

# The PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK



AN ANNUAL OF FACTS  
& FIGURES ON CO-OPERATIVE  
LABOR & ALLIED SUBJECTS.

*The People's Year Book.*

# THE PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

FOR THE SUPPLY OF THEIR  
FOODSTUFFS IS

## The Co-operative Wholesale Society

LTD.,

A FEDERATION OF 1,200  
CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

THE C.W.S. OWNS:

FLOUR MILLS  
FOOD FACTORIES  
BOOT WORKS  
TEXTILE MILLS  
SOAP WORKS  
PRINTING WORKS  
CLOTHING FACTORIES &c. &c.  
FARM & FRUIT LANDS  
COAL MINES  
TEA PLANTATIONS  
\* &c., &c.

THE . . .

### C.W.S. belongs to the People.

Registered Office: 1, Balloon Street, Manchester.

And Branches and Depots Overseas.



**PEACE. THE SOWER.**

Reproduced by permission of the proprietors of "Punch."

THE PEOPLE'S  
YEAR BOOK

AND  
ANNUAL OF THE ENGLISH & SCOTTISH  
WHOLESALE SOCIETIES

1920

---

A VOLUME OF USEFUL INFORMATION PREPARED BY  
THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS AGENCY.

---

*THIRD YEAR OF PUBLICATION.*

---

Published by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, 1, Balloon Street, Manchester; and  
The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, 95, Morrison Street, Glasgow.



TRAFFORD PACKING FACTORY.

# Federation Self-Raising Flour

LIBRARY

1985



-L  
 2951  
 P44  
 1970

NONE  
BETTER.

NO SUBSTITUTES—  
ONLY PURE  
ACIDS USED.

## PREFACE.

---

WITH this issue we attain the third year of the publication of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, and the second year of its incorporation with the ANNUAL OF THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES (English and Scottish). The difficulties of compiling a work of this description have not been lessened considerably since the end of the great war, particularly in respect to that part of the work concerned with statistical information. Government Departments have not yet brought themselves up to the pre-war standard of punctuality in issuing official figures. This has caused delay in closing the pages of this year's volume, and left us, as last year, short of some of the matters we could like to have included.

We are, however, desirous of expressing our gratitude for the support accorded us last year. We shall try to deserve its continuance in future. We present this year's volume at cost price, with the hope that the careful compilation of useful and instructive pages will be justly appreciated.

It is not for us to dilate upon the merits of the volume. In labour, co-operative, and kindred subjects we have covered a wide field of national and international activities, and exercised the greatest care with regard to the source of our information.

Last year THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK secured a wide circulation in the United Kingdom and abroad, a large number of copies being sent in particular to British colonies, wherever efforts are being made to extend a co-operative principle in the use of capital, the reward to labour, and justice to the consumer.

This year we have widened the scope of opinions on a variety of subjects of vital interest to the mass of people. We have chosen writers and compilers who are familiar with their subjects and regarded as authorities. For writers, speakers, students of social, political, and industrial questions, and all who are seeking the right facts and figures, the pages of our present volume provide a mine of information, and will be found of use at all times of the year, as subjects come into public prominence. We need not name our chief contributors here, but, whilst recommending their work for perusal, we desire to say that the C.W.S. Committee, under whose auspices the book is published, do not necessarily agree with all the writers say. Our purpose is to provide information on vital questions.

J. H., Editor.

**GENERAL INDEX.**

- Accidents and Diseases, Industrial, 150  
 Aeronautic Exploits of 1919, The, 365  
 Agricultural Co-operation (Organisations), 344  
 — Labourers' Earnings in Denmark, 82  
 — (New) Labour Code in Germany, 55  
 — Returns, 373  
 Allen, Sir T. W., 11  
 Allied Merchants' Shipping Losses, 398  
 American Loans to the Allies, 133  
 Ansele, Edward, 315  
 Antón, Juan Salas, 335  
 Australia (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 Austria (see Diaries and Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 — Socialisation of Boot Industry, 222  
 — Socialisation of Coal and Electricity Industries, 220  
 Balkan States (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 Banks, Dutch Colonial, 218  
 Bankruptcies (see Insolvency), 382  
 Belgium (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 Births and Birth-rates, 378  
 British Colonies and their Resources, 49  
 — Naval War Losses, 398  
 — Shipping in Peace and War, 204  
 — Trade Statistics, 397  
 Brito-Spanish Agreement, 124  
 Budget (General View of) for 1919-20, 177  
 — The Amended, 194  
 Building Societies, 22  
 By-Elections, 340  
 Cabinet, First Peace, 392  
 Canada (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 — Industrial Opportunities in, 360  
 — Nationalisation in, 97  
 Campaign of Control, 62  
 Capital Levy in Germany, The, 274  
 Capitalist Advance since the War, 211  
 Casualties (War) of the Allies, 398  
 Changes in Taxation for 1919-20, 185  
 Civilisation and Subject Races, 198  
 Coal Commission's Reports, 223  
 — Industry (Socialisation of) in Germany and Austria, 220  
 — Mining Industry, 101  
 Colonies (British) and their Resources, 49  
 Coming Revolution in Local Government, 113  
 Commercial Organisations, 357  
 Congress, The Co-operative, 1919, 81  
 — Trade Unions, 146  
 — Women's Guild, 1919, 83  
 Control of Prices, 60  
 Co-operation Abroad, Political Advance of, 73  
 — Abroad, Restoration of, 336  
 — in Hamburg, 176  
 — (Tasks of) in the New Era, 65  
 Co-operative Diary, 1918-19, 84  
 — (Inter) Conference at Paris, 64  
 — Congress, The, 1919, 81  
 — Consolidation in Paris, 87  
 — Employment, 79  
 — Movements Abroad, 317:  
   Austria                   Italy  
   Balkan States           Norway  
   Belgium                 Russia  
   Czecho-Slovakia       Spain  
   Denmark                Sweden  
   Finland                 Switzerland  
   France  
   Germany                Australia  
   Greece                 South Africa  
   Holland                Canada  
   Hungary                America  
 Co-operative Organisations and Bodies, 341  
 — Organisations, International Directory of, 306  
 — Party, The, 69  
 — Press Directory, International, 311  
 — Press Directory of United Kingdom, 314  
 — Tea Estates, 102  
 — Union Statistics, 75  
 C.W.S. and the War, 88  
 — Development Bonds, 337  
 — Directors, 16  
 — History, Landmarks in, 100  
 — Productive Works, 98  
 — Progress, 99  
 — Recent Purchases of, 104  
 Constitutional Reform Organisations, 355  
 Control of Prices, 60  
 Course of Wages, 148  
 Czecho-Slovakia (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
 Deaths and Death-rates, 379  
 Denmark (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 — Reconstruction in, 31  
 Diaries:  
   Campaign of Control, 62  
   Ireland, 301

Diaries—*continued*.

- Co-operative Diary, 1918-19, 84
- World-Wide Labour Unrest, 275
- Germany and the Allied Powers, 393
- Austria, 396
- Hungary, 396
- Political Unrest, 299
- "Direct Action," 268
- Directory, International Co-operative Press, 311
- (International) of Co-operative Organisations, 306
- Domestic Legislation in 1919, 292
- Donation Scheme, Out-of-Work, 157
- Dutch Colonial Banks, 218 [246
- Trade Union combats Profiteering, Duties, The "Preference," 190
- Economic Situation in Europe, 56
- Educational Associations, 351
- Egypt, see Empire Problems, 297
- Elections (see By-Elections)
- Municipal, 389
- in Spain, 38
- Empire Problems, 295
- Employment, Co-operative, 79
- Women's, 153
- European Wholesales, Statistics of, 337
- Ex-service Men (Disabled), National Scheme for the Employment of, 399
- Family Grocery Bill for Thirty-seven Years, 58
- Farming, The New and the Old, 41
- Finland (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)
- First Peace Cabinet, 392
- Flour (Use of) in Great Britain, 60
- Food Supply, Our, 39
- France (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)
- Collective Labour Agreements in, 153
- Franco-Italian Labour Agreement, 147
- French Flying Corps Casualties, 399
- Friendly Societies, 203
- From the Caucasus to the Atlas, 313
- General View of the Budget, 1919-20, 177
- German National Assembly, 227
- Trade Union Membership, 246
- Germany (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)
- and Austria, Socialisation of Coal Industry in, 220
- and the Allied Powers, 393
- Collective Labour Agreements in, 159
- The Capital Levy in, 274
- Greece (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)
- Grocery Bill, Family for Thirty-seven Years, 58
- Hamburg, Co-operation in, 176
- Harvests, The World's, 372
- Holland (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)
- Shipping Boom in, 209
- Hungary (see Co-operative Movements Abroad) [292
- Housing and Town Planning, &c., Act, — Progress and the Act of 1919, 134
- India, see Empire Problems, 296
- Industrial Accidents and Diseases, 150
- and Political Bodies, 349
- Labour Movement, 145
- Opportunities in Canada, 360
- Unity, 267
- Unrest Abroad, 273
- Industrialisation of Females, 154
- Industries, Principal, 154
- Industry, Coal Mining, 161
- Infantile Mortality, 380
- Insolvency, 382 [64
- Inter-Co-operative Conference at Paris, International Charter of Labour, 270
- Co-operative Press Directory, 311
- Directory of Co-operative Organisations, 306
- Ireland, 301
- see Empire Problems, 295
- Italy (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)
- Women's Enfranchisement in, 376
- Japan, Working-time in, 225
- Joint-Stock Enterprise, Growth of, 144
- Labour Abroad, 273 [153
- Agreements (Collective) in France, — Agreements (Collective) in Germany, 159
- Agreement, Spanish, 271
- Code in Germany, New Agricultural, 55
- Disputes, 152
- Exchanges, 151
- (Franco-Italian) Agreement, 147
- in the New Era, 23
- Industrial Movement, 145
- International Charter of, 270
- Legislation in 1919, 287
- Party Membership, 391
- Party, Parliamentary, 390
- The World of, 249
- Unrest, World Wide, 275
- Land Settlement (Facilities) Act, 294
- Landmarks in C.W.S. History, 100
- League of Nations and Labour Regulation, 17
- Legislation (Domestic) in 1919, 292
- (Labour) in 1919, 287



- Living Wage in Australia, 159  
 Loans (American) to the Allies, 133  
 Local Government, The Coming Revolution in, 113  
 Marriages, 379  
 Marseilles Constructive Scheme, 230  
 Maxwell, Sir W., 13  
 Miners' Working Day in Spain, 159  
 Ministry of Health Act, 294  
   — of Transport Act, 292  
 Miscellaneous Organisations, 359  
 Municipal Elections, 389  
 National Debt, 182  
   — Expenditure, Reports on, 226  
   — Scheme for the Employment of Disabled Ex-service Men, 399  
 Nationalisation in Canada, 97  
 Naval War Losses, British, 398  
 New Agricultural Labour Code in Germany, 55  
 New Farming and the Old, The, 41  
 Norway (see Co-operative Movements Abroad)  
 Occupations, Statistics of, 154  
 Old-Age Pensions, 158  
 Organisations:  
   Co-operative, 341  
   Agricultural Co-operation, 344  
   Women's Work, 345  
   Social & Humanitarian, 345  
   Industrial and Political, 349  
   Scientific, 350  
   Educational, 351  
   Constitutional Reform, 355  
   Commercial, 356  
   Temperance, 357  
   Miscellaneous, 359  
 Our Food Supply, 39  
 Out-of-Work Donation Scheme, 157  
 Parliamentary Labour Party, 390  
 Parkes, J.P., Mr. Miles, 103  
 Pauperism, 156  
 Peace Conference at Paris, 15  
 Pensions, Old-Age, 158  
 Political Advance of Co-operation Abroad, 73  
   — (World-wide) Unrest in 1919, 299  
 Post Office Savings Bank, 384  
   "Preference" Duties, The, 190  
 Press Directory (Co-operative) of the U.K., 314  
   — Directory, International Co-operative, 310  
 Prices, Control of, 60  
   — (World-wide) in War Time and Peace, 33  
 Principal Industries, 154  
 Productive Works (S.C.W.S.), 110  
 Profiteering Act, 231 and 293  
 Progress of the C.W.S., 99  
   — of the S.C.W.S., 111  
   — of Trade Unionism, 241  
 Public Trusteeship, 384  
 Railway Nationalisation, 169  
 Recent Purchases of the C.W.S., 104  
 Reconstruction in Denmark, 31  
 Report on Water-Power Resources, 229  
 Reports, Coal Commission's, 223  
 Reports on National Expenditure, 1919, 226  
 Restoration of Co-operation Abroad, 336  
 Russia (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
 Rule of the Trust, 232  
 Savings Bank, Post Office, 384  
 Scientific Societies, 350  
 Shipping Boom in Holland, 209  
   — (British) in Peace and War, 204  
   — Losses, Allied Merchant, 398  
 Shorter Working Week, 29  
 S.C.W.S. and the War, 107  
   — Directors, 16  
   — Progress, 111  
   — Productive Works, 110  
 Social and Humanitarian Societies, 345  
 Socialisation in Austria, 222  
   — of Coal Industry in Germany and Austria, 220  
 South Africa (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
 Sovereign, The, in Peace and War, 56  
 Spain (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
   — Elections in, 38  
 Spanish Labour Agreement, 271  
   — Miners' Working Day, 159  
 Statistics of European Wholesales, 337  
   — of Occupations, 154  
   — of the Co-operative Union, 75  
 Sweden (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
 Switzerland (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
 Tasks of Co-operation in New Era, 65  
 Taxation for 1919-20, Changes in, 185  
 Tea Estates, Co-operative, 102  
 Temperance Organisations, 357  
 Town Planning, 126  
 Trade Boards, 269  
 Trade Union Membership, German, 246  
   — Unionism, Progress of, 241  
   — Unions Congress, 146  
   — Unions Congress, 266 [145  
   — Unions, Number and Membership, Trust, the Rule of the, 232  
 Unemployment, 151  
 United States (see Co-op. Movements Abroad)  
 Use of Flour in Great Britain, 60  
 Victory Loan, 157

- Wages, Changes in Rates of, 148  
 — Course of, 148  
 — in Denmark, 82.  
 — „ Germany, 364  
 War Casualties of the Allies, 398  
 Wealth of Nations, 376-377  
 Whitley Councils, 270  
 Women's Employment, 153 and 256  
 — Enfranchisement in Italy, 376  
 — Work Organisations, 345  
 Workers' Educational Association, 370  
 Working Day of Miners in Spain, 159  
 — Time in Japan, 225  
 — Week (Shorter) 29  
 World of Labour, The, 249  
 World-wide Labour Unrest, 275  
 — Political Unrest in 1919, 299  
 — Prices in War Time and Peace, 33  
 World's Harvests, 372  
 Young, Mr. James, 109

