

# INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

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EDISON, SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1898.

## MEANS AND ENDS.

The editor has received several letters commending his attitude on a one-plank platform. One of the letters I print, with my comments, in another column.

Socialism is an end, direct legislation is the simplest and best means of securing all desirable political ends, socialism among the rest.

Socialism is the apple, direct legislation is the tree.

Speaking for no one but himself, the editor wishes to agitate and educate for socialism; but would rather vote for direct legislation. His reasons are that on a one-plank platform a large majority of the voters of Washington can be won for direct legislation at the coming election. Therefore let us carry this reform, and so turn the legislative guns (now used by worse than Spanish tyrants for the destruction of the people) against the trusts and corporations. Unjust special legislation is the foundation on which is built the plutocracy of today.

Just general legislation is the foundation on which we will build the economic democracy of tomorrow.

Legislation is the keystone of the arch of industrial progress. We are ready to build the arch and should at once prepare the keystone, test the arch, once built, and wanting the keystone, should fall into ruins.

Legislation is the foundation on which all our reforms are built. Without proper legislation we can have neither colonies nor any other form of co-operative effort. With direct legislation we are ready for the co-operative commonwealth.

Briefly stated, the socialist arguments for a direct legislation, one-plank, campaign are:

1. Socialism will never come through representative government but only by direct vote of the people, therefore let us get direct legislation first.

2. A majority of Washington voters favor direct legislation, but only a minority favor socialism; therefore let us carry this campaign on a direct legislation, one-plank platform, and put off other issues till some future time.

Exemption of small homesteads from taxation, and public ownership and operation of monopolies are reforms of vast importance, but—

1. Neither can safely be put into effect by our present "government," by irresponsible politicians, in the interests of monopolies.

2. It is doubtful if either could carry this fall.

Therefore I favor, for state legislation, a one-plank platform, favoring direct legislation on petition of 10 per cent of the voters.

On such a platform we can win with a rousing majority.

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**Night Today, Pays Tomorrow.**

The private draws \$13 a month till killed or disabled. If killed his wife draws \$12 a month. If wounded the private draws about enough pension to pay his board at a lodging house. If he survives the war with whole skin, he will at once go to work to help pay off the national debt, a large portion of which is for salaries on the following generous scale, and remember that the private gets \$13 a month; Admiral, \$13,000; vice-admiral, \$9,000; rear-admiral, \$6,000; commodore, \$5,000; captain, \$4,500; commander, \$3,500; lieutenant-commander, \$2,800; lieutenant, \$2,400; master, \$1,800; ensign, \$1,200; midshipman, \$1,000; cadet midshipman, \$500; chief engineer, \$4,000; fleet surgeon, fleet paymaster, and fleet engineer, \$4,400 each; surgeon and paymaster, \$2,800 each; chaplain, \$2,500.

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**Debs Leaves the Social Democracy.**

At the recent convention of the Social Democracy there was pronounced division over the colonization question, one faction favoring and the other opposing. When the vote was taken, the number favoring both colonization and political action was 52; those opposing, colonization 37. The minority, including Mr. Debs, immediately organized the Social Democratic party, on lines similar to those of the Social Labor party.

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**A New Step in Socialism.**—Several cities and counties have bought and are now operating their own printing plants. The universal testimony is that a great saving is effected and at the same time the workers get shorter hours and higher wages. The contractor (sweetener) however has lost his job.

**Some Good Spaniards—Who are Still Alive.**—In Barcelona, Spain, the socialists are insisting that the grandees, who shout about "national honor," should themselves enlist. So just is this demand and so numerous are the socialists, that the attention of the government is called to the fact that there are no volunteers at Barcelona. Spanish socialists favor Cuban independence. Suppose American socialists start an agitation for a regiment of millionaires!

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**Gold Bug Patriotism.**—In the last campaign we heard much of "national honor" from men who wanted to get 742 grains of silver for each 371 grains the government owed them. The war came on. Did one of these millionaires "protect-the-national-honor" men enlist? Not at all. One of them had just bought the "Merriam" for \$100,000, but he was so anxious to protect-the-national-honor that he gave—oh, yes, he sold the vessel to his country for—\$350,000. So another patriot serves his fatherland in true gold-bug style.

