

INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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The subscription price of INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM from this date will be 50 cents a year to everybody alike; 25 cents for six months.

STREET railway employees of Toledo, Ohio, are about to start a co-operative store. This was the road traveled by English employees. Then as they became stronger, they began manufacturing.

GERMAN Socialists polled nearly 1,000,000 MORE votes than any other party. In an election at Lille, France, the socialist candidate, M. Delory, beat his opponent, supported by a fusion, by 2,373 to 2,152 votes.

Progress.—The war department refused a contract for 100,000 overcoats to a firm otherwise acceptable, because of the protest of the United Garment Workers' Association, supported by the American Federation of Labor. See? The administration has friends who wish to be elected this fall. Organized labor has many votes. Let workingmen go into politics and they will win every time.

Pauper Labor.—We hear a great deal about our country being ruined by the importation of articles made by "pauper labor." Of the shoes imported into Great Britain in 1897, 45 per cent or nearly one-half were made by American "paupers," so much worse off than their fellows in Europe that they made shoes cheaply enough to allow for a 3,000 mile "haul" across the ocean and still be "at the bottom of the ladder." Poor pauper!

FRENCH papers are devoting much space to direct legislation. In Illinois the democratic platform declares for direct legislation and public ownership of monopolies. In Kansas the populist platform is almost acceptable to the socialists. The lesson is simple: If a nominee who has a fair chance of election suits you, vote for him. Where the leading candidates are all opposed to reform, don't be afraid to stand alone, and in a little while you will either have a majority with you, or else one of the leading parties will take up your cause.

Landlordism vs. Socialism.—Millions of acres of German soil are kept from human use by being devoted to game preserves for the nobility. The socialist voters number over 2,000,000, of whom 1,500,000 have not tasted meat for six months. The landlords do two things: 1. They fence the people off the soil in order to make deer parks and pheasant ranges; and 2. They put heavy import duties on American wheat and pork, so that their own wheat and pork will be dear. This is one reason why the socialist or "humanity before luxury" party has become the largest of all German political parties. In one district where Emperor William has a large game "preserve" the socialist vote rose from 664 in 1893 to 9,829 in 1898. No wonder that the emperor is uneasy!

Two Sympathetic Strikes.—One occurred in 1894. The Pullman Palace Car Co. built cottages. Employees renting other cottages were discharged, so that by 1896 almost the entire force were paying rather high rents into the coffers of the company. Hard times came on. Wages were cut down and the number of days per week were reduced—but the rents were not reduced. The men were in arrears for rent and their families hungry. Those who rented other cottages, because they were cheaper, were cashed in on once. Finally the men struck. In aid of the defenseless carbuilders, help appeared in the form of a sympathetic strike by the members of the American Railway union, who refused to handle trains which included Pullman coaches. The plutocratic press was loud in condemnation of "sympathetic" strikers in general, and in praise of Pere Cleveland who called out the army to suppress the "sympathy." In 1898 Cuban workers were being starved by their idle Spanish overlords against the unanimous protest Messrs. \$8 and \$2. The workers of America compelled the administration to reverse the policy of the former administration and send both regulars and militia in a "sympathetic" strike, which is probably one of the most successful on record. All glory to the feeling of international brotherhood which has overcome the combined strength of Wall and Lombard streets.

CO-OPERATIVE COLONIES.

One of the best evidences of the vitality of the co-operative movement is the manifold forms in which it manifests itself.

Co-operative efforts are usually along one or the other of these lines: 1. Political, as nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, city ownership of street cars—electric—and water works, etc.

2. Voluntary co-operation without colonization, as in creameries, elevators, evaporators, laundries, bakeries, etc., etc.

3. Co-operation by the formation of colonies.

Political co-operation is, of course, the ideal way, but as it is possible only when a majority of the state will grant a law and after this a majority of the local community favor the proposed measure, it is wearisomely slow, but is steadily growing the whole world over.

Co-operation without colonization is more easily inaugurated than political. It seems specially successful when the business management, ordinarily a large item of expense, is furnished gratis by a local board of directors, the manual labor only being a cash expense. Stores and farming seem to succeed less frequently than creameries, bakeries, elevators, evaporators, etc.

In the matter of colonization there are many plans. Perhaps the best known is Ruskin, at Ruskin, Tenn., a purely socialistic colony, with a strong central management; power of the colony to suspend a member for six months or less; no opportunity for individual business.