### ILLUSTRATIONS.

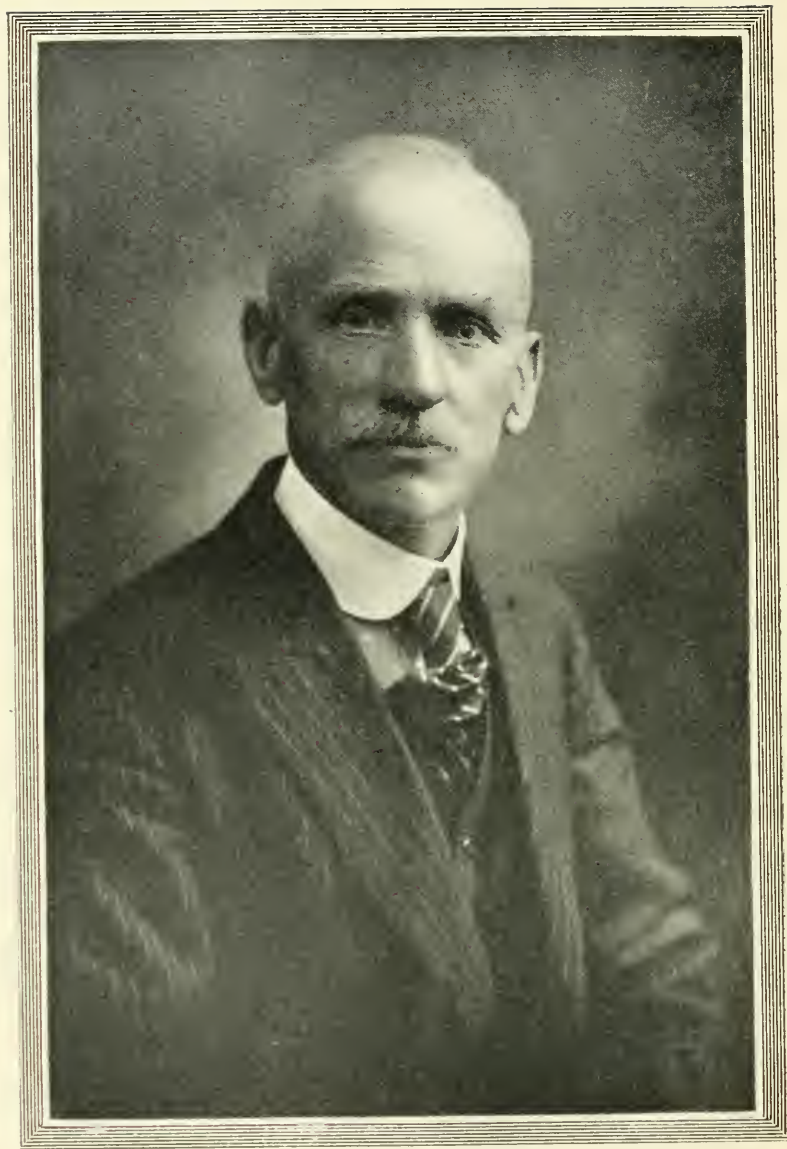
- Bee Corn Mill, 382  
 Co-operative Congress, Carlisle, 80  
 C.W.S. Aarhus Establishment, 57  
 — Central Premises, 90  
 — Copenhagen Offices, 210  
 — Depots Abroad, 125  
 — in Agriculture, 228  
 — Estate, Pastoral Scenes on, 105  
 — Farms, Work on, 32  
 — Fish Trade, 305  
 — in Industry, 381  
 — Millinery Room, 246  
 — Tannery, 340 [239  
 — Wholesale Grocery, Market Scene,  
 C.W.S. Woollen Manufacture, 299  
 — Women Workers, 256  
 Foreign Co-operative Wholesales, 385  
 Hamburg Production Society's Central  
 Premises, 176  
 — Produktion Society's Co-operative  
 Dwellings, 196  
 New York Co-operative Hotel, 279  
 Peace, the Sower, 2  
 Scientific Research, 68  
 S.C.W.S. Central Premises, 112  
 — Shieldhall Factories, 112  
 The "Big Four" at the Peace Con-  
 ference, 14

### PORTRAIT GALLERY.

- Allen, Sir T. W., 10  
 Ansele, Edward, 315  
 Antón, Juan Salas, 335  
 Barnes, Rt. Hon. G. N., 17  
 Bramley, Fred, 241  
 Chiozza-Money, Sir Leo, 204  
 Clynes, Rt. Hon. J. R., 41  
 Crossley, L. G., 134  
 Davies, Emil, L.C.C., 169  
 Gide, Professor Charles, 65  
 Harris, Lloyd, 360  
 Hodges, Frank, 161  
 Lansbury, George, 198  
 Long, Professor James, 41  
 Mawson, T. H., 126  
 Maxwell, Sir W., 12  
 Parkes, Miles, J.P., 103  
 Waterson, A. E., M.P., 72  
 Webb, Sidney, 113  
 Young, James, 109

### INDEX TO ADVERTISERS.

- Albion Motor Car Co. Ltd., 374  
 Antelope Cream Powder Co., 359  
 Baker, Joseph, and Sons Ltd., 400  
 Chatwood Safe Co. Ltd., 74  
 Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd., 316  
 Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd., 1  
 C.W.S. Bank, inside front cover  
 — Crumpsall Biscuit Works, inside  
 back cover  
 — Drapery, 375  
 — Federation Flour, 4  
 — Furniture and Hardware, 240  
 — Keighley Ironworks, 383  
 — Margarine, 160  
 — National Health Insurance, 303  
 — Newcastle Bookselling, 290  
 — Newcastle Grocery, 369  
 C.W.S. Newcastle Stationery and Office  
 Requisites, 291  
 — Paints, Colours, and Varnishes, 219  
 — Pelaw Cabinet Works, 386, 387  
 — Pelaw Polishes, 353 and back cover  
 — Standard Corn, 368  
 — Tea, 280  
 — Yeast, 304  
 S.C.W.S. Enterprises, 106  
 Dri-ped Ltd., 272  
 Harbutt's Plasticine Ltd., 248  
 King, P. S. and Son Ltd., 61  
 Lightfoot Refrigeration Co. Ltd., 133  
 Morris, Wilkinson, and Co., 168  
 Perry and Hope, 271  
 Robinson and Co. Ltd., 197  
 Russian Co-operation, 338, 339



SIR THOMAS W. ALLEN.

## SIR THOMAS W. ALLEN.

---

SIR THOMAS W. ALLEN (the first Co-operator to receive a knighthood) is known as one of the quiet, strong men of the movement, whose aim in life is to further the associative principle in all that relates to matters of living and of government. Born at Abertillery, Sir Thomas has never forgotten the inspiration of his native hills and dales, and in the much larger career to which he has been called, he is ever mindful of the people of Monmouthshire among whom his early days were spent. In 1886 he became an employee of the Blaina Society, and when that society took over the failing co-operative store at Abertillery, the present co-operative knight had a native interest in restoring its fortunes. This he did so successfully that later he was called to the general management of the whole of the society, and subsequently the post of secretary was added to his duties. Many innovations were introduced into the organisation of distributive co-operation in Monmouthshire, and when the Co-operative Congress was held at Newport in 1908, he was unanimously elected by the co-operators of South Wales to preside over its deliberations. This was done with distinction and inspiration, and two years later his election to the directorate of the C.W.S. was regarded as a fitting tribute to the zeal and initiative which he had developed during his whole co-operative career. In the larger sphere he gave the same enthusiasm that had marked his earlier career, and shortly after the outbreak of war, when matters of food supply became acute, his colleagues invited him to devote the whole of his time to assisting the Government in its work of Food Control. Lord Rhondda welcomed his help. He became private unpaid secretary to the Food Controller, serving with the late Lord Rhondda, Mr. J. R. Clynes, and with Mr. G. H. Roberts. On the formation of the Consumers' Council he was asked to become deputy chairman, and his work in that capacity has proved to the advantage of the nation. Sir Thomas has continued his work for co-operation in several directions. He was president of the Emergency Congress in London which settled the Parliamentary activity of the movement, and, as chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress, has done much to mould its methods and shape its policy. Regarding co-operation as a spiritual force as well as a material blessing for mankind, his advocacy is tinged with an idealism that is inspiring in these days when selfishness threatens us on every hand. And on that high note co-operators will enter the wider inheritance of the future.



SIR WILLIAM MAXWELL.

## SIR WILLIAM MAXWELL.

---

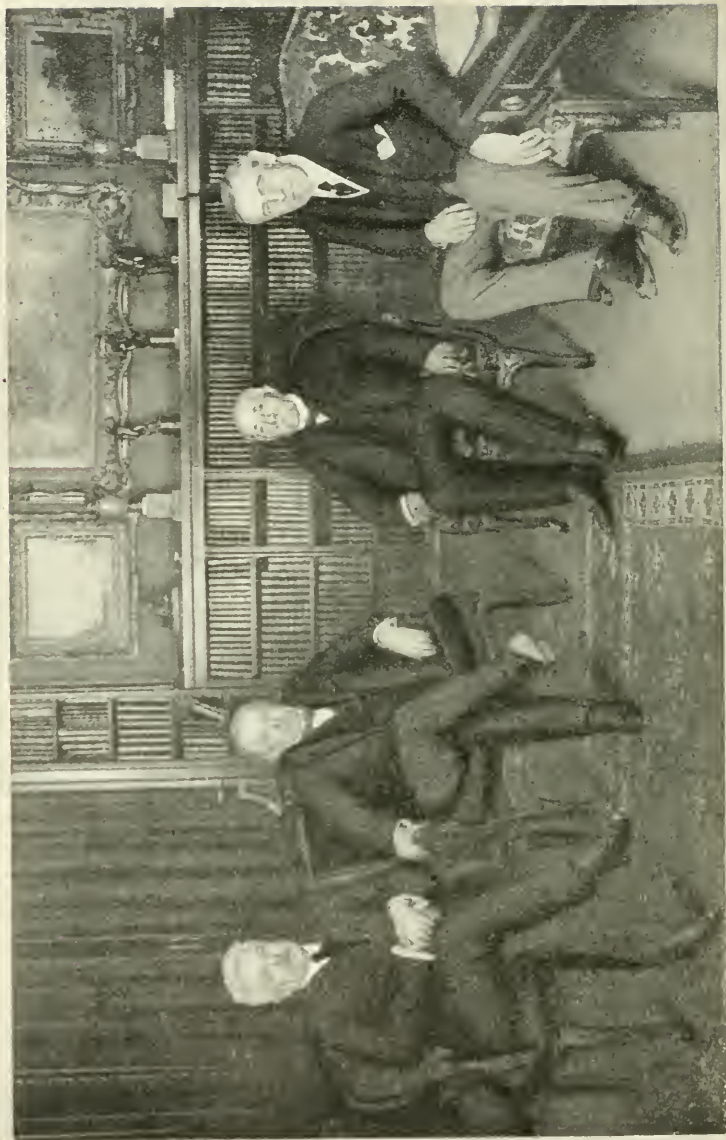
AS a tribute to his work for co-operation, nationally and internationally, Mr. William Maxwell was raised to the rank of knighthood on August 13th, 1919. For a generation Sir William has been one of the most familiar figures in British co-operation, and for a long time has been well known in some of the co-operative centres on the Continent. He carries the honour with singular grace and dignity, but, having attained his seventy-eighth year, he is no longer as active in the great movement to which he has devoted his time and ability. During his remarkable co-operative career he has travelled widely, and sown the seeds of co-operation among people of other lands.

Sir William was born in Glasgow in 1841, and comes of an old Scottish family who had been hardy tillers of the soil and, incidentally, fighters for their clan or cause. He served his time as a coach painter, having attained considerable technical skill by the time his apprenticeship had terminated. He was a workman of an artistic type, and had knocked about the British Isles before he began to settle down to co-operation in 1864. First, he became a member of St. Cuthbert's Society, Edinburgh—in fact, more than a mere member; he was enthusiastic, and did a deal of propaganda. Before attaining the age of forty he was elected a director of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society (in 1880); nine months later he became the president, and maintained the confidence of Scottish co-operators in this leading position till his retirement in 1908.

With a wide outlook, he devoted his energy to the constructive work of the S.C.W.S., and was at the same time an eloquent advocate on the platform. Perhaps one of his greatest practical achievements was the advancement of the group of factories at Shieldhall, whence co-operative stores in Scotland are supplied with a variety of useful goods.

He has been a great believer in the will of the people, and was one of the pioneers in the agitation to press co-operators to develop a political consciousness. He had a wide knowledge of the co-operative movement, for which his determination and sincerity never seemed to flag. He was a source of inspiration to younger men. To him co-operation knew no barriers, and his breadth of mind and outlook fitted him admirably for the spread of the principle of co-operation internationally. He was president of the congress of the International Co-operative Alliance at Cremona (1907), Hamburg (1910), and Glasgow (1913). He has been a member of the Executive Council of the I.C.A. since 1901, and his position as president of the Alliance has given him a distinct place in international co-operation, which he regards as one of the greatest peace forces in Europe.

THE COUNCIL OF FOUR OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE. PARIS, 1919.



From left to right — Sianor Orlando (the Italian Prime Minister), Mr. Lloyd-George, M. Clemeneau, and President Woodrow Wilson. Picture taken in the room where the "Council of Four" held their Meetings at the Paris residence of President Wilson, 11, Place des Etats-Unis.

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

---

THE task of the Versailles Conference was to determine the conditions of peace to be imposed upon the Entente Powers (Germany and Austria) and their Allies, and likewise to establish a League of Nations, and so lay the foundations of a new international world. The participators in the Conference represented an imposing array of States, comprising all the major and most of the minor powers of the earth, the former consisting of Great Britain and the United States, France, Italy, and Japan; the latter of Belgium, Portugal, Greece, Roumania, Poland, Serbo-Croatia, Czecho-Slovakia; China, Siam, and the Hedjaz; Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru; Cuba and Haiti; Guatemala, Honduras, Niargua, and Panama; and lastly the negro republic of Liberia, on the West-African coast.

The dominating personages at the Conference were, unquestionably, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, President Wilson, Signor Orlando (the government chiefs of the four great Allied Powers of Great Britain, France, America, and Italy), whose outstanding authority, together with that of Marquis Saionji, the Japanese plenipotentiary, gained for their respective states the appellation "The Big Five," in common parlance.