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**Socialism is Growing.**—Last year the French socialist vote was 600,000, this year it is over 1,000,000. In Belgium, during the past four years the socialists gained 88,000 votes, while the clericals (church party) lost 22,000 and the liberals lost 20,000. In England the Independent Labor party has elected 70 members of school boards, 67 guardians, 58 town councilors, 25 parish councilors, 10 citizen auditors, 4 rural district councilors, and 2 county councilors—a total of 205 elected persons. To these from 60 to 70 Social Democrats have to be added, besides Fabians, etc., in arriving at the total socialist representation of the kingdom.

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**But One Solution.**—An exchange says: "Some way will yet be found whereby capital and labor may co-operate." Hardly. Co-operation is between equals. Capital is the product of labor. Peace will come in but one way, by the workers having all the capital and the drones none. Capital is dead; has no right, no voice. When every laborer is a capitalist and has one vote in the direction of the joint capital, there will be peace. Workers can co-operate in the use of their capital; but capital and labor—bah! such talk makes us weary. A carpenter uses his hammer; as a rule he doesn't consult it nor allow it to vote!

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**Oxygen Monopolized.**—Reformers have all along agreed that as land is as necessary for standing room as air is for breathing, private monopoly of land is as unhuman and immoral as would be private monopoly of air, and rent for land (apart from improvements) as much robbery as would be a "breathing charge" or rent on air. The only reason why air has not been monopolized and rented has been the impossibility of controlling it—the difficulty of preventing trespassers. The June Cosmopolitan contains an article showing how air is liquidized, so that "after the machine has been in operation a few minutes a stream of liquidified air runs steadily into the receiver." Four-fifths of the air is nitrogen useful only by way of diluting the life-giving oxygen. Nitrogen is much more volatile than oxygen, so that by leaving the liquidified air a few moments the nitrogen evaporates, leaving the oxygen still liquid. Now let a world oxygen trust be formed and we will be ready to pay for the privilege of breathing—will pay air-rent, as we now pay ground-rent, for, of course, after I have "invested my capital" in an oxygen-bottling machine, I cannot be expected to let people breathe air for nothing—would pauperize them, you know!

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**Two Remedies.**—The editor of the Co-operative Era reports a conversation with a wage-slave: "We'll be all right soon's times gets better." "What will make times better?" Well I can tell you what will do it in just a minute, and there's nothing else will—a good war. "With whom would you go to war?" "Don't make any difference; anybody. Just so's we can kill off half the men. There's too many men. If half were killed off the rest of us could get work." To be sure; to be sure. This wage-slave is half right; there are too many men for the natural opportunities NOT YET MONOPOLIZED. But suppose that instead of killing half the workers (and then saddling the cost of the war on the workers not killed)—suppose we try killing monopoly. This will be simpler and more humane. Of course it's more in accord with precedent to kill men, rather than monopoly, but we reformers like to try experiments, and killing monopoly would be something brand new. In the event that we continue the ancient custom of sparing monopoly and killing half the men, it will be much cheaper to select by lot and kill by poison. It will be well, too, to provide beforehand that land and other natural opportunities of labor should not be further monopolized or else in a few years we will need to kill off a lot more men.

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**Franchises on Fortunes.**—I have a list of 4,047 millionaires, prepared by that plutocratic organ, the New York Tribune. Following each millionaire's name is the (assumed) business in which he made his money. Nine out of ten became millionaires by means of special privileges granted by legislation.

**The Christian Commonwealth.** or Union of Families. First colony located at Commonwealth, Georgia. Members have "all things common." Entrance fee, the whole heart; treasure, life. The poor, the proletariat, the outcast, as welcome as the rich. Whosoever will may come. Object—unselfish living, service, sacrifice that shall save others and bring brotherhood to all men—Christ our leader. The Christ spirit of non-resistance our defense. Propaganda, the Social Gospel, published monthly. Corresponding secretary, G. H. Gibson.

## Direct Legislation, One Plank Platform.

EDITOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM:

I am more than pleased with your editorial on "The Only Way to Unite" [by making direct legislation the entire platform.—Ed]. For years I have been laboring to impress the truth of your ideas upon the reformers, and I have succeeded in a much greater degree than in any other reform work in proportion to energy expended. I find the chief obstacle to the complete prevalence of your view to be the unwise socialists who act as though to promote direct legislation to first place in the political program is to put socialism aside or backward in a second place. This is a totally erroneous, and I hope that our more liberal brethren will soon see that it is. The fact is that if we make direct legislation our first step all reforms are second, and no one is compelled to struggle with or retard another in order to get recognition for itself. You cannot fully realize the great good that editorial will do, coming as it does from so true a socialist source.