Another colony, organized about the same time as Ruskin, but on entirely different lines, is Fairhope, at Fairhope, Ala. In this colony the association simply owns the land, which is assigned to those desiring it, the only condition being that the person who desires to monopolize a portion of the association land, shall pay into the association treasury a fair equivalent. The lease is perpetual, but the payments may vary from year to year. No money is paid for the land, thereby avoiding the necessity for buying. The members pay a rental to be sure, but this rental goes into the common treasury to be used for the common good in public improvements, such as a wharf, school, hotel, etc. At Fairhope co-operation is wholly voluntary; those who wish to do so may co-operate as in a creamery, fruit selling, steamer, etc. At the outset the association operated a store. This was finally wholly divorced from the association, though all the members of the association hold stock in the store. We believe there is a co-operative boat, a co-operative brick kiln, and a co-operative saw mill, each company being composed of those interested. The main business is fruit raising and market gardening. Each cultivates his farm as he pleases, all co-operation, whether of buying, selling or working being wholly voluntary.

The Colorado Co operative company, at Pinon, Montrose county, Colorado, is trying to build a ditch, some fifteen miles long and large enough to irrigate some 15,000 acres of land. Membership fee is \$150; 40 acres of land at \$1.25, \$50; estimated cost of water right (to complete ditch) \$450. Thus the total cost of a 40-acre household with perpetual water right, will be \$650. In addition each member will build his own house, furnish his own stock and machinery and farm his own land. A member will thus need \$1,000 to \$2,000 cash or its equivalent. The association as a whole owns the ditch, operates a store, dining hall, harness shop, saw mill, and blacksmith shop, and expect to operate a flourmill, evaporator, electric light plant, etc. This colony is about half way between socialistic colonies, such as those of the B.C.C. and Ruskin on the one hand, and Fairhope on the other.

The B.C.C. is now ready to organize socialistic colonies, either autonomous, as Equality; or federated, according to the original intention. Membership in either is \$100. Washington certainly furnishes the best opportunities for colonization. We hope that those who cannot see their way clear to unite with a B.C.C. colony, will organize to suit themselves, locate in Washington and help us to carry the state for socialism in 1900.

A GOOD PLATFORM.

The New Time, the ablest journal the reform forces have ever had, puts forth the following platform:

- 1. Direct-legislation by majority vote; a true and practical democracy.
- 2. Public ownership and operation of natural monopolies; the first move for a perfect system of co-operative production and distribution.
- 3. A scientific money system based on the credit and faith of the government (the people).
- 4. A foreign policy designed to complete the overthrow of monarchical governments and to hasten the coming of an international democracy.

Who sends half of the \$500 names the boat. Write to Nat'l Secretary B.C.C.

A Wealthy Reformer.

Good Fortune of "The New Time," the Famous Reform Magazine.

The many friends and admirers of "The New Time," Chicago's sturdy and interesting reform magazine, will be glad to learn of its good fortune.

Mr. T. J. McBride, a wealthy manufacturer of Toronto, was so well pleased with "The New Time" and its reform policy that he forwarded a draft sufficient to meet all its obligations and leave a neat balance at the command of Editor Adams and his assistants. Thus it happens that at the end of two years this magazine has a circulation exceeding 40,000 and a financial backing sufficient to make it a tremendous factor in the battle between the people and plutocracy. Mr. McBride stipulates that the profits on his investment shall be used in improving the magazine and in rapidly extending its circulation and influence. After so many failures it is gratifying to know that the time has arrived when it is possible to maintain a high grade reform publication such as "The New Time." It is a matter for congratulation that the magazine is, and will remain in safe hands, and that it is not a mere money-making venture. There is now no reason why "The New Time" should not attain an enormous circulation. No reader of the I.F. should fail to subscribe for "The New Time."

We are authorized to receive and forward subscriptions, and know of no better investment for a dollar.

The August number of The New Time is in keeping with the high standard set by this magazine. It is splendidly illustrated and there is not a dull paragraph from cover to cover.

The frontispiece is a fine portrait of S. M. Jones, the famous reform mayor of Toledo, Ohio. The cartoon work of this magazine excels that of any publication in the country and that of the August number is specially striking. "The Last Slave" is a group showing the emancipation of the negro in 1863, the freeing of the Cuban in 1898 and the continued serfdom of the American workman, the Last Slave. The editorials are in Mr. Adams' best vein and add to his reputation as a writer on social and industrial economics. With the August number Mr. Charles H. Kerr, the book publisher, retires from any connection with the magazine, his interest having been purchased by Mr. McBride, and The New Time will no longer be complicated with the publishing business.