On January 18th, 1919, the Peace Conference was opened by President Poincaré; on May 7th the draft treaty was presented to the German delegation; on June 22nd the German National Assembly voted for the acceptance of the imposed treaty by a majority of 99; and the German delegation appended their signatures to the document on June 29th; the deliberations and negotiations having thus occupied five months and some odd days. The settlement with Austria which followed was arranged in a comparatively short space of time.

As regards the League of Nations, the Conference decided that it should take the form of a covenant (in conformity with President Wilson's proposals), and that an Assembly and a Council should be constituted at Geneva as the working machinery; that is to say, an assembly of representatives of all the members of the League and Council of representatives of the five great allied powers, plus four other League members; the Council to be the seat of authority, and the "Big Five" the seat of authority in the Council. In point both of form and fact the League of Nations thus begins as a league of governments.

The Covenant of Peace pledges its signatories to resort to arbitration for the settlement of disputes, and a permanent international court of justice is to be established therefor. All members are pledged to protect the Covenant. A war (in defiance of the Covenant) by one is to be deemed a war against all, and economic ostracisation or otherwise is to be the punishment of the transgressor.



## DIRECTORS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD.

- ADAMS, MR. T., 12, Park View, Stockton-on-Tees.  
 ALLEN, SIR T. W., Edward VII. Avenue, Newport, Mon.  
 ARNOLD, MR. T. G., "The Cot," Woolwich Road, Abbey Wood, London. S.E.2  
 BLAIR, MR. W. R., 5, Radstock Road, Liverpool.  
 CHARTER, MR. W. T., Morden House, 28, Cherryhinton Road, Cambridge.  
 CLAYTON, MR. W., "Kelvinside," King's Road, Monkseaton, Northumberland.  
 COLEY, MR. PHILIP, 22, Stansfield Street, Sunderland.  
 DENMAN, MR. F., 205, Parkside Road, Bradford, Yorks.  
 DUDLEY, MR. W. E., "Cranleigh," Highlands Road, Runcorn.  
 ENGLISH, MR. JOSEPH, "Tyneholme," Birtley, R.S.O., Co. Durham.  
 FLEMING, MR. R., 1, Glandore Street, Belfast.  
 GOLIGHTLY, MR. A. W., "Hillside," Vicarage Lane, Chigwell, Essex.  
 GRAHAM, MR. E. J., 5, Lymwood Avenue, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 HAYHURST, MR. G., "Hameldon," Manchester Road, Acerington.  
 HEMINGWAY, MR. W., 108, Bolton Road, Pendleton, Manchester.  
 HENSON, MR. T. J., "Burrington," 11, Weatheroak Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.  
 HOLT, MR. R., "Brier Crest," Deeplish Road, Rochdale.  
 JOHNS, MR. J. E., "Glen Aber," 3, Brunswick Hill, Reading.  
 KILLON, MR. THOMAS (PRESIDENT), 7, Tenterden Street, Bury.  
 KING, MR. J. W., 9, Elvaston Road, Hexham-on-Tyne.  
 LANDER, MR. WILLIAM, Lake Road, Ansdell, Lytham.  
 MARSHALL, MR. C., 33, Wentworth Road, York.  
 McINNIS, MR. D., Hamilton Road, Lincoln.  
 MOORHOUSE, MR. T. E., High Street, Delph.  
 OLIVER, MR. J., 231, Cardigan Terrace, Gateshead-on-Tyne.  
 SHOTTON, MR. T. E., 28, Grosvenor Drive, Whitley Bay.  
 THORPE, MR. G. (VICE-PRESIDENT), 6, Northfield, Highroyd, Dewsbury.  
 THREADGILL, MR. A. E., 4, Sherwood Road, Grays, Essex.  
 VARLEY, MR. A., 36, Dallas Road, Lancaster.  
 WILKINS, MR. H. J. A., "Beulah," Coombe Road, Teignmouth, Devon.  
 WOODHOUSE, MR. G., "The Laurels," 27, Renals Street, Derby.  
 YOUNGS, MR. H. J., 6, Portland Place, Old Palace Road, Norwich.
- BRODRICK, THOS. (SECRETARY).

## DIRECTORS OF THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD.

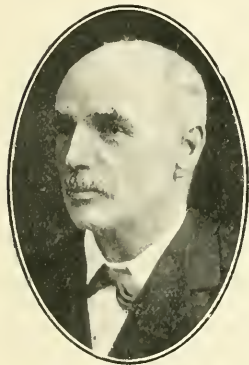
- |                   |                              |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| ALLAN, MR. W. R.  | PEARSON, MR. J. (SECRETARY). |
| ARCHBOLD, MR. W.  | PURDIE, MR. A.               |
| BARDNER, MR. J.   | STEWART, MR. R. (PRESIDENT). |
| CAMPBELL, MR. H.  | STIRLING, MR. T. B.          |
| GALLACHER, MR. W. | THOMSON, MR. G.              |
| LITTLE, MR. T.    | WEIR, MR. A. B.              |

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND LABOUR REGULATION.

A New Chapter in International Relations.

By the RT. HON. G. N. BARNES, M.P.

WE are too near to the Paris Conference to realise fully its place in the world's history; but we can say that 1914 closed an epoch, and that the Peace Treaty starts a new, and, as I hope and believe, the best era that the peoples of the world have yet seen. The lessons of the last five years have sunk deep into the minds and conscience of all people, and, as a result, we have made a start in the direction of noble conceptions of public policy.



THE RIGHT HON.  
G. N. BARNES, M.P.

It is true that national and individual egoism still endures. We have not reached the Federation of Mankind, but we have at all events reached a milestone on the road to it. The world has bought experience at a great price during the last five fateful years, but it is at least some consolation to know that out of the terrible evil has come a great good. The Peace Treaty ushers in a new spirit and a new point of view. Former peace treaties handed about subject peoples from sovereignty to sovereignty without

their leave and sometimes contrary to their interests. This treaty lays down the principle that subject peoples are to be ruled by consent under a mandate from a League of Nations, and that the interests of such native rule is to be in the peoples. And the League of Nations will not only protect backward peoples, it will protect "advanced" peoples against themselves. Its covenant embodies a mutually defensive treaty, under which all the nations who are members of the league are pledged to come to the support of any one of their number who may be subject to unprovoked aggression. That is to say, that America is pledged to come to the aid of any small State on this side of the Atlantic, she being independent and safe and the other perhaps being dependent and surrounded by enemies.

The Covenant of the League of Nations also provides for concurrent reduction of armaments. Under it a permanent commission is set up to arrange reduction of armies and navies throughout the world. This again is a great gain. It is, in fact, the hope of the world.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REGULATORY ORGANISATION.

As part of the League of Nations, there is now also an International Labour Regulatory Organisation. This is a new chapter in international relations.

What are the factors in the present situation which call for this new departure? Chief among them is the fact of an educated and discontented democracy determined not to go back to the old pre-war industrial conditions. Manual workers are not prepared to resume a position of subordination and, as a matter of fact, nobody wants them to resume pre-war conditions. A striking illustration of this change of public feeling is afforded by reference to the reports of the Coal Mines Commission: for it is there found that, whatever their disagreements about nationalisation, all parties are agreed that some provision must be made for the men having a voice in the determination of the conditions of their daily life. Other proofs are seen in the Whitley Reports and the National Industrial Council. So far as this country is concerned—and I believe that the same may be said for other countries—the principle of mutuality is conceded.

The labour organisation provides the means by which this principle of co-operation may be carried forward into the international sphere, and I believe that, as time goes on, it will be found to be the most important chapter in the Peace Treaty.

Consider the interdependence of nations under modern conditions of life. Modern science is linking them closer together. They each, to an increasing extent, exchange goods with the others. Wireless telegraphy has brought them into hourly contact. What is done in one country has its reaction in all other countries, and international exchanges assume an ever-growing place in world affairs. The world, in fact, tends to become an economic unit. All this is to the good, provided that we adjust our political and industrial conditions accordingly. And to do this we must recognise the growing sensitiveness of interests and the need for adjustments and readjustments being made with due regard to their effect from a long point of view and over a wide area. The labour organisation in the Peace Treaty provides the means by which that can be done in the industrial field. It provides the means by which industrial betterment can come by concurrent advance. It is framed in the knowledge that no one country will in that respect risk its foreign trade by going far ahead of other countries. That is really the cause of most of the stubborn fights between labour and capital in all countries. British manufacturers, for instance, plead Continental competition against demands on the part of British labour for higher wages. Continental countries in turn plead better British industrial organisation against demands on the part of labour in Continental countries. As a strange commentary on both pleas, America, which pays higher wages than any other country, beats most other countries in international trade.

This, however, by the way. It is not necessary to examine this apparent paradox, but, in parenthesis, I would say further that in the long run I believe high wages pay both employers and employed in increased output—provided they bring, as they ought to bring, good will and greater efficiency. The question, however, is really irrelevant. The argument of foreign competition may not be sound, but it has been effective in checking sectional improvement of industrial conditions. That is our difficulty, and therein lies the need for countries marching together.

The new international labour organisation, therefore, meets a double need. It seeks to give effect to the aspirations of democracy and it affords the means by which all countries can take action together. It is an effort to link up idealism with the facts of life. To those who see no nobler way of advance towards a better order than by industrial and class conflict, it says, "come together and take a larger view." And I would add that it comes at an opportune moment. Community interests are just now exposed to mortal danger because of loosening of bonds and political neurasthenia following the war. We are, I believe, at the parting of the ways. The world can go on distractedly to destruction, or it can adopt co-operation and evolve order out of chaos. Russia is trying the former method.

#### THE DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTED.

The labour chapter of the Peace Treaty is the alternative. It is an effort to apply the larger social sense now happily growing up among all communities to the practical problems of our time. Or, in other words, it is a step forward towards bringing pious aspirations down into the world of everyday affairs.

Before describing the machinery of the organisation, let me deal with three difficulties with which we were confronted. First, the unwillingness of Governments to surrender any part of national sovereignty; second, the differences in constitution of Governments throughout the world; and third, the differences in industrial development and climatic conditions.

In regard to the first, we had to recognise that a super-parliament, vested with powers to impose its will upon constituent States, was an impossibility. For my part, I began the consideration of this matter with the view that a conference of nations might impose penalties. Further consideration and direct contact with representatives of the different nations soon demonstrated that that view was one which could not be maintained. And I must say that further consideration also convinced me that the mobilisation of humane and sympathetic public opinion would probably be as effective as any penalties could be, even if penalties could be enforced.

The organisation, therefore, as will be seen, attempts nothing in the way of coercion, but will gather up and focus public opinion in favour of the levelling up of the standard of life. Each country is

left free to accept or reject recommendations offered, with the provision, however, that in certain circumstances the League of Nations may be invoked and may advise economic pressure against a country which refuses to come into line.

Regarding the second point, we were faced with the difficulty of the federal Governments. In a world conference, a federal Government is represented as a unit. But that federal Government may not be in a position to bind its constituent-parts. That is the case with the American Government, which consists of forty-eight separate States, each of whom has a right to adopt labour legislation of its own. We had to devise the best way out of the difficulty. Hence the provision that federal Governments will only be under obligation to submit recommendations or conventions to the competent authorities of their constituted States, while non-federal Governments will be under obligation to submit them to their competent authorities—in our case the House of Commons—and if endorsed, to give effect to them.

This involves a lesser degree of obligation being imposed upon the federal Governments than upon other Governments that may be equally represented at a world conference. That is regrettable, but unavoidable. But if I am right in thinking that public opinion will be, after all, the most important factor in the situation, then the difference may not be so great as might at first sight be supposed. There are, happily, in each State of a federal Government ways and means of organising humane public opinion. There are labour organisations, which can always make their influence felt in their respective communities, and I believe that public opinion will be brought to bear in such a way as to get due effect given to decisions of conferences.

The third point is in reference to the backward countries. What we want is a higher standard of life everywhere, but the same standard of life everywhere would be impossible in our own day and generation. Supposing an eight-hour day was decided upon in America and European countries. It would be impossible to apply, at the same time, an eight hours stipulation in India or Japan. The hours are but little more than eight now in highly industrialised countries in Europe or America, whereas the hours in Japan and India, under a patriarchal system of industry, are probably 50 per cent more. What we aim at through our practical organisation is concurrent advance. That is to say, if hours of labour are curtailed by 20 per cent in Europe and America, they should be curtailed at least 20 per cent in the Eastern countries. The same in regard to wages. Wages are comparatively high in Europe, and if agreement is reached in regard to a standard wage in Europe and America, there should be agreement at the same time for a wage in India or Japan, making at least a concurrent advance. Of course there are matters to which these considerations do not apply. Poison is poison everywhere, and if it be decided to abolish poisonous processes, then that might be done

everywhere. The need for protecting women is the same everywhere, and probably agreements reached on that ground may be applicable in all countries. But in the question of hours and wages, we must recognise the guiding factors of difference in industrial developments and climatic conditions.

#### THE MACHINERY OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION.

The machinery of the organisation will consist of—

1. An Annual Conference.
2. A Governing Body.
3. An International Labour Office.

The conference will consist of four delegates from each affiliated State, two of such delegates representing the Government of that State, and one representing employers and workmen respectively. The reason why States are given a larger representation than either one of the voluntary bodies of employers or workmen, is that it is intended that States should feel themselves under a moral obligation to give effect to decisions reached. The organisation is not one which seeks to compete with existing international organisations of workmen or other sectional bodies which are free to record opinions on theoretical subjects. It is one rather for practical results—for bringing theoretical considerations into the arena of practical affairs. It is hoped that Governments will send quite responsible persons as delegates to the conference, and that those persons will go armed with instructions to vote in a particular direction. It is provided that the agenda of each annual conference shall be submitted to all the States affiliated thereto, with plenty of time for the delegates getting instructions thereon. Each delegate will be entitled to take technical advisers on each subject on the agenda. Each delegate, moreover, will be entitled to exchange places with his adviser should it be desirable to do so, as, for instance, when women's questions are under consideration, women advisers may become delegates instead of advisers only.

The governing body is intended to be an executive, to remain permanently on the ground, to prepare agenda and generally to get effect given to decisions of conferences. It will be composed in the same proportions as the annual conference. That is to say there will be twelve delegates representing States, each of them being selected by States, eight from the States of greatest industrial importance, and four from the remaining States, to be selected by the representatives of those States at the conference. The remaining twelve will be selected by the delegates at a conference representing labour and employers of labour respectively.

