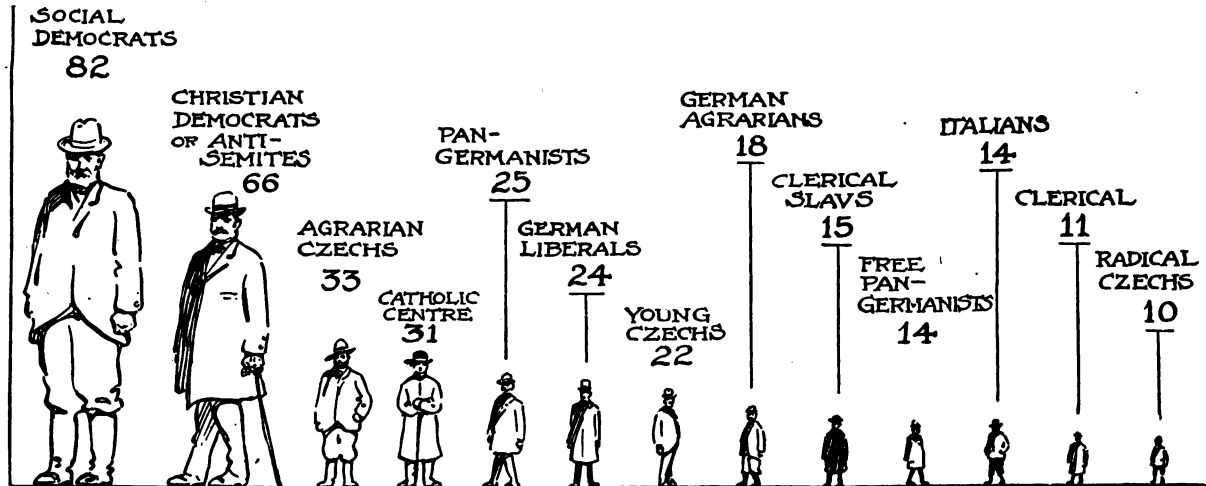
Continued gains for Social-Democracy are reported from England, where the Socialists work hand in hand with the established trade unions. Three Independent Labor Socialist party men were elected to the board of guardians at Shipley, two in Norwich, seven in Rotherham, two in Morpeth, one in Warrington, three in Kettering, three in Swansea, one in Wellington, one in Dublin, and two in Southwark; a net gain of about 10 seats.

With one exception all labor bills were killed ingloriously in the Illinois legislature, leaving some of the old style union men to wonder how the representatives of "their" parties could be so cruel. Same old story. They should send Socialists to make the laws, and Labor has enough votes to do it as soon as it stops giving them to the capitalist politicians.

Iceland now has a Social-Democratic paper. More latitude!

IN THE AUSTRIAN REICHSRATH

[From the Literary Digest]



Since the above was made the full returns show 87 Social-Democrats. In addition to the above represented parties there were 100 members elected by 16 minor parties, each one too small to be shown by a figure as above.