We congratulate The New Time on its well-deserved good fortune and pledge our best co-operation. Forward us a dollar for an annual subscription or take advantage of our club rate of \$1.00 for a year's subscription to Industrial Freedom and The New Time. \$1.10 for both to B.C.C. members.

Shall the Poor Have Butter.

Shall the poor have butter? This is a question that is agitating the minds of a Chicago charitable association. Some think the poor should be given butter, others say no. Why on earth should the poor get butter? Did not God make the poor, and does he not love the poor? Did he not make them to be poor, while those who dispense charity belong to a different species of mankind entirely? The poor ought to be glad enough that they are allowed to live, to breathe the same air as the rich, to build the cities that the rich own, the palaces that the rich reside in, the luxurious coaches that the rich ride in, and make the silk and broadcloth that the rich wear and the thousand and one other necessities and luxuries of life. Isn't that sufficient without butter? If the chaffily inclined give the poor butter there may come a demand for meat and they might not be satisfied until they have just as many and good things as the rich. Shall the poor have butter? That is the question that threatens to bring about the disruption of this Christian charitable association. We anticipate however, that the matter will be compromised by giving them oleomargarine. —International Woodworker.

The Greatest Issue.

It is apparent that an attempt is being made to divide the people on the relative merits of this or that man for United States senator. While not undervaluing the importance of a right choice for that important place we urge the much greater importance to our state of securing the great primary system of Direct Legislation.

Every time you speak let this subject form a part of your discourse. As it was the custom of Cato, the old Roman statesman, to end every speech with the phrase, "Carthage delendum est" Carthage must be destroyed, and which custom bore a perfect fruition by arousing public sentiment until Carthage was destroyed, so let it be the custom of every well-wisher of the future welfare of the state at the beginning of every public utterance, or when discussing public affairs, privately, to urge direct legislation; at the middle, discuss, and at the close of your discourse demand a constitutional amendment to be voted on in 1900 embodying that principle. —Washington State.

For Public Ownership.

Last week the League of American Municipalities met at Detroit, some 1,000 mayors and aldermen attending, representing over 15,000,000 people.

Mayor McVicar, the victorious candidate, a year ago, of the anti-ring forces of Des Moines, Ia., president of the league, said in part:

"At the threshold of the agitation we are more concerned with the vital issue of the condition of the cities. It seems necessary as a preliminary measure to eliminate from our cities the private ownership of franchises for monopolies. The public must own and operate all plants for the supplying of light and water. Probably it should extend its powers so as to take in street railroads, heating plants, telephone and other means of communication. If these valuable franchises, these splendid privileges, were reserved to the city, would not the source of corruption which has caused legislative bodies to become a byword among the people cease to exist?"

"As long as the corporate interests operate these public utilities for private gain, just so long will we have uncompromising opposition to civil service and good government. Remove first the incentive to this opposition which to my mind can be accomplished by removing our public franchises from the public mart and a new era will dawn in which the best citizenship will be the dominant force of municipal government."

Governor Pingree, in welcoming the league, said:

"The final glory of this country will be the honest and capable government of her cities. During my public life I have always claimed that the great body of our people are honest and wish to see the right prevail. The enemies of good government are to be found among those who claim to be the great aristocracy, but who use money and position to corrupt public servants and control legislative bodies."

"Their power and influence are so great that leagues must be formed to combat them and they must be fought to the death. The most vital question is, How can you compel those who call themselves our best citizens to take an active part in city affairs, in some other capacity than as mere fault finders?"

But Prof. Frank Parsons' address on "Self Government for Cities" was the feature of the convention. He vigorously assailed the system, which he said gave class privileges at the expense of the whole citizenship. He suggested as remedies the initiative and referendum, woman's suffrage and co-operative industries, instead of monopolies. He cited the charter of the city of San Francisco, recently adopted, as an example of material progress in the direction of practical reform. —[Idaho State Tribune.

There is overproduction of everything nowadays—even of children. We never do anything by halves, we always overdo it. We can't drink without getting intoxicated. We can't worship without losing our wits. I have been mercifully protected from excess in the way of reverence, partly by the variety of worthy objects presented to my distracted attention, but especially by an inherent tendency to examine critically the object. The human person is always taught to worship with his eyes shut, as an Indian regards his totem. Gods, governors and generals are far above his mortal and erring judgment. His hat comes off; his mouth comes open to gape or gasp or cheer. His knees are rubber as well as his neck; he bows and bends and falls. He is completely hypnotized and helplessly undone. Henceforth and forever he is the willing tool of his captor. The worshiper of this class opens his mouth to praise and flatter, and shuts his mouth to beg and pray. He loses his identity as an independent mind, and becomes an astral shell, a mere echo of a stronger will into whose individuality his life forces have been absorbed. —[New Dispensation.