The governing body will have at its disposal an International Labour Office staffed from the different countries, care being taken to have women fully represented thereon, and which will be under the control of a director selected by the governing body. This International Labour Office will be situated at the capital of the League

of Nations, and its director is given special access to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who may be invoked to give assistance in the event of complaint being made against a State, either for failing to put a recommendation to its competent authorities, or, in the event of having put such recommendation to the competent authority, failing to carry it out, if endorsed. In either case the Secretary-General will be required to institute an inquiry in prescribed form. If, after inquiry is made, a nation is found to be recalcitrant, then the League of Nations executive may authorise the application by any country of such economic measures as may be thought advisable against such defaulting States. This is the full measure of penalty provided for in the organisation. And, as will be seen, it is only to be applied in the very last resort—to be applied then only with the authority of the League of Nations, and to be applied voluntarily by any nation. But it is hoped that much will be done by the International Labour Office in the way of bringing moral suasion to bear on backward States. It will collect and distribute information and disseminate sound views based on medical and expert industrial knowledge on industrial affairs, and by those means get improvements carried out willingly by those States who may have fallen unwittingly into the background in labour regulation.

Such is the new body and its functions. It will be the operative arm of the League of Nations. It will strengthen that body by bringing it in contact with the everyday life of people, and it will, I believe, bring much-needed succour to the labour of the world.

---

## BUILDING SOCIETIES.

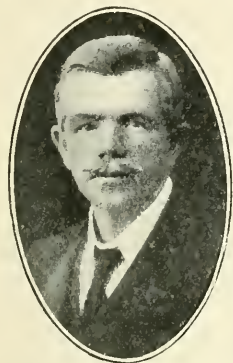
---

ACCORDING to the latest report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies the number of building societies coming within the scope of the annual return for 1917 amounted to 1,443, or fifty-nine fewer than in 1916; while the aggregate membership (620,040) showed a diminution by 8,000, but still exceeded the membership in 1913. The aggregate sum advanced on mortgage amounted to £4,500,000, or about half the average advanced in pre-war years. The aggregate amount of shareholders' contributions figured out at over £47,000,000, signifying a decrease of £160,000 on the previous year, but also a rather higher figure than that in the pre-war years. The aggregate liability in the matter of deposits and loans exceeded £13,750,000, or £750,000 less than in 1916, and £2,250,000 less than in the pre-war days. The balance of profit and reserve carried forward (£4,250,000) shows an increase of £85,000 on the year previous, and an increase of £300,000 as compared with the figure for 1914. The balance due on mortgage amounted to £55,250,000, or less by £2,750,000 than in 1916.

## LABOUR IN THE NEW ERA.

By THE RIGHT HON. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

**L**ANDMARKS in the life of a great industrial nation are seldom very distinct. An era, or a period, may be identified by some outstanding and transforming event, but it is not easy to say where one age has ended and another begun. Broadly speaking, however, it may be said that Labour entered into a new era during the later stages of the war, because within those stages the organised powers of the workers became enormously increased. They had proofs of how extensive could be the use of those powers in the successes achieved by employing them in all industrial questions, and in that period they entered into a far wider possession of electoral power through the medium of an Act of Parliament which enfranchised about ten million more men and women wage earners.



THE RIGHT HON.  
J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

The battle for the right to unite and the right to vote has therefore been fought and won, and the state of the workers in the age now ahead of them will depend upon the sane and effective use of the two-fold authority

which they have now acquired in the affairs of their country. Sections of the workers and some of their leaders are at times misled into thinking of labour in the terms of one factor capable of swift or easy movement to attain some end on which it is thought masses of workers are agreed. The fact is that labour is not one unit. It is a great aggregation of millions of human beings looking differently on the same questions, and viewing proposed solutions from the standpoint of some present prospect, or some past prejudice by which they may still be influenced. Labour, even as an organised force, is not, therefore, one interest but several. Workmen are of different grades, temperaments, capacities, and are disposed to examine proposals for redress in a manner perhaps more varied and tending more to division than other classes who have specific interests to preserve.

### A COMMON CAUSE AND INTEREST.

But all these grades have a great deal in common in relation to the supreme event which has turned the current of modern history—the war. The price paid for this event has been so bitter and ghastly in the number of sacrificed lives, that the sorrow of the people is too great to be lessened by any form of payment or reparation which can be exacted from the wrong doer. Labour men, like others, however,



might ask themselves what the position in this country or the Empire would be had the wrong doer succeeded. Bad as our state may be, it is a paradise compared with the militarist hell in which our kingdom would continue to suffer had the legions and the doctrines of the German government succeeded in their aim.

So that there is some cause to rejoice, not in any emotional vein of triumph for our own success, but because of the rescue of the world which our victory secured. The German people and her neighbours, not less than ourselves, should live to bless in future generations the downfall of the tyrannous claim for world power to be wielded through the medium of a glorified force, resting not upon popular will or popular need, but upon the vaulting ambition of fools who measured national greatness by the glitter and authority of armies and thrones.

#### THE PENALTIES OF POVERTY.

Our quarrel with the Government on some of the terms of peace, and our protest against grievances which the war has left with us, should not impair the sense of relief given to mankind by the triumph of the combined arms and moral purpose of the allied nations. Labour, more than other classes, has strong and just cause to assail the Government for its failure to lessen the distresses bequeathed by the war. The poorer classes, who swelled the ranks and gave body and endurance to the army, left a country rich enough to be worth fighting for, and claimed to be so just as to demand the highest sacrifice which men could give to defend it. The sacrifice of life and limb was shared by all, but all do not share the distresses which are peculiar to those of the labouring classes. To fight for their country they left it in poverty. In poverty they returned to a country which they had saved and defended, only to find themselves at best where they were before the war. It is they who, because of their hand-to-mouth existence, feel the severities of grievances relating to demobilisation, pensions and allowances, unemployment, profiteering, trade restrictions, food prices, and a score of other "incidents of the war." That these things have followed in the wake of previous wars is neither excuse nor answer for failing to cope with them in an age when higher claims are made for efficiency, organising capacity, directorship, and ability for State management. Let these home troubles be removed, and any Government would soon find that appeals for violent methods to redress grievances, however real they may be, would fall upon deaf ears. Not that the workers would lack in their share of interest in world politics. They would be able to face them with a greater sense of proportion, and with less provocation to blunder in an attempt to settle them.

#### INTERNATIONAL MEASURES FOR REFORM.

In the new era which we approach there has been opened out to labour an opportunity for economic reform on international lines which a generation of party effort might not have secured. The

importance to our workmen of events which occur far away in other parts of the world is well revealed in the proposals which have taken practical shape to establish on international lines plans for developing an industrial and economic side to the League of Nations. The high contracting parties at the Peace Conference recognised that one great object which they must further is the physical, moral, and intellectual well-being of the industrial wage earners of all nations, and to that end it was decided that it was their business to frame permanent machinery to be associated with and worked within the League of Nations. To this resolve they attached the following declaration:—

They recognised that differences of climate, habits, and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

The moral and human standards as against any narrow economic and business pursuit which governments should recognise is one of the most hopeful signs for the future good government of the world. Our seaports are linked with the shores of all other nations, and just as trade has become a world-wide affair, the well-being of those whose manual service is employed in it must take in the future a leading place in the interests and activities of statesmen. Indeed, the developments of the last two or three years should prove to statesmen that events which occur thousands of miles away, gradually, but surely, determine the conditions in countries far away from where they begin. For this reason, labour must not look only to the movement for international working-class solidarity. It must look to the full establishment of provisions for making the League of Nations effective. The League would be supplementary to the services of our international movement, and would tend to compel those who influence governments also to do what we wish the workers of the world to do—to maintain peace among the nations, and raise the standard of industry and economic life for all peoples.

#### INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT AT HOME.

Troubles with our home trades and industries are often provoked too lightly, though much is being done to guard against them. Beneath the troubled surface of industrial disturbances a great deal of substantial work is being done to make these quarrels less likely, though propaganda for the shaping of new principles of organisation may never end so long as mankind considers that the ideal state has not been reached.

We hear almost daily of something relating to workers in the mines, in cotton mills, engineering workers, on railways, and in transport services. These great divisions of trade exist either in the nature of national industries, or in such strength of working-class

organisation that they are bound to be kept more or less in the public eye. In these trades the workers have not adopted the precise form of Industrial Council recommended by the Whitley Report. All the same, contact is maintained between the organised worker and the organised employers in many of these trades, and all manner of questions are settled between them week by week.

Great as are the big national industries, it is outside them that larger numbers of wage earners are employed. Millions of men and women earn their living in businesses in which trade unionism has been established only in recent years, and about two and a half million such workers are now covered by Joint Industrial Councils.

This work cannot go on without improving very materially the spirit in which future industry is to be conducted. It will probably have the effect on the one hand of relieving the State from the need of interference which either side previously called for when either side was afraid of the other, and when both sides would not come together. On the other hand it will tend to relieve the trade unions of most of those lesser workshop differences which, because of the absence of permanent facilities for conciliation and settlement, frequently lead to trouble. Small troubles often develop to a serious dispute, and after perhaps weeks of a strike the parties come together and arrange a settlement which might very well have been arranged before suffering the losses which strikes always involve.

There is, however, no one remedy for industrial troubles. The causes are many and the cure will have to be attempted by several lines of effort. The better-paid workmen were the men who, in the early parts of this year, showed signs of the greatest discontent, and industrial stoppages were threatened by them. They had more than wage grievances. Indeed, a great deal of the labour unrest springs from a natural and growing desire on the part of the wage earner to find a more effective place than he has had before in our industrial system. Self-determination is a term which is now better understood and has world-wide significance. It is a term which might accurately be applied to the outlook of a large number of workers who are ambitious to settle for themselves the conditions of labour which surround them, or if not that, at least to secure some share in the authority which determines questions like hours of work, conditions of superintendence, control of overtime rates, and systems of piece-work, changes in machinery or methods of production, together with all the other workshop questions which lie outside the larger sphere of labour policy.

#### THE DANGERS OF A NEW METHOD.

With the advent of the new era there came the new device for using the strike weapon for political objects. At least the leaders of labour should avoid a method which puts them in the position of provoking strikes instead of preventing them.

Leaders who urge their following to act unconstitutionally in relation to the State, or who urge them to defy the law when it is the law of Parliament, cannot call upon their following to act constitutionally in relation to their own unions, and conform to the law represented by the rule book of the organisation. Men who have been encouraged to violate a habit of legality and rely upon the weapon of force in relation to the State will think little of using the same weapon in defiance of the advice of their leaders when a difference may arise with their own society.

The whole question which has been raised is one of whether labour is going to try and rule by force, or depend upon the fairness and reason of its claim. A state of ceaseless turmoil in the sphere of industry in our own country would scarcely help the advent of that world peace for which so many men eloquently appeal. And if force is to succeed when used by organised labour, how can labour deny the use of it should it be employed, say, against a Labour Government by any other class in the community? Property and privilege are still strong. Their strength has largely been derived from the law. Until the law is altered by means similar to those which made it what it is, privilege and property will retain their power. Labour could, of course, terrorise other sections of the community, but the terrorism would be temporary, and nothing can be gained which labour could with confidence regard as enduring.

To terrorise a country is not to govern it, and those who think that a national strike could be arranged on lines which would precisely work out according to programme, and which would accomplish all the ends in view within the stated period, are too easily deceived to be treated seriously. They say that they do not want any violence, and I fully believe them, but no self-respecting Government would be moved by an ineffective act of passivity such as a harmless and undisturbing stoppage for twenty-four hours would be. On the Clyde, in London, in Ireland, in Canada, and in many parts of the world even during this year, this policy of a "short and triumphant strike" has been tried and in every instance failed. The power of defence and of recuperation in city or country when a city or country is attacked is more formidable than some trade union leaders are yet aware.

We, who have the power to rule through the ballot box by fair means, must not seek to rule by foul means, after failing to make good use of a great opportunity. The strike weapon in politics should be discarded, because it is against all that labour has ever defended as a principle of government. It violates the doctrine of self-determination, and claims the right of a class to set aside conditions of government approved by Parliament and not disapproved by the country at large. It is a reliance upon violence and it rejects the doctrine of consent upon which labour has relied.

It is a doctrine which insults the workers by saying in effect, now that they have votes they have no sense. They have political power,

but not the intelligence to avoid the pitfalls prepared by the party press or the deceitful methods of designing politicians. It is a severe censure of millions of the rank and file who are told that at length they have been trusted with affairs of government, but are not fit for them. Some unintelligent millions it is thought cannot be trusted to use the vote, but they can be trusted to use the strike! If a crowd is not qualified to play its part in government on peaceful lines, how can the same crowd be trusted to act with sanity and restraint in the use of a weapon which could not drive a government from its course unless it were used under conditions of tumult and violence, and in a manner to menace the life and property of the responsible heads of government and of many others in the nation?

#### THE WORKERS TO CONVERT THE WORKERS.

The fact is that it is not Parliament or politicians merely who have to be converted to the doctrines of labour. Labour must convert the people to its doctrines. It has now its greatest opportunity. Most people have grievances, and they are very real. Most people would like to have them redressed speedily. But do the people trust labour for this work? That is the question to which the party should address itself.

The best answer to the question will be found in recognising that in the new era the old grievances which must be dealt with are the growth of generations, and that some of the conditions which influence affairs to-day can be traced back through centuries of time. No one generation can hope completely to transform the industrial and social conditions of so old a kingdom as this. The great advantage possessed by us compared with any previous generation is in educational opportunities, and in the consciousness of a right which rests upon work and service, and a right never previously felt or appreciated when men in former years struggled for reform. In a few years the organised workers have been able, through the agency of Parliament and by the power of their unity operating through the trade unions, to reduce hours, raise wages, lift the standard of living, and give to labour a stability and authority in the State undreamt of only a generation ago. These things still leave the mass of the workers far away from the attainment of the goal which they are entitled to reach. It can be reached in peace and under such conditions of security as will make changes permanent and stable if the opportunity and authority acquired by the workers in the old era are wisely and skilfully used in the new one.

In making, during the new era, the changes which would wipe away the grievances suffered during the old, we need show to the useless drones of the kingdom no mercy whatever. But we shall require to show every quality of statesmanship to prevent any change upon which we may be able to insist being a change for the worse.

## THE SHORTER WORKING WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

**A**GAINST the background of disillusionment which has characterised the peace era the shorter hours week stands out conspicuously as one of the few substantial benefits which the workers have gained. And the gain in shorter hours has not been confined to this country, for as will be seen from the following particulars recorded in the *Labour Gazette*, a maximum 48-hour week has now been made the standard almost throughout the civilised world:—

### UNITED KINGDOM.

One of the most prominent features of the industrial situation in the United Kingdom since the signing of the Armistice has been the widespread movement towards a shorter working week, the effects of which have already far exceeded those of any similar movement previously recorded.