I will send you proceedings of Reform Union convention of May 2, which has called a special Direct Legislative convention to endeavor to unite all true reform elements in political action for direct legislation, including imperative mandate and proportional representation. The convention is to be held in St. Louis Nov. 25, of this year.

I want to express approval also of your editorial, "Toothpicks and Street Cars," and your choice "Combe's Moral Philosophy," as one of the desirable books for your educational department.

I have long admired your intelligent, systematic and effective work. My confidence grows. If a branch is not started here, I will join as a member at large and take a share, not that I expect to join the colony, for I prefer Labor Exchange work in the city, but to aid you and to have an "anchor to windward."

Yours truly,  
SHERIDAN WEBSTER,  
711 Union Trust Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

[We are glad to print this letter from Comrade Webster, who represents the Social Democracy in the St. Louis Citizens' committee.

Manifestly the only way to unite the reform forces is to put everything else in second place until direct government is secured.

We prefer the term direct "government." Direct legislation really includes simply initiative and referendum, while direct government includes also direct nomination of all candidates, thus abolishing the county, district and state conventions as well as the political boss; direct election of U. S. senators and the president; the imperative mandate and proportional representation.

That many socialists are inclined to oppose a one-plank platform on direct legislation, is unfortunately true. They fail to see that a single campaign will give us direct legislation, for direct legislation now commands a three-fourths majority in this state. With direct legislation carried we will not only be able to carry socialist measures, but they will be SAFE when carried.

Speaking only for himself and not for the B C C, which is not a political party, the editor most earnestly hopes that all parties and factions of reformers will unite on a direct legislation, one-plank platform. It's a winner. In 1892, I was chosen by the populists of Grant county, as delegate to the state convention and member of committee on resolutions. Our first plank endorsed the national platform, and the second plank was devoted to direct legislation. Nine other planks were added, when, thinking the platform too long, we voted to make the first two planks the platform and the other nine "appended resolutions."

This was, I believe, the first instance in which any leading party made a campaign on a direct legislation, one-plank platform.

That was six years ago, and the movement was too new to enlist much support from the politicians, who abound in the populist as in all other political parties. Today, however, the politicians see which way the wind is blowing, and a direct legislation, one-plank, campaign will win.—Ed.]

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## WORDS OF CHEER

From Our Members and From Other Patriots.

Likes the Plan.

I like your colony plan very much and I believe you will succeed.  
California. Leroy Henry.

Very Satisfactory.

I find your Industrial Freedom to be a very satisfactory paper.  
New Hampshire. G. B. Hoitt.

He Hungers For It.

You cannot put too much detail about the colony into the paper. I simply hunger and thirst for colony notes.  
Henry Govan.

Wishes Success.

Enclosed find money order for \$20 to apply on membership fees. We hope in time to be in Washington. All success to those in the van.  
Florida. W. C. Spencer.

His Heart's All Right.

Enclosed \$1 for sub. and dues. I have been unable to keep up my contributions owing to stress of circumstances. But my heart is still in the cause.  
Tennessee. C. G. E.

All in His Power.

You may be sure I will do all in my power for the cause. I would be with you now if circumstances would permit, but for the present I must be one of the reserves.  
Massachusetts. John Bray.

Interesting and Instructive.

Have received your paper and find it both interesting and instructive. May your efforts to right the wrongs of the present social and industrial conditions be crowned with success.  
Ohio. B. W. Gibbard.

And He Helps 'Em to Boom.

Am glad to see things booming, and look forward with hope to the time when I can join you in the battle for emancipation. Enclosed find \$10.90 for dues, sub., etc.  
Nebraska. Sec. No. 1.

Nothing Can Prevent Success.

I am anxious to get the paper regularly. I think it is well edited and nicely printed, and I admire it and look for it every week. Nothing can prevent you from succeeding.  
Kansas. D. M. Dunn.

Proud of It.

I wish to acknowledge, though perhaps somewhat tardily, the first five numbers of your, or rather our, paper. As a member of the B C C I am proud of it. Should delight to cast my lot in a B C C colony.  
Colorado. F. P. Blake, M. D.

Wants Every Issue.

We have received the first and second issues, and desire to not miss a single issue. We are delighted with the success of the colony department. We almost envy you who are permitted to lay the foundation of this great ever-growing movement in the very desirable state of Washington.  
Kansas. Bina A. Otis.

Still Organizing.