The American voting king is a wise animal, and sometimes knows enough to come in out of the rain—I mean a literal rain, not a metaphorical one. When Shafter took charge of Santiago he put Spaniards in all the city offices! Wouldn't let the Cubans, whose liberty he was fighting for, come inside the city gates! Put the enemy in charge of the administration of the city government and then roasted the Spanish mayor because he actually had the nerve to appoint a Cuban to a minor position! See the good terms upon which the Spanish and American masters meet! Their slaves killed each other, and then the bosses of the victorious side give the bosses of the vanquished side their good old jobs back! Again, I say the workingman is a hot blister. —[Coming Nation.

I stand here, my friends, to urge that a new leaf be turned over—that the labor class, instead of idly and blindly waiting for better circumstances and better times, shall begin at once to consider and discuss the means of controlling circumstances and commanding times, by study, calculation, foresight, union. —[Horace Greeley.

Bundles of 10 or more to one address for one-half cent per copy.

Salaries Some Men Get.

J. M. Toucey, general manager of Vanderbilt system, gets \$50,000 a year.

C. M. Schwab, president of the Carnegie Iron and Steel Company, gets \$60,000 a year.

Frank Thompson, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, gets \$50,000 annually.

John A. McCall's salary as president of the New York Life Insurance Company is \$50,000 a year.

Alexander Miller, agent of one of the great steamship lines between New York and Liverpool, gets \$50,000 salary.

Conrad H. Mathieson gets \$75,000 a year as president of the Chicago Sugar Refining Company, and he is only 32 years old.

Dr. William Bull, Dr. Polk, Dr. Sims, and Dr. Wyeth, New York surgeons, have professional incomes of not less than \$50,000 a year each.

Manley M. Gillam was paid \$12,000 a year for writing the advertisements for John Wanamaker. He is probably the foremost advertising writer in the world.

J. J. Storrow, a Boston lawyer, who has made a specialty of electricity and electrical appliances and patents, makes \$100,000 a year out of his knowledge.

John E. Parson gets \$50,000 a year as attorney of the sugar trust. For organizing the trust he was paid a fee of \$250,000, the largest single fee ever paid an attorney.

Dr. John Hall, pastor of the richest congregation in New York City, has a salary of \$30,000 a year, which is increased to \$50,000 by his fees for christenings, weddings, etc.

Joseph Choat, the New York lawyer, gets \$50,000 a year as a retainer from the whiskey trust. His annual income is said to be not less than \$250,000, mostly from great business combinations.

Preparing for the New France.

By learning to manage the material interests of a single town, says the Pittsburg Dispatch, Socialists are preparing themselves for the administration and direction of the whole of France. The administrative capacity of the Socialists has astonished their foes as much as it has delighted their friends. Men like Dornoy, a metal worker, and Carrette, a weaver, who in the whole course of their lives had never been masters of \$100, between 1892 and 1896 were at the head of the administration of towns whose yearly budget ranged from \$400,000 to \$1,000,000, to bring about reforms. For example, at Roubaix all the children of the communal schools, 11,000 in number, are given free food and clothing, in part, by the Socialist municipality. Carrette and his municipal councillors have found means to meet the expense of these "cantine scolaires" without at all increasing the taxes that weigh upon the workers. —[Commonwealth.

Big Socialist Vote.

One of the greatest political surprises that has occurred in this country was the vote of the socialists in New Bedford, Mass., at a special election for congressman on May 31st. The vote stood: Green, rep. 661; Randall, ind. rep. 736; Skahan, socialist, 731; Luce, dem. 138. One year ago the socialist vote was only 187. New Bedford is where the workers have got sick of the prosperity given them by their bosses and are beginning to look out for themselves. They have been on a strike against their bosses for a long time and now have adopted the use of their ballots to help them get justice. The successful republican candidate in an interview said: "The vote for the socialist ticket is surprisingly large and cannot but set reflecting people thinking." —[Appeal to Reason.

English Co-operation.