In the period of about a quarter of a century, prior to 1919, for which statistics are available, the number of workpeople reported to the Department as affected by reductions in working hours averaged about 120,000 per annum. In 1902, when the maximum weekly hours permitted in textile factories under the Factory and Workshop Act were restricted to 55½, rather more than a million workpeople had their weekly working time reduced by an average of nearly one hour. In 1909, almost entirely as the result of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, limiting the hours of labour of coal miners, over half a million workpeople obtained reductions averaging about 4 hours per week. In the other years of this period the number annually affected ranged from a minimum of 7,000 in 1903 to a maximum of about 155,000 in 1911. During the first seven months of 1919, on the other hand, nearly 6 million workpeople are known to have had their normal weekly working hours, irrespective of overtime, reduced by an average of about 6½ hours per head.

The movement for shorter hours began with the engineering and shipbuilding trades, in which, shortly after the Armistice, negotiations were opened which resulted in an agreement between the employers' associations and the trade unions concerned to

substitute a working week of 47 hours as from January 1st, 1919, for that previously worked (usually 53 or 54 hours) without any reduction in the weekly wages of time-workers. Similar arrangements were subsequently adopted in a number of other metal-working trades. In the railway service a 48-hour week was put into operation as from February 1st, and an 8-hour shift has been generally adopted for shift workers in iron and steel smelting furnaces and rolling mills and in electrical and gas undertakings. A 48-hour week has also been introduced in a number of other industries, including the cotton, woollen and worsted, silk, hosiery, carpet, textile bleaching, dyeing, finishing, &c., boot and shoe, carting, tramway and omnibus, printing and bookbinding, cement, brewing and leather trades. For building operatives in Scotland, the hours have been reduced to 44 weekly. In the coal-mining industry the maximum working time of underground workers was reduced in July by one hour per day as a result of the recommendations of the Coal Industry Commission, while that of surface workers, which was reduced to 49 hours per week from January 1st, has been further reduced to 46½. As the result of all these changes, the hours in an ordinary working week in the principal industries of the United Kingdom are now generally 44 to 48, as compared with 48 to 60 previously.

In almost every case the reduction in hours has been subject to the condition that weekly time wages should not be reduced. For workers paid by the hour the rates have either been enhanced in the proportion by which the weekly hours have been reduced,

or increases in hourly rates have been given which have resulted in a net increase in weekly wages. Those paid at weekly, daily, or shift rates have generally received the same amounts as before the change. As regards piece-workers, in some cases no general change has been made in the recognised piece lists. In other cases the piece rates have been enhanced in proportion to the reduction in hours: while in others again a certain percentage increase has been given, not, however, equivalent to the reduction in hours.

The following table shows the approximate numbers of workpeople affected by reductions in recognised working hours during the present year in different groups of trades, and the average amount of reduction per head. The particulars given include estimates of the numbers of workpeople affected in railway service and Government employment, for which precise numbers have not been ascertained, but are exclusive of changes affecting agricultural labourers, police, clerks, shop assistants and salaried employees, for whom information as to the numbers affected is not available.

48-hour week has resulted in an average weekly reduction of nearly 3 hours, the weekly hours before the change having been most usually only 50 or 51; whereas in the cotton industry the adoption of the 48-hour week has necessitated a reduction of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hours, the working week having previously been  $55\frac{1}{2}$  hours. It should also be noted that the averages apply only to those workpeople whose hours have actually been reduced and not necessarily to the total numbers of workpeople employed in the respective groups of trades, no account being taken in the table of any workpeople, *e.g.*, in the iron and steel trades, who were already working the reduced number of hours.

#### FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The movement for reduced hours of labour which set in after the signing of the Armistice has not been confined to the United Kingdom. Either by way of legislation or by agreement between representatives of employers and workpeople, the length of the working day formerly in operation has been curtailed in many foreign countries. In

GROUP OF TRADES.	Number of Workpeople whose Hours were Reduced.	Aggregate Reduction in Weekly Hours	Average Reductions in Hours per Head for the Workpeople Affected.
Building .....	112,000	596,000	4.2
Mining and Quarrying .....	1,024,000	5,080,000	5.0
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding.	1,891,000	13,317,000	7.0
Textile .....	877,000	6,339,000	7.2
Clothing .....	171,000	832,000	4.9
Transport .....	800,000	7,176,000	9.0
Printing, Paper, &c. ....	167,000	507,000	3.0
Furniture and Woodworking .....	56,000	289,000	5.2
Glass, Brick, Pottery, Chemical, &c. . .	220,000	1,403,000	6.4
Food, Drink, and Tobacco .....	119,000	785,000	6.6
Public Utility Services .....	120,000	949,000	7.9
Other Miscellaneous .....	168,000	969,000	5.7
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>5,755,000</b>	<b>38,212,000</b>	<b>6.6</b>

In considering the variations in the numbers affected, and in the average reduction per head in different trades and groups of trades, it should be remembered that these variations are partly due to the differences in the weekly hours recognised before the changes occurred. For example, in the printing trade, the adoption of a

Germany one of the first enactments of the Provisional Government was a law fixing an 8-hour day for all industrial workers, special arrangements being made to meet the case of transport workers and of those employed in establishments in continuous operation. A later measure fixed a limit for the hours of labour of

agricultural workers—in four months of the year the average hours were not to exceed 8 per diem, in four months 10, and in four months 11. The hours of labour of miners in the Ruhr district were subsequently reduced to 7½, bank to bank. In the territories occupied by the Allies railway workers' hours were reduced to 8 as from June 10th. In the case of France a general 8-hour day law was passed on April 23rd, and at a subsequent date the existing legislation as to the length of the working day in the mining industry was amended by extending the 8-hour day to all classes of workpeople, whether employed underground or on the surface. On August 2nd a similar limit for all persons employed in French vessels, subject to certain regulations.

Laws or decrees have also been passed fixing 8 hours per day (or alternatively 48 hours per week) as the normal working time in Spain, Portugal, Denmark (operative in establishments with continuous working as from January 1st, 1920), Switzerland, Finland, Teheko-Slovakia, Poland, and Soviet Russia. In Holland, according to reports in the daily press, a Bill has been adopted by the Second Chamber of the States General which proposes to establish a legal limit of 45 hours

per week, that is to say, an 8-hour day for five days of the week and a half-holiday on Saturdays. Bills with the object of fixing a general legal working day have also been prepared in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Hungary and Austria.

In several countries a shorter working day has been introduced by agreement between employers and workpeople, thus anticipating or supplementing legislation on this point. This method has been largely adopted in Italy, where the 8-hour day or 48-hour week has been agreed upon in important industries such as the metal and shipbuilding, textile trades, and agriculture. In Switzerland, again, there are many instances of the limitation of working hours by agreement, in addition to the legislative provisions mentioned above.

In the United States, where early in 1919 a week of more than 48 hours was rather the exception than the rule in most of the skilled trades in which male labour predominates, the principal reduction in hours since January has been that resulting from the award of the War Labour Board of Chicago of a 42½-hour week of five days to textile workers.

---

## RECONSTRUCTION IN DENMARK.

---

**B**y royal decree of July 19th, 1919, a permanent department of social affairs in Denmark has now superseded the provisional department established in November, 1918. The new department will exercise supervision over a wide range of affairs, to wit: Poor law administration, assistance to aged persons and to the children of widows, public relief funds, the administration of legacies applicable to benevolent purposes, public health, apprenticeship, labour disputes, employment exchanges, inspection of factories, boiler inspection in rural undertakings, supervision over the employment of foreign labour, the closing time of shops, sickness and funeral benefit funds, unemployment insurance funds, accident insurance,

life assurance, supervision of building operations, and legislation affecting rents and cost of living.

Moreover, in view of forthcoming demands for social legislation, the Government has decided to make provision for obtaining advice by setting up an advisory body to be called the Social Council. On this council the Danish Employers' and Masters' Association and the Central Trade Union Federation have been requested to elect three representatives each. The Council will also comprise (in addition to others) two officials of the State Department of Social Affairs, the State Conciliator, the Chairman of the Permanent Arbitration Court, the Chief Inspector of Factories, and the Director of Employment Exchanges.



# WORK ON C.W.S FARM

THRESHING.



CUTTING OATS



MECHANICAL PLOWING



STACKING POTATOES

## WORLD-WIDE PRICES IN WAR-TIME AND PEACE.

THE fact that world-wide prices in the first year of peace have surpassed the figures recorded during the period of war constitutes a mordant commentary on the management of world affairs, political and economic. At a time characterised by the most urgent demand for raw products the nations of Western Europe find themselves completely debarred from the utilisation of Eastern European resources by reason of the Russian blockade and the state of belligerence prevailing from the Baltic to the Adriatic, notwithstanding the magisterial authority the Supreme Council in Paris is supposed to possess. Add to this the rampant profiteering still going on, with world-wide labour unrest as the direct consequence, and we have factors enough to account for the supreme irony of a peace-offering represented by a cost of living higher in the noon-day of peace than ever the nations had to endure during the high-tide of war.

### THE UNITED KINGDOM.

To begin with, take the United Kingdom, where the percentage increase in retail food prices since July, 1914, has been officially recorded as follows: July, 1915, 32 per cent; July, 1916, 61 per cent; July, 1917, 104 per cent; July, 1918, 110 per cent; and in July, August, and September, 1919, respectively, 109, 117, and 116 per cent. Such is the kind of consolation which the peace era has brought—consolation, moreover, signified by such items as 1s. for 7lb. of potatoes in September, 1919, as compared with 8d. for the same quantity in the same month of the year preceding; and a record price for milk announced for the winter, the "C3" bacon scandal, and the fabulous price of clothing also serving to give a tone to the time. And here the reader may be left to con at his leisure the official record of the average percentage increase in the prices of foodstuffs in the United Kingdom in September, 1919, as compared with July, 1914.

#### AVERAGE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM JULY, 1914, TO SEPTEMBER, 1919.

	Per cent.
Large towns (population over 50,000) .....	119
Small towns and villages .....	112
The United Kingdom as a whole.....	116

Meanwhile the advance in other directions has been so substantial as to bring the general increase in the working-class family budget (including food, rent, clothing, fuel, lighting, &c.) practically on a par with the increase in the cost of food, as may be seen from the fact that although in July, 1919, the general increase was officially estimated at between 105 and 110 per cent. as compared with the estimate of between 100 and 105 per cent for July, 1918, yet in September, 1919, the official estimate of the general increase was 115 per cent. as compared with 110 per cent in September of 1918. All this shows that the new Act to check profiteering is simply another illustration of the Government method of shutting the stable-door after the horse has been stolen.

#### FRANCE.

In France, curious to relate, the peace increase in the cost of living has transcended the British increase to an extraordinary extent, whereas during the war-period the British increase was in advance of the French. Thus the retail food prices in Paris in July, 1919, showed an increase of 161 per cent on the pre-war figure, as compared with the increase of 106 per cent in July, 1918. It may also be noted that in French towns with over 10,000 inhabitants (apart from Paris) the average increase, amounting to 144 per cent in the third quarter of 1918, had advanced to 193 per cent in June, 1919. Both as regards Paris and other towns the computation of the change in the general price level is based on the pre-war budget of a typical Parisian working-class family, and it is assumed that the standard of dietary has been identical at all three periods.

#### ITALY.

In Italy the estimates for Rome, Milan, and forty-three towns, despite considerable variations, are indicative of abnormal peace prices. Thus in Rome in July, 1919, the cost of maintaining a family of five at the pre-war standard of consumption reached an average of 106 per cent beyond the level of July, 1914, whereas in July, 1918, the increase worked out at 103 per cent. In Milan the increase over the pre-war family cost of May, 1914, stood at 204 per cent in August, 1919, as compared with 225 per cent in July the year before; whilst in forty-three Italian towns the increase, which stood at 153 per cent in July, 1918, had advanced to 183 per cent in April, 1918.

#### BELGIUM.

As regards the cost of living, Belgium has been one of the greatest sufferers from the war. Even in January, 1919 (*i.e.*, three months after the armistice was signed) the cost of prime necessities in Brussels was 599 per cent, and the average price of household necessities as a whole was 539 per cent above the level of April, 1914. By June the general excess over April, 1914, had been reduced to 244 per cent, but in the following month (July, 1919) the 244 per cent had risen to 254.

The following table, computed for Brussels by the Belgian Ministry of Industry, Labour, and Supplies, is worth reproducing as a memento:—

Group of Articles.	Increase since April, 1914.						
	Jan., 1919.	Feb., 1919.	Mar., 1919.	April, 1919.	May, 1919.	June, 1919.	July, 1919.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prime Necessaries (Food and Houseroom) .....	599	464	303	241	233	257	267
Less Necessary Articles (including Drinks & Tobacco)	515	422	381	355	306	223	239
Clothing, Footwear, Lighting, Heating .....	416	371	328	283	251	230	238
All Articles Combined.....	539	434	324	274	251	244	254

The extension of inquiries to Antwerp has shown that in July, 1919, the prime necessities (food and rent) were still 273 per cent dearer than in April, 1914, while less necessary articles were 233 per cent dearer, and clothing, footwear, &c., 234 per cent.

#### HOLLAND.

The extraordinary peace cost of victuals in Brussels and Antwerp is brought into relief by comparison with the cost of foodstuffs in Amsterdam, where the total food bill of an average working-class family amounted in July, 1919, to 110·4 per cent more than in 1913. At the same time this 110·4 per cent affords considerable food for reflection when we find that in July, 1918, the excess over 1913 figured at 87 per cent.

#### SCANDINAVIA.

With regard to Scandinavia the comparative increase over the pre-war cost of living may be gauged from the following particulars. In Denmark the cost of maintaining a Copenhagen working-class family of five persons at the pre-war standard of July, 1914, had increased by 87 per cent in July, 1918, and by 113 per cent in July, 1919. But in Norway and Sweden the figures show a much higher increase.

In Norway, for instance, the cost of maintaining an average urban family of five persons on the pre-war basis of £83 per annum in July, 1914, had risen by 179 per cent in July, 1918. In April, 1919, the figure was 176.

In Sweden the cost of maintaining a typical family of four at the pre-war commodity standard (entailing an expenditure of £111 per annum in July, 1914) had increased by 168 per cent in July, 1918, and by 219 per cent in June, 1919. These figures leave no doubt as to the fact that throughout Scandinavia, and in Norway and Sweden

especially, the first year of world-peace has been a year of keen disillusionment.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Next with regard to Switzerland, where, according to the computations of the Swiss League for Reducing the Cost of Living (computations based on figures supplied by co-operative societies), the cost of maintaining a typical working-class family has increased year by year without intermission: the cost of foodstuffs in June, 1918 and 1919, being 121·1 and 149·8 per cent, respectively, higher than in June, 1914; while the total cost of household necessities shows a parallel increase amounting to 129·3 per cent and to 161·4 per cent in the June months of the two latest years. In other words, the cost of a household's necessities amounted in 1918 to 2,397·18 francs, and in 1919 to 2,727·77 francs, as compared with 1,043·63 francs in 1914.

#### THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States, also, the statistical record of food prices shows that the cost of victuals in 1919 reached the highest figure recorded for the last five years, the increase in July, 1919, over July, 1914, having mounted to 86 per cent, as compared with 64 per cent for the same month in 1918. So that the American consumer, though less harassed than the consumer over here, has yet substantial reason to remember the war, and the aftermath even more, considering that for every dollar laid out in foodstuffs in pre-war days he has now to expend 1 dollar, 84 cents; that is, 7s. 8d. instead of 4s. 2d.

#### THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

Throughout the British Dominions overseas, also, the consumer finds himself confronted with the significant phenomenon of the highest war prices prevailing in peace. In Canada the food prices, which had risen by July, 1918, to 75 per cent above the pre-war figure, had further increased to 86 per cent (or exactly the same as in the United States) by July, 1919. And, comparing the midsummer figures of 1918 and 1919, we find in the other British Dominions the following increases over pre-war rates: In Australia, 32 per cent to 47 per cent; in New Zealand, 39 per cent to 48 per cent; in South Africa, 32 per cent to 36 per cent; whilst in India (Calcutta) the increase over pre-war rates had advanced to 51 per cent in 1919, as compared with 31 per cent the year before. So that the poverty-stricken Indian labourer has now to expend a rupee and a half for every rupee spent on keeping body and soul together in the days before the European conflagration burst out.

Meanwhile the following table of comparative figures, reproduced from the *Labour Gazette*, will enable the reader to obtain a firmer grasp and a clearer understanding of the peace situation all over the world.

## RETAIL PRICES:

SUMMARY TABLE SHOWING PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN THE RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES AT THE UNDERMENTIONED DATES, AS COMPARED WITH JULY, 1914.

Country.	Percentage Increase in Retail Food Prices since July, 1914.					
	July, 1915.	July, 1916.	July, 1917.	July, 1918.	Latest Figures Available.	
					Rise.	Date.
UNITED KINGDOM .....	32	61	104	110	116	Sept., 1919
FOREIGN COUNTRIES—						
Belgium (Brussels)...	...	...	...	...	267	July, 1919
" (Antwerp) .	...	...	...	...	273	July, 1919
Denmark .....	28	46	66	87	112	July, 1919
France (Paris) .....	22	32	83	106	161	July, 1919
" (other towns)	23†	42†	84†	144†	193	June, 1919
Holland (A'sterdam)	...	...	42	76	110	July, 1919
Italy (43 towns).....	21	32	72	153	181	April, 1919
" (Rome) .....	5*	11	37	103	106	July, 1919
" (Milan) .....	...	...	...	225	204	Aug., 1919
Norway .....	...	60	114 (Aug.)	179	176	April, 1919
Portugal (Lisbon) ...	...	...	72	...	151	May, 1918
Spain .....	6‡	13‡	27‡	51‡	57	Mar., 1919
Sweden.....	24	42	81	168	219	June, 1919
Switzerland.....	19	41	78	122	150	June, 1919
United States.....	2*	9	43	64	86	July, 1919
BRITISH DOMINIONS—						
Australia.....	31	30	26	32 (June)	47	July, 1919
Canada .....	5	14	57	75	86	July, 1919
India (Calcutta) .....	8	10	16	31 (Aug.)	51	Aug., 1919
New Zealand .....	12	19	27	39	48	Aug., 1919
South Africa.....	...	...	...	32	36	June, 1919

\* Decrease. † Figures for 3rd Quarter. ‡ Figures for six months, April to September.

The official computations have been made on the following bases: In Great Britain, on the prices of 21 foodstuffs and 600 towns; in France, on 13 foodstuffs and towns having over 10,000 inhabitants; in Italy, on 7 foodstuffs and 43 towns; in Norway, on 22 foodstuffs and 20 towns; in Sweden, on 21 articles and 44 towns; in Switzerland, on over 50 articles and over 200 co-operative societies; in the United States, on 22 foodstuffs and 45 towns; in Canada, on 29 foodstuffs and 60 towns; in Australia, on 46 foodstuffs and 30 towns; and in New Zealand, on 59 foodstuffs and 25 towns. In nearly all cases in the computation of the general price level the various articles of food have been "weighted" according to their respective importance in household consumption. The figures relating to 43 Italian towns, however, form at least one exception to this rule.

RISE IN COST OF LIVING AND THE REDUCED PURCHASING POWER OF THE SOVEREIGN SPENT ON FOOD IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE WAR.

(Illustrated from the changes in cost of the Board of Trade Standard Working-class Food Budget.)

	Cost of One Week's Food for Family.		Percentage Increase above July, 1914.		Purchasing Power of a Sovereign Spent on Food.	
	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.
1904.....	s. d. 22 6	s. d. 22 6	per cent. —	per cent. —	s. d. —	s. d. —
1914—July .....	25 0	25 0	—	—	20 0	20 0
December 1st .....	29 3	28 9	17	15	17 0	17 5
1915—July 1st .....	33 9	32 6	35	30	14 10	15 4
December 1st .....	36 6	35 6	46	42	13 8	14 1
1916—January 1st .....	37 0	35 6	48	42	13 6	14 1
July 1st .....	41 3	39 3	65	57	12 1	12 8
October 1st .....	42 9	41 6	71	66	11 8	12 1
1917—January 1st .....	47 9	45 9	91	83	10 5	10 11
July 1st .....	52 3	49 9	109	99	9 6	10 0
October 1st .....	50 6	48 3	102	93	9 11	10 4
1918—January 1st .....	52 9	50 6	111	102	9 6	9 11
July 1st .....	53 6	51 6	114	106	9 5	9 8
October 1st .....	58 6	56 0	134	124	8 6	8 11
1919—January 1st .....	58 6	56 0	134	125	8 6	8 10
July 1st .....	53 6	51 6	114	105	9 5	9 9
October 1st.....	56 9	54 0	127	117	8 9	9 2

## THE ELECTIONS IN SPAIN.

THE Spanish election results of June 1st, 1919, gave token of that spirit of popular unrest which is the characteristic of the time; the outcome being the failure of Conservatism to secure a majority in the Cortes, and as Conservatism itself is split into two parties headed by irreconcilable leaders, the prospect for reactionism represented by the Maura Administration can easily be conceived, particularly in view of the impetus to action given to the Opposition by the popular vote which this time succeeded in baffling the attempts to create a majority by the old time-honoured method, by its marked trend towards the left—a

trend revealed by results in Madrid, the capital, where four Republicans and two Socialists (including the Socialist leader, Pablo Iglesias) were elected, a circumstance contrasting with the election of only two supporters for the Government. In Barcelona likewise, where the Radical leader, Señor Lerroux, was elected, the results showed a crushing Regionist victory; and at Oviedo, the leader of the Republican Reformist Party (Señor Alvarez) won his seat. Meantime, all the tokens portend a crisis for Spain owing to the growth of the democratic spirit and the obvious determination of reactionism to maintain its position at all costs.

## OUR FOOD SUPPLY.

### THE NEGLECT OF HOME RESOURCES.

FOR a century past the United Kingdom, normally speaking, has shown itself less and less self-supporting to an ever-increasing extent, and at what risk was brought home to us by the submarine menace during the war. True it is that the population for a century has largely increased, but that is all the more reason why the soil should be utilised for the maximum production of food instead of for the maximum production of rent. When we reflect that Germany produces sufficient food to maintain from 70 to 75 persons per 100 acres, as compared with the maintenance of no more than from 45 to 50 from an equivalent area in our country, we see at once how grossly neglected have been our resources in the matter of the home food supply. And agricultural statistics furnish us with still further evidence. Thus during the 40 years 1871-1911 the area of arable land decreased by 4 million acres and from 70 to 35 acres for every 100 inhabitants. The area of wheat was reduced to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, and whereas in 1871 there were  $13\frac{1}{2}$  acres of wheat for every 100 inhabitants, in 1911 there were only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres. Thus not only had wheat-growing failed to keep pace with the increasing population, but the amount grown was sufficient for considerably less than half the number of population 40 years previously. On the other hand, the increase in the number of cattle ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  millions) failed to keep pace with the growth of population, there being in 1871 about  $20\frac{1}{2}$  head of cattle per 100 inhabitants, and in 1911 not more than  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per 100.

During the war, however, necessity compelled the strenuous utilisation of home resources, with the result (as shown in the subjoined table) that the wheat acreage in 1918 exceeded that of 1914 by 46 per cent, while the total corn acreage was practically 40 per cent more and the potato acreage 25 per cent more than in 1914.

CORN AND POTATO CROP ACREAGE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE WAR PERIOD.

Crop.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Wheat .....	1,906,000	2,335,000	2,051,000	2,106,000	2,796,000
Barley .....	1,873,000	1,524,000	1,653,000	1,797,000	1,810,000
Oats .....	3,899,000	4,182,000	4,171,000	4,789,000	5,641,000
Total Corn .....	7,678,000	8,041,000	7,878,000	8,692,000	10,277,000
Potatoes .....	1,209,000	1,214,000	1,155,000	1,377,000	4,512,000

As regards the meat supplies, the pre-war position is summed up in the official statement that about 60 per cent thereof (including pig meat) was derived from home sources, along with 40 per cent of our butter (including margarine) and about 20 per cent of our cheese. During the war period (as will be seen from the following table of returns of live stock in the United Kingdom in June of each year) we managed to hold our own and a little more as regards cattle, but at the expense of a considerable reduction in sheep and pigs.

LIVE STOCK STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE WAR PERIOD.

Class.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
Dairy Herd . . .	4,595,000	4,495,000	4,499,000	4,515,000	4,604,000
Other Cattle. . .	7,589,000	7,676,000	7,952,000	7,867,000	7,707,000
Total Cattle . .	12,184,000	12,171,000	12,451,000	12,382,000	12,311,000
Sheep .....	27,964,000	28,276,000	28,850,000	27,867,000	27,063,000
Pigs .....	3,953,000	3,795,000	3,616,000	3,008,000	2,809,000



## THE FOOD RESOURCES OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS OVERSEAS.

Turning next to the British Dominions Overseas we find that between 1913 and 1918 wheat production in Canada underwent a decrease of 7 per cent, whilst in India there was an increase of 7 per cent and in Australia of 27 per cent, the total increase of wheat in the British Dominions Overseas amounting to about 5 per cent. During the war period also the number of cattle increased by 2,100,000, and the number of pigs by 1,300,000, whereas there was a decrease in the number of sheep to the extent of 700,000.

TABLE A.—PRODUCTION OF CEREALS.

(Figures in thousands of tons.)

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Maize.	
	1909-13	1918.	1909-13	1918.	1909-13	1918.	1909-13	1918.
Canada .....	5,478	5,060	916	1,655	4,947	6,465	420	355
Australia .....	2,422	3,074	65	*90	247	181	252	237
New Zealand .....	189	182	27	12	249	83	10	9
British India .....	9,114	10,130	†	†	—	—	†	†
Egypt .....	913	872	254	210	—	—	1,713	*1,592
South Africa .....	168	236	†	†	—	—	741	865

\* In 1917. † Figures not available.

TABLE B.—NUMBER OF LIVE STOCK.

(Figures in millions.)

Where figures for the year stated are not available, the figures given are those for the nearest available year.

	Cattle.			Sheep.			Pigs.		
	1908.	1913.	1918.	1908.	1913.	1918.	1908.	1913.	1918.
Canada .....	7.5	6.7	10.1	2.8	2.1	3.1	3.4	3.4	4.3
Australia .....	10.5	11.5	12.0	87.0	85.1	85.0	0.7	0.8	1.2
New Zealand .....	1.8	2.0	2.9	22.4	24.2	26.5	0.2	0.3	0.3
British India .....	*61.4	*84.1	*87.0	19.9	23.1	22.9	—	—	—
Union of S. Africa	4.2	5.8	—	30.7	35.7	32.0	0.7	1.1	—

\* Excluding calves.

Meanwhile the vast areas of uncultivated soil reveal the immense possibilities of food production in the British Dominions Overseas. "For example, in Australia, although great strides have been made in recent years, the area under crops, while it has nearly doubled in the last decade, is still only about 1 per cent of the total area of the Commonwealth. In India again, the culturable waste is about 50 per cent of the area actually cropped; whilst in Canada the area under field crops, which increased from 20 million acres in 1911 to over 42 million acres in 1917, is yet less than 2 per cent of the total area of the Dominion."

The figures suffice to indicate the huge resources ahead, even after all deductions are made for areas unsuitable for the production of food.



## THE NEW FARMING AND THE OLD.

By PROF. JAMES LONG.

ONE of the chief causes of the failure in our agricultural system is our extraordinary unwillingness to recognise merit in neighbouring countries. That we have failed to provide for ourselves as we might have done to a much greater extent is now a



PROF. JAMES LONG.

matter of history, for it was revealed by the war. Two years before those terrible days in August, 1914, when I only escaped from a bad time in Germany by a warning from a friendly professor in Luxemburg, I contrasted our own inadequate crops with the enormously increasing yields of the Germans, but it was fruitless. On the outbreak of war I made similar efforts for nearly two years in great London newspapers, but it was not until early in 1917 that the Government awoke to the peril in which we were placed by our shortage of food. Then came the reaction, and the new men in command of the ship of State were enabled to visualise a position which had been patent for years. We have been living in a fool's paradise with our native conceit in our farming. I know of only one instance in which we have ever made an attempt to utilise the lessons by which others have learned. Denmark taught us to make butter over thirty years ago, and from the time her system was described by the late Henry Michael Jenkins, then Royal Commissioner, and myself, there have been continuous streams of people visiting that country to see something of their educational system for themselves. The old system must give place to the new, and we must make the most of our limited area by higher production on tilled land and by the utilisation of that which has been neglected so long. There are many reasons why this should be done, among the chief of which are the security of our food supply for a time of emergency, the employment of labour at a just rate of payment, and the more general provision of land for individual tillage. On the last point there is much to be said both for and against the smallholding.