In visiting the colony some time ago, I was very much impressed with the necessity of a proper water system in case of fire. The insurance move I think is a very good one, and you can mark me down for \$5. I am talking up our principles among the boys and expect to organize another little local.  
Washington. Peter L. Olsen.

He Gets Disgusted.

I take more interest in receiving and reading Industrial Freedom than any paper I receive. I sometimes get so disgusted with this competitive system that I make up my mind I will try to sell out and go to Equality, and if I can sell I will do so, but until I do sell I will do all I can on the side to help the good work along.  
California. C. W. Lyman.

In the Highways and By-ways.

A mission wagon of the Co-operative Commonwealth arrived in this town on Wednesday, June 15th. The party consisted of Mr. A. S. Edwards, Mr. J. B. Beardsley and Mr. S. Levine; also Mr. John F. Lloyd of Chicago, who delivered some interesting lectures on the social disease of the present system and the evils of labor saving machinery under the competitive system. They have held five meetings in succession and the audience increased at every meeting. By distributing literature they have done good work for the socialist movement and the comrades of L. U. No. 1 of Illinois and all others interested in the glorious cause were sorry to see them leave for Hammond, Ind.  
Illinois. Robert Clayton.

A Lasting Victory.

I hope to be one of you soon. I will then be helping to redeem our almost lost freedom, and instead of fighting with the gun and sword, we socialists will fight with the brain and brawn for a more lasting victory than our nation is now engaged in. No blood for us; but justice and equality is our motto, and by example as well as precept we hope to establish this most blessed truth.  
Utah. D. N. Foy.

A Free Motherhood.

I have read with much interest the first number of your paper; I like very much the name you have selected. Industrial Freedom means a great deal. It means the emancipation of woman. Women are not only slaves to drudgery, but many of them do not control their own person. In my humble judgment three-fourths of the children born come into the world against the wishes of the mothers. Enforced maternity, what a crime against humanity.  
Charles A. Fisher.

The Ladies, Bless 'Em.

I think the insurance fund part of our colony is all right and will subscribe \$2 for the fund. Eugene Higgins of No. 1 of Michigan authorizes me to put him down for \$5 for the insurance fund for the colony in case of fire, or any other thing.

We have not had meetings due to the warm weather of late, but will soon start. Will then send in more subscribers to the paper. It is all right and I will do what I can for it. Our ladies of the B C C are to have an ice cream social; the proceeds to go to the colony.  
Michigan. F. R. Dowsett.

The Downfall of Oppression.

The first copy of Industrial Freedom, the organ of the B C C, received today; many thanks. I read it very carefully from the start to the end of it, and saw the progress that our infant colony, Equality, has made since its birth. Hope the boys do their best to show that socialism has come to stay; that the red, ragged flag of our ideas will be floating on every part of the globe in the not very distant time. Cheer up, boys, the time is approaching very fast when we will see the downfall of oppression.  
Please find a money order for \$1 for sub. and dues.  
Colorado. Alphonsus W. Bacca.

Getting Thick as Huckleberries.

When I started in last fall I did not know of two socialists in this county. At present there are more than a hundred who are already confirmed socialists or strongly impregnated with socialist virus. Some of them are quite prominent citizens. Please send me a supply of literature for distribution and some applications for membership, and I will proceed to work at once. I will send for a bundle of books in a few days. Send me a few Industrial Freedoms to use in obtaining subscriptions. I have received two copies of the paper and am greatly pleased with the progress being made in the colony.  
Oregon. J. F. Porter.

Here's a Worker.

I am distributing literature, soliciting people by letter and in person, and am meeting with considerable success. I first tell people of the move that is being made for industrial emancipation in Washington, and most of them express their sympathy and show considerable interest. I find with many people that it is not good policy to mention the term socialist at first as many are so prejudiced against socialists that they will not listen to argument if that term is used. Afterwards many of them are surprised to find that they are socialists. You can count on my rendering the cause all the assistance in my power.  
California. Ross J. Miller.

Spread the Tidings.

Enclosed find P. O. money order for \$1, for which please send me the book "Equality," which I see you advertise to members for that price. As soon as I have read it I shall lend it to others in the hopes that they may see as I do, that socialism is our only hope for better times. Our new paper is all right, and I hope the subscriptions will continue to come in, as I have no doubt they will. I can't see why the majority of the working people don't embrace socialism more readily than they do, for anyone ought to see at a glance how things are going and how hard it is to get a job once you lose one. I have got several of the boys interested enough so they ask me questions. I want to read my paper, so I am in hopes of getting some subs. in the future.  
A. B. C.