The cathedral town of Peterboro has been the scene this week of the thirteenth annual English co-operative congress. A large advance is registered upon last year's figures, and the summaries for 1896 and 1897 come out this way:

	1896.	1897.
Co-operative societies.	1,741	1,845
Shares.	\$ 87,734,620	93,058,200
Sales.	286,592,139	311,435,240
Profit.	30,687,450	33,589,380

And all this has sprung from the little seed planted in 1844 by fourteen Lancashire weavers who pooled their scanty spare cash.

How Populists Stand.

Ten days before our state convention, so far as we have been able to learn, the results of the state conventions have been as follows: Against fusion,—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania. For fusion,—Oregon, North Carolina, where the democrats rejected fusion. —[Ruralist.

BY RIGHT DIVINE.

When rogues would fill the human mind With some transparent lie, They always claim it counterfeited And sanctioned from on high. A case will make this statement plain, The right divine of kings to reign.

This lie was shot to death, in part, A hundred years ago; But now the tricksters seek to start An equal falsehood, so You hear proclaimed by every fool The right divine of good to rule.

Ere long, when they grow bold enough To make their purpose clear, And throw the mask of pretense off, We may expect to hear The moneyed knaves make this appeal, The right divine of thieves to steal.

I seem to hear another cry That comes from all around, Beginning low, it rises high, A deep and growing sound, That claims, in no uncertain tone, The human right to have our own.

That cry is filled with dire distress And angry discontent; With tones of want and wretchedness, While into these are blent Stern under voices, that demand The human right to life and land.

From torrid zone to frigid snows, 'Tis heard in every place, It ever louder, deeper grows, Until it thrills the race; And thunders forth from sea to sea The human right of liberty.

No longer let us hear that fraud Is sanctioned from on high; No longer let mankind that God Will consecrate a lie; But let this truth forever shine; The human right is the divine.

—J. A. Edgerton.

I am still lecturing in the cause and intend to spend the next year in the state of Washington in the field. Will be up to see you some time this fall.

Oregon. Prof. C. M. Hawthorne.

For ten years, dating from my University days at Ann Arbor, Mich., I have had ideas in common with yours. I was surprised to find on coming here fifteen or twenty "kith and kin" Several B.C.C. tents are worn here, and it would not be very hard to induce several to make application.

Iowa. H. Lincoln Forbes.

The third Missouri will not go to Porto Rico. And for the queerest reason. It appears that this regiment carries more life insurance than any three regiments and that the life insurance companies have used their influence with the government to prevent the regiment from going into the tropics where they would be subject to the fevers! What do you think of that! Life insurance companies virtually become commanders of the army! What a great thing life insurance is! If only all the soldiers were heavily insured it would prevent any forward movement. The companies care nothing for men, but dollars are very important to them and the whole army must stop rather than that their profits should cease or even decrease! Great and powerful are the American corporations. —[Appeal to Reason.

William R. Hearst, proprietor of the New York Journal, has given his yacht to the government, manned it with a crew of picked men at his own expense, and is now himself fighting under the stars and stripes. Mark Hanna, McKinley's particular friend, has found enough time between his shouts of patriotism to sell his yacht to the government for two and one-half times its actual cost. Hearst is the anarchist enemy of the government! Hanna the patriot! —[Idaho State Tribune.

Five hundred dollars for the first payment, and the steamboat will be launched. Send to National Secretary B.C.C.

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE.

We now have over \$5,000 worth of property liable to destruction by fire. Such loss would seriously cripple our work. In a few weeks we will have a system of waterworks affording much protection. At present we have no protection at all. Hence we call on each of our more than 3,000 members to subscribe for as many of the \$1 shares of insurance fund as he can pay of short notice. No money is to be paid in; but in case of fire each will be called on in proportion to the amount of his subscription. Send in your letters at once, stating how much you will take. We don't want to pay extortionate rates to the old-line companies, and so ask our own members to carry this risk on their own future homes. There will thus be no expense at all, except in case of loss, and then merely enough money to replace. N. W. LEBMOND, Sec.

HELEN M. MASON, Treas. C. H. SWIGART, M. W. E. F. NOLAN, Distributer. W. H. KAUFMAN, Editor.

B. C. C. Buttons.

Lapel buttons of beautiful design bearing the letters B. C. C. are worn by our members to advantage. The buttons, for the children, white for women, and red for men, at 20 cts. each; cuff buttons 35 cents per pair. Order today. National Secretary's office, Edison, Wash.

How to Send Money.

In making remittances, send Post Office Money orders for amounts of one dollar and upwards; stamps will be accepted for smaller amounts. No case send bank drafts or checks. We will not accept them. Make your letters shorter, and we will print more of 'em.