### THE SHACKLES OF TENURE.

The position of British farming in the past has been immensely influenced by the tenure under which land has been held by the tenant. He has been hampered by the provisions of his lease or agreement to such an extent that until a few years ago he was unable either to grow or to sell what he liked, while even now the restrictions

prevent him from investing his capital in improving his land for the production of more food either for sale or for the purpose of feeding more stock. A man of enterprise without that freedom which the law fails to give him is in fear of a rise in his rent or of notice to quit. It is true that, as there are landowners who are unscrupulous, so are there tenants, but we may accept the fact that on both sides most men are just. It is the law with which fault must be found. The landowner, more or less, failed to manage his business, which has been too often left to his agent, and it is probable that this course has been the chief source of trouble when it arises. The new proposition that the landowner must take his estate into his own hands must work for the better if it is carried out.

The chairman of a large and prosperous manufacturing company recently said: "It is of paramount importance that we should effect every economy, become efficient in our work, and act on modern up-to-date lines if we would keep our heads above water, because we are up against the fiercest competition and must be ready to meet it." The farm is a factory, but we never hear such words applied to its management. Yet there is not one of the many sources of production on the one hand, or of economy on the other, that is tapped by 5 per cent of the tenants of this country. This is partly owing to the existing system of land tenure, partly to British conservative unbelief, and partly to want of knowledge which the Government of the country has done little or nothing to remove. Since January, 1917, agriculture has passed through a period of severe strain. Farmers have worked at what, for them, was the high pressure which is common to the manufacturing industries, but which should be the normal condition. They have been willing to spend, not only because the nation was in want of more food, but because they were spurred by the Government and promised prices which induced them to spend more money on labour and manure. Under the new system of farming they will continue to do so because they will learn that money wisely spent means money earned.

#### PRACTICES WHICH WILL NOT BEAR EXAMINATION.

Among the practices which are allied to the old system of farming there are some which will not bear examination. The four-course rotation is followed as closely as though to break it were a sin. Wheat, roots, oats or barley, and then seeds followed by wheat again—such is the legend. There is much soundness in this rotation, whether it is measured by science or practice. The clover provides nitrogen for the use of the succeeding crops, while the root crop enables the farmer to clean the land, and by folding sheep upon it to manure it. These are great advantages with which farmers do not care to dispense, but in far too many instances they are much too expensive to follow. The yield of the turnip crop, for example, is so small that it loses money on six farms out of ten, while it occupies land which should

produce six times as much human food. The country cannot afford to allow land to be used in this way. If we are told that to abolish the turnip crop—which I do not propose, although I would halve it—would be to spoil the rotation, I would reply “then let it be spoiled, it is not an essential.” In no other country is this ruinous practice maintained. An average yield of 13 tons of bulbs, which in pre-war days were valued at 10s. a ton, cannot be regarded as satisfactory even now when the cost of its production is so much greater. If 500,000 acres of this turnip-land were employed to produce food of another description than meat for the people, the yield, in terms of nutrition, would be enormously greater while the return to the farmer would be correspondingly high. The questions arise, however, “How



The hill chalet of a small farmer, cheaply built of wood. Why should not we build similar houses for similar men?

will a farmer who employs 50 per cent of his turnip-land in another direction obtain sufficient food for his cattle and sheep? How will he manure and clean it? These points must be answered. In my judgment the farm in this country of limited land must be “gardened” as it is gardened in the highly cultivated districts of Worcestershire, Cambridgeshire, and Kent. The land still kept under turnips should be more intensively farmed, that more weight may be grown to the acre. Where this practice is followed, the average yield of less than 13 tons to the acre becomes 27 to 35 tons, and occasionally more. In other words, the present average yield on approximately a million acres might be doubled on half the area, with the result that the same quantity of food would be grown. Turnip-land is not all suitable for fruit, potatoes, and other foods which the public require, and require in greater abundance and at a lower price, but the farmer is not

always restricted to this particular soil which with perfect freedom of cultivation he can improve at will. As occasion requires he can produce other stock foods of not only higher food value, but of much greater weight to the acre, and these he will find in some of the permanent or temporary forage crops. By these methods of production the land can not only be manured with greater liberality—for the crops will demand higher fertility in the soil—but equally well cleaned.

Another practice of the past, and to a large extent of the present, is that of shallow ploughing. The heavy yields of the garden are chiefly the result of trenching the land and of obtaining a fine tilth to a depth of 12 to 18 inches. On the farm there is usually a "pan," in other words the crest of the subsoil, beyond which the plough never goes, the tilled soil varying from 6 to 10 inches in depth. Below this is the subsoil, which, in substantial land free from sand, gravel, or primitive rock, contains abundance of latent mineral food, which, exposed to the light and the air by manipulation, is gradually prepared for the nutrition of plants. Although this soil should not be brought to the surface until it is fit, it should be regularly moved, as in trenching, when in due course it will add depth to the cultivated soil and weight to the crops. It is impossible to make the most of the land without deep cultivation.

#### THE INADEQUATE MILK SUPPLY.

The inadequate milk supply of this country is a matter of constant complaint, but it is chiefly owing to the small number of our cows, the small yield of our grass, and our failure with forage plants. In pre-war days Denmark owned 1 cow per 2.1 persons, France 1 per 5 persons, Holland 1 per 5.5, Sweden 1 per 2.9, and Germany 1 per 5.9, while in 1918 we owned only 1 per 23 persons. It is not surprising that milk is so scarce and so dear, and that we are dependent upon our imports for butter and cheese. This fact is unworthy of British agriculture, but it is owing to our shortsighted policy and our utter indifference to change. In no country known to me is the grass crop so poor and so frequently affected by drought, which we are able to counter if we will, or in which so little green forage is grown, a form of food which is much more abundant than grass, and which is for the most part independent of weather. There are great possibilities with the cow. A good milker will yield from 750 to 1,000 gallons, some cows producing much more, while the average of a herd should be 700 gallons a year. At present prices the return from a herd would, on the basis of these figures, reach £58 per head, or practically three times as much as the best herds in Cheshire when I first knew that prosperous county. With grass, roots, and hay costing no more to produce than the labour involved—high as that is—there is a margin for profit now and to come, if I mistake not, of which farmers never dreamed, assuming that they breed their own stock.

## THE CULTIVATION OF HILL PASTURES.

The feeding of stock and the liberation of some of the root land, however, does not depend solely upon the changes in practice to which I have referred. I have for years urged the cultivation of hill pastures, as they have been cultivated by several farmers known to me, and whose good work I have seen. I have been staying for some three months of this summer (1919) in Switzerland, the land of cows and mountain sheep. The herds owned by the valley farmers are collected and sent

up some miles to an altitude of 4,000 feet, and remain in charge of two or three men. The milk they draw is little expense on this however, could do manuring with slag phatic fertiliser. An known to me was a with wild grasses the tenants, who acreage, manured a which improved it that while not equal ture, it was, when original herbage rich grass is to with clover. This induced others to with results which and by this and hundreds of acres from nature and footing. In another landowner, who the improvement of



Herdsman in charge of cows owned by valley farmers—grazing in the mountains for summer.

adopted a similar course, with results which were astonishing—even to me. The chief cause of these successes on land so high and dry may be found in the action of the manure, for without it the herbage was not only scanty but poor. Clover, which it is the desire of every farmer to grow on his pastures in profusion, appears to be present in almost all soils, either as seeds or in the form of a minute undeveloped plant. I have obtained an exceptionally heavy crop on heavy land by artificial manuring where no clover plant could be seen, and where the surface, but for patches of twitch, was practically bare. It appears to await a specific nourishing food, which, when provided, and followed by rain on a dry soil, supplies it with energy, for it commences to grow. With rain followed by rain on the dry soil it commences to feed. The growth

altitude of 4,000 to main all the summer three men. The made into cheese at cheap grazing. We, better than this by or a similar phos-English hill pasture mere waste, covered and weeds. One of farms a considerable large area with slag, to such an extent to a lowland pas-compared with the over the fence, as waste, and crowded farmer's success has follow his example, are equally good, similar means have been rescued placed on a new instance a large asked my advice on his downland.

of the roots, for clover is a deep-rooting plant, accompanies the growth of the foliage, and in a short time it is out of harm's way. This good fortune is found in the fact that the roots have reached the moisture below. There is not the least doubt that by adopting the method of feeding hill pastures



Oxen employed for hauling hay and corn from fields, in charge of a working student at County Zurich Farm Schools.

with manure of the requisite character, the large areas of land which have been ignored, so far as concerns cultivation for all past time, can be induced to feed large numbers of cattle and sheep equally as well as they are now fed on the average lowland pastures, few of which obtain manure during a course of many years.

Under the old system of farming, the manure chiefly used is confined to the dung made by the stock, which is never sufficient to cover the arable land one year in four, while the grass frequently is not fed at all, for which reason it suffers from drought in dry seasons. If this land obtained an adequate dressing of minerals, which are much the most suitable—for dung depresses the clover and encourages weeds—the clover would grow with luxuriance, and it is these and other leguminous plants which resist drought owing to the length of their roots. Farm manure, too, is usually of poor quality, a fact which is due to the food from which it is made, and quite a large proportion is lost by exposure to rain, or by keeping too long, and by consequent fermentation and the loss of ammonia.

#### THE MALPRACTICE OF LATE FARMING.

Late farming is another malpractice of the past which accounts for serious losses. A late harvest means late cultivation for the destruction of weeds by harrows and ploughs, and late ploughing, which should properly follow the removal of the grain crops while the sun is yet powerful. For the production of large healthy crops the soil must be healthy, but in order to maintain this condition it must be weathered by ploughing and subsequent exposure to the air and the sun. If the autumn season is lost, and there is no cultivation until the rainy season arrives, the influence of the sun is also lost, and no land can then be weathered unless it is left for pulverisation by frost, which is not equal to the sun. Where the work is late and the soil is heavy in character, it is sometimes difficult to plough, owing to rain, with the result that it becomes too foul to plough for a crop, and is either left until spring or until summer, to follow with no crop at all.

## THE NEW FARMING.

The new farming must involve the general use of the motor plough, which, but for the pressure of the Government early in 1917, would still have been a tool of the future. This machine has long been possible in practical farming, but was long ignored, so much so indeed that there was no stimulus given to the British inventors who had already produced it, with the result that when it was wanted the Government were compelled to order large numbers from America. What a Government can do in such matters was shown in this case, but it is only one of many examples of what they ought to have done in previous years, but never attempted. While British farmers were growing small crops in consequence of their failure to use artificial manure, enormous quantities were being exported to countries which export food to us. One of the most prominent features of the new agriculture will be a recognition of the value of artificial manure—which, however, is not artificial, but a natural product—and its more extensive employment.

## WITH REGARD TO SMALLHOLDINGS.

Of the part to be played by smallholdings a word must be said. The small farming class must be expanded in all suitable districts, for it is this class which in all European countries markets the products of petite culture. In Great Britain the past is associated with the large farmer, and I cannot forget that he is the man who, although now second as a producer of grain to the Germans and the Danes, has built much the finest stock in the world. I have had the advantage of seeing the best agricultural shows in France, Germany, and other European countries, and am acquainted with the best types of live stock on the Continent and in America—possibly no living man has seen more. I have owned herds of Dutch and Swiss cattle, and express my belief that there is no class of live stock existing which is approximately equal to ours. Dutch, Swiss, and Norman cows and the merino sheep of France come next to us. It is this fact that must be weighed in the balance by those who would change the old regime of large farms for the smallholdings of the new. On the other hand, I do not forget that the smallholder in England owns more cows, pigs, and poultry, and employs more labour per hundred acres than the large farmer. There is, however, another and far more cogent argument in favour of the greater division of land, from which *thew and sinew* comes. In our time England owes its life



Two cows of a small farmer, also wife and son of farmer.



to the countryside. If we would not be dependent upon other nations for food, the number of producers must increase. If we would have that stability which a great nation demands for its prosperity and its physical manhood, we must populate the land. Germany has long been showing the way by reclaiming waste and placing settlers upon it, and we must adopt a similar course with full justice to the men. If we can afford to spend fifty millions on Russia, we can still better afford to spend twenty millions in adding to our national wealth by the adoption of this course, and, if necessary, of allowing the tenants to occupy their holdings without the payment of rent for a given term of years.

#### FARMING ON SCIENTIFIC LINES.

The new farming will place landlord and tenant upon a different footing, and invest both with greater responsibility to the State, for no man will be allowed to play any longer with a raw material which so many want. With freedom to act, the rotation system will no longer remain a moral law; the soil will receive deeper cultivation, and produce heavier crops. The arable land will grow more food for human beings and less for cattle, and sheep will be more extensively fed upon improved lowland and hill pastures. The millions of acres of the latter will no longer be officially described as "rough grazing," but as cultivated pasture. We shall produce more and better cows, and feed them with greater economy. Our flocks will expand on the enriched highlands. Pig breeding, feeding, and curing will be regarded as a lucrative business, as the Germans have found it to be, instead of a small adjunct of an unimportant character, as many of our own people have shown that it is not. Poultry will become a feature of the farm. As I write, a large and well-known farmer of great ability is receiving £10 a week for eggs, and he tells me that "it helps." Fruit, which will be extensively planted when security is given to farmers, will be found one of the most profitable branches of the new agriculture. Where cattle are fed upon grass in their stalls fruit can be grown upon suitable pasture, where, as I have recently seen in Switzerland, it provides a second crop, while assisting, by shading the herbage from the hot sun, in preventing drought and a short crop. The potato will be planted with seed of the varieties which are richer in starch to the exclusion of those which are of poor quality, for the fact will be realised that one variety may contain twice as much food per cent as another. Better wages will attract better labour and greater skill. Farm schools will provide education for the sons of farmers who are unable to pay the fees now charged at the colleges, while, last of all, markets for the sale of the produce of the small farm will be established in the towns, as in other countries, to the advantage of all.



## BRITISH COLONIES AND THEIR RESOURCES.

FROM the following article the reader will be able to form an idea of the colossal resources of some of the British Dominions overseas, as illustrated by the actualities and potentialities of British North America and Australia. In its command of raw products the British Empire stands without compeer—a circumstance which gives it a special significance in world affairs in view of the economic and political trend of events.

### CANADA.

**POPULATION.**—According to the latest census returns the population of the Dominion of Canada on June 1st, 1911, was 7,206,643, but the official estimate for 1916 places the number at 8,140,000. Males slightly exceeded females, the figures being: Male, 3,821,995; female, 3,384,648; excess of males over females, 437,347. The average density of the population works out to 1.93 per square mile, which may be compared with the United States of 30.69 to the square mile. More than a half of the total population of the Dominion resides in the provinces of Ontario (2,523,274) and Quebec (2,003,232). In regard to the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, there was a total of 1,328,725 in 1911, which had increased to 1,698,220 in 1916. During the five years ended 1916 the increase was at the rate of 28 per cent, while since the beginning of the century the increase was 305 per cent. In 1911 the foreign-born population of Canada numbered 752,732, which is 10.4 per cent of the total.