## THE ADVANCE OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

The Finland women have the right of suffrage, but they also work as carpenters, paper-hangers, bricklayers and slaughterers.

Two Socialists have rigged out a wagon at Girard, Kan., in which they propose to travel about the country delivering speeches and selling literature.

In the recent elections to the cantonal legislature in the canton of Berne the Swiss Social Democrats increased their number of seats from three to 14.

A year ago the coal miners of Banksville, Pa., established a co-operative store which has already cleared over \$3,000. It will be made a co-operative department store.

Twenty-five members of Cigar-makers' Alliance No. 38 of New York have raised a fund of about \$3,000 and established a co-operative factory. Every six months the profits are to be divided among the shareholders.

The town council of Tarnopol, Galicia, Austria, by force of circumstances, decided to operate a bakery and sell the bread at cost to the people. It also appropriated \$750 for the free distribution of bread among the poor.

The Marxist Parti Ouvrier (Guesdists) group) contested 105 divisions at the recent French elections, and increased its poll from 152,724 in '93 to 371,217, or 144 per cent. Six of its candidates were elected on the first ballot.

George Belt, a well-known British Socialist, was elected to the school board of Hull, coming in at the head of the poll with over 33,000 votes to his credit. F. W. Booth, another Socialist, got a seat in the board of guardians.

On the Russian government's new railroad in Siberia the fare for immigrants has been put at \$1.50 for 1,200 miles and \$3.50 for 4,000 miles. Government ownership does not seem to conduce to keeping up charges to any great extent.

An industrial and manual training school is to be opened up in Covington, Ky., in the near future. F. D. Pestner, an energetic Socialist, is the chief promoter and would like to have the co-operation of Socialists in and around Covington.

The prime minister of Japan introduced an act in parliament which extends the elective franchise to five times the present number of voters. The most advanced nation of the far East seems to be rapidly pushing ahead of European civilization.

Socialists of Sweden have two daily party organs, one at Stockholm and the other at Malmo. There are also two Socialist weeklies and a few trades union organs edited on Socialist lines. The movement in Sweden is said to be in a rapid state of growth.

The German government now furnishes its soldiers with one meal a day. If they desire or need more they have to get it at their own expense. The press has started on a campaign to better this state of affairs, but thus far have met with no success.

Agricultural co-operative associations composed of women have come into existence in the province of Finland, Russia, within the last few years. Most of them are engaged in the dairy business, and some of the butter produced is exported to Germany and England.

The agitation for the establishment of the referendum has assumed formidable proportions in France. Much space is being devoted to it by leading papers. Paul Deschanel, the French politician, has lately been disturbing the exploiters by advocating a municipal referendum.

The Petite Republique (Socialist) account of the balance of parties in the French chamber of deputies: 227 opportunists, 190 radicals and Socialists, 49 reactionaries, 48 Socialists, 45 rallists, 26 revisionists, anti-semites. According to this account the strict Socialists made a gain of 11 seats.

There are seven regular Socialist organs published by the Socialists in Spain. The places in which the Socialist movement is strongest are Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona, Malaga, Matruero and Valencia. The Spaniards who have done most to spread Socialism in their own country are Pablo Iglesias, F. Diego, G. Quejido and Mesa.

In Berlin no animal may be killed under a heavy penalty, except at the municipal slaughter house. Even an animal is not only subjected to a close scientific investigation, but specimens of its blood and tissues are examined under powerful microscopes, 45 lady microscopists, with eyes trained to the work, being constantly employed.

During the recent insurrection of the Italian workpeople the government put the railroad employees under military command, and they were thus entitled to 17 cents a day (besides their wages as railroad employees) for meals, etc. But they determined to turn this military stipend into their strike fund. As soon as the authorities heard of this "unpatriotic" action the military board was dissolved.

The convention of Austrian Socialists, held at Linz, resolved to use all means possible against the absolutism the government proposes to inaugurate. The Hungarian government was severely denounced for its persecution and outrageous treatment of Socialists and agricultural laborers who dared to revolt against the tyranny and exploitation to which they were subjected by the rich and the authorities.

It is claimed that the best highways in the world are in Prussia. Germany's roads are almost exclusively the property of the government from side to side, and the management entirely removed from local authority. The excavating of the earth is from two to five feet deep, and wide enough for two wagons to pass easily. The stone is laid in courses from bottom to top as the granite is the stone used.