**AREA.**—The land and water area of Canada is 3,729,665 square miles: land, 3,603,910; water, 125,755 square miles. For comparison it may be mentioned that the area of the United Kingdom is 121,633 square miles. The largest province is Quebec with 690,865 square miles of land; Ontario comes next with 365,880 square miles; while the smallest province is Prince Edward Island, 2,184 square miles.

**RAW MATERIALS.**—These include: (1) Agricultural products, (2) the products of the forests, (3) the products of the fisheries, and (4) minerals.

An official estimate shows that of the total land area 358,162,190 acres are possible farm lands, equivalent to 36 per cent of the total. Only 109,948,988 acres, or 11.25 per cent, are occupied, the number of farm holdings being 714,646 (1911). In 1918 the area under field crops was 68,771,094 acres: Wheat, 17,353,902 acres; oats, 14,790,336 acres; barley, 3,153,711 acres; hay and clover, 10,544,625 acres; flax, 1,068,120 acres; potatoes, 735,192 acres; while other crops included rye, peas, beans, buck-wheat, mixed grains, fodder corn, &c. The yield from these crops in 1917 was: Wheat, 233,742,850 bushels; oats, 403,009,800 bushels; barley, 55,057,750 bushels; hay and clover, 13,684,700 tons; flax, 5,934,900

bushels; potatoes, 79,892,000 bushels. Of the totals given the prairie provinces produced 211,953,100 bushels of wheat from 13,619,410 acres; 254,877,200 bushels of oats from 8,559,500 acres, and 40,384,100 bushels of barley from 1,850,000 acres.

The year 1915 is notable as producing the heaviest grain harvest in the annals of the country, when the area sown to wheat exceeded that of the previous year by 1,964,400 acres, or nearly 18 per cent. The average yield of wheat per acre was nearly 29 bushels, the total being 376,303,600 bushels, as against 161,280,000 in 1914. In 1915 Canada was fourth on the list of the world's wheat-producing countries:



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN.

(1) The United States, 1,011,571,000 bushels; (2) Russia in Europe, 653,080,000 bushels; (3) India, 383,376,000 bushels; (4) Canada.

Throughout the Dominion 397,358 acres were planted as orchards, 8,310 acres as vineyards, and 15,482 acres were under cultivation for small fruits (1911). Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and British Columbia produce enormous quantities of apples of the choicest quality and flavour, while the first and last-named provinces are productive also of peaches, grapes, plums, pears, and small fruits.

The estimated number of live stock in the Dominion in 1917 was as follows: Horses, 3,412,749; milch cows, 3,202,283; other cattle, 4,718,657; sheep, 2,369,358; and swine, 3,619,382.

The two chief dairying provinces are Ontario and Quebec. The total production of the Dominion for 1917 was: Creamery butter, 87,404,366 lbs.; factory cheese, 194,904,336 lbs.

Canada possesses, approximately, between five and six hundred million acres of forest, of which nearly three hundred million acres are

covered with timber of merchantable size. The woods include white spruce, white pine, balsam fir, hemlock, birch, tamarack, cedar, elm, ash, &c. The volume of the cut in 1917 was as follows: Lumber, 4,142,871 M. feet b.m.; shingles, 3,020,956 M. feet b.m.; lath, 1,828,018 M. feet b.m. The quantity of wood used in the manufacture of pulp was 2,104,334 cords, producing 1,464,308 tons of pulp.

Canada possesses the most extensive fisheries in the world, the supplies embracing all the chief commercial food fishes: salmon, lobsters, herring, mackerel, sardines, haddock, cod, hake, and pollock. Enormous quantities are "canned" and exported to all parts of the world, the amounts marketed in Canada in 1916-17 being: Canned haddock, 15,827 cases; canned herring, 47,159 cases; canned lobster, 197,751 cases; canned salmon, 995,198 cases; and canned sardines, 153,680 cases.

The mineral resources of the Dominion cannot be estimated, but sufficient is known to state that the wealth represented in this connection is of the most extensive. The metallic group includes copper, gold, pig-iron, lead, nickel, and silver; and the non-metallic, coal, asbestos, gypsum, petroleum, natural gas, pyrites, salt, cement, clay products, lime, &c. Ontario possesses the most valuable nickel deposits known to exist anywhere in the world, while Quebec has the largest known asbestos mines, which supply the greater part of the world's consumption of asbestos. There are very extensive deposits of amber mica in Ontario and Quebec, and Canada ranks third among the silver-producing countries of the world. The total production of gold in 1917 was 738,831 ounces, and the total value of the metal and mineral production for the year was 193,271,816 dollars (£38,654,363).

**WATER POWERS.**—An account of the resources of Canada would not be complete without reference to its water powers. During the last twenty-five years nearly 1,800,000 water h.p. has been developed and employed, the chief uses being for municipal purposes, pulp and paper mills, and electric, chemical, and similar processes. The h.p. available for development is about 18,803,000. Niagara alone is said to be able to produce 600,000 h.p., and the total available in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec is estimated at 8,403,899 h.p. Further, there are possibilities of the development of 750,000 h.p. within reasonable distance of the cities of Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia.

## NEWFOUNDLAND.

**POPULATION.**—The population of Newfoundland, with Labrador, at the census of 1911 was 242,619, the largest town being St. John's (the capital) with 32,292. There is practically no emigration to Newfoundland, and of the total population in 1911 there were only 3,475 persons who were not native-born. The bulk of the people are engaged in the fishing industry, over 43,000 males and 23,000 females coming under the heading of catching and curing fish.

**AREA.**—The total area is about 42,000 square miles, one-third of which consists of rivers and lakes. Although parts still remain unexplored, it is estimated that 15,000 square miles are occupied by rough, broken, and swampy ground, unfit for cultivation; while 13,000 square miles are said to be fit for agricultural development. The country is larger than Ireland, and is the tenth largest island in the world. Newfoundland has a coastline extending 6,000 miles, with deep bays, inlets, and natural harbours, and it is along the coast that the great majority of the population has settled.

**RAW MATERIALS.**—The chief industry is, and has been for many years, the extensive cod fisheries, the quality and flavour of the Newfoundland codfish being said to be superior to any other. The cod fisheries products represent about 80 per cent of the total output of the industry. There are three branches—the shore, the Labrador, and the bank fisheries—the first of which is carried on from many small settlements on the coastline.

Lobster is next in importance to the cod fishery, but though the annual catch has amounted to £100,000, the industry has declined owing to depletion through reckless fishing.

The seal fishery averaged about £50,000 a year for the ten years ended 1914. The skins are not valuable as fur, but sold for making fancy leather, &c., while the seal oil is a notable product for export.

The Newfoundland herring is of excellent quality, and this industry is likely to develop. It is conducted chiefly on the west coast of the island. About 42,000 barrels were exported in 1917–18, other exports including 8,279 cases of lobster, 910 tuns of seal oil, 193,448 sealskins, 80 tuns of whale oil, 34,060 tons of manufactured paper, 11,494 tons of pulp and sulphide, 731,080 tons of iron ores, and 1,821,206 quintals of dry codfish.

Other fish include salmon, whale, turbot, trout, haddock, and hake.

The quantity of refined cod oil exported in 1916–17 was about 221,969 gallons, and it is claimed that Newfoundland can produce the finest cod liver oil in the world for medicinal purposes.

## AUSTRALIA.

**POPULATION.**—The estimated population of the Commonwealth of Australia on December 31st, 1917, was 4,935,311: males, 2,419,001; and females, 2,516,310. The country attained its first million in 1858, seventy years after settlement was first effected. The fifth million was expected to be reached in 1915, but owing to the departure of men for the European war this result is not expected for some time to come. In 1914 the number of males to each 100 females was 106·78, while the excess of males over females per 100 of population is represented by the figure 3·28. The census of 1911 showed that of the total population 82·90 per cent were Australian born, 13·35 per cent were natives of the United Kingdom, 0·72 per cent natives of New Zealand, while there was a percentage also of Germans, Chinese,

Scandinavian, Italian, &c. The density of the population (*i.e.*, number of persons to the square mile) is only 1.69, so that the Commonwealth is the most sparsely populated of the civilised countries of the world. The city with the largest number of inhabitants was Sydney, New South Wales, with 107,133 (1911).

AREA.—The total area of the Commonwealth (which includes the island of Tasmania) is 2,974,581 square miles. It is therefore greater than the United States, is four-fifths the size of Canada, nearly three-fourths the whole of Europe, and more than twenty-five times as large as the United Kingdom. The largest state is Western Australia, with 975,920 square miles, Queensland coming next with 670,500 square miles, while New South Wales was the earliest to be formed into a separate colony.

RAW MATERIALS.—The resources of Australia from the point of view of raw materials may be divided into the following: (1) Pastoral production; (2) agricultural production; (3) farmyard and dairy production; (4) forest production; (5) fisheries; (6) mines and mining.

In 1916 the country possessed 76,668,604 sheep, 10,459,237 cattle, 2,437,157 horses, and 1,006,763 pigs. From 1878 onwards the number of sheep in New South Wales has, in nearly every year since that date, represented more than half the total for the Commonwealth. The trade in frozen mutton and lamb has shown rapid advance. While the value of exports in 1903 was only £492,114 it rose to about £3,155,190 in 1914. The principal customer is the United Kingdom, which in five years has taken 94.8 per cent of the total export. The weight sent to the United Kingdom in 1914-15 was no less than 187,897,976 lbs., and for the five years ended 1917 it amounted to 589,574,128 lbs. Australia, in fact, occupies the foremost position amongst the sheep-raising countries of the world, and the main factor contributing to its pastoral wealth is the production of wool, the value of the output for the season ended June 30th, 1917, being about £35,964,000. The bulk of the wool produced is exported, the value of such exports for the season 1916-17 being: to the United Kingdom, £23,431,942; Japan, £2,470,414; and Italy, £1,845,861. A considerable trade is also done in hides, the total value of the exports (1916-17) amounting to £2,952,214, and the trade being done principally with the United Kingdom, France, and Belgium.

The Commonwealth has nearly seventeen million acres under crops, the chief of which are: wheat, 11,532,828 acres, yielding 152,420,189 bushels; hay, 2,671,862 acres, yielding 3,507,589 tons; green forage, 390,876 acres; oats, 844,130 acres, yielding 14,018,009 bushels; maize, 360,072 acres, yielding 8,527,136 bushels; orchards and fruits, 257,687 acres, producing apples, apricots, bananas, lemons, nectarines, peaches, oranges, pineapples, pears, &c. The production of wine amounted to 5,126,268 gallons in the year 1916-17, against 6,103,808 gallons in the year 1912-13.

The output of butter reached its highest in 1911, with 211,573,745 lbs., the figure for 1916 being 182,470,778lbs., which year saw the highest production of cheese, viz., 25,408,872lbs. Ham and bacon yielded (1916) 51,374,776lbs.

The total forest area of the Commonwealth is estimated at 102,000,000 acres, of which 16,661,188 acres are specially reserved for timber, while the quantity of timber sawn or hewn in 1916 amounted to 472,332,000 sup. feet.

Although possessing an abundance of food fish, the development of the industry has not been rapid. The total "take" of fish in 1916 was 469,574 cwts., valued at £742,535; and lobsters valued at £33,582. It may also be recorded that the pearl shell industry amounted to £229,255.

The extent of the mineral wealth of Australia is not yet ascertained, but the value of production from this source is now considerably less than that from the agricultural or the pastoral industry. As is widely known, one of the great events in the history of the Commonwealth was the finding of gold in 1851. The amount raised in any one year reached its maximum in 1903, when the production was valued at £16,294,684. Since then there has been a steady decline to 1916, when the value was £7,074,673, and the quantity 1,665,519 fine ounces. From the date of the sensational discovery to 1914 the total value of the gold raised is given as £564,183,431. The values of other mine products for 1916 may be summarised as follows: Silver and lead, £4,404,915; copper, £4,630,880; tin, £927,926; and coal, £4,118,201; while zinc, iron, antimony, clays, various pigments, &c., are also found.

## NEW ZEALAND.

**AREA.**—The total area of the Dominion of New Zealand is 66,292,232 acres, or 103,581 square miles. The country consists of three main islands, the North, South, and Stewart Islands, with a coast line 4,330 miles in length.

**POPULATION.**—The estimated population on December 31st, 1917, was 1,160,245. The annual increase of female population has never fallen below 3,000 in any year since 1860, while the loss of men during the war, owing to the departure of troops, brought the female population slightly ahead of the male. The number of British-born persons has increased during the period 1891–1911 by 63 per cent, and persons born in New Zealand by 92 per cent. The number of persons (excluding Maoris) to the square mile in 1916 was 10.64.

**RAW MATERIALS.**—New Zealand is, first of all, a grazing country, and its future will always be identified with stock-raising—principally dairy cattle and sheep. No less than 16 million acres have been sown with English grasses, but, of course, a large proportion of the crops are for the production of commodities such as meat and dairy produce. Grain crops, and mainly oats and wheat, are grown on a fairly large scale in various parts of the South Island. The oats crop is largely

chaffed for stock-feeding purposes in the country, and root crops are grown particularly for winter feed and stock-fattening purposes.

The wheat acreage, in the season 1917-18, of 280,978 yielded 6,807,536 bushels; oats, 156,202 acres, yielded 4,942,759 bushels; barley, 18,860 acres, yielded 568,702 bushels; rye grass, 70,220 acres, yielded 1,355,613 bushels; and potatoes, 22,854 acres, yielded 100,596 tons.

Orchards covered an area of about 34,452 acres, and vineyards 253 acres. Apples of choice quality and flavour have been exported, while a large quantity of outdoor-grown grapes are sold for table use.

The number of sheep has increased from over 19 million in 1900 to over 26 million in 1918. From 1908 to 1918 the increase was at the rate of 18.22 per cent in the ten years. The merino ewe has furnished the foundation of the crossbred stock which has made Canterbury mutton famous on British markets. In 1918 the number of frozen sheep carcasses (including pieces at 60lbs.) exported was 2,150,505, weighing 1,118,014 cwts., and for lamb the figures were 2,048,612 carcasses, weighing 623,022 cwts.

Wool is the most important product of the Dominion, the exports in 1917 being 110,054,315lbs., valued at £12,175,366. The total produced in 1917 was 169,634,079lbs. In 1917 the production of butter was about 603,470 cwts., and of cheese 805,103 cwts. The quantities exported to the United Kingdom were: butter, 336,412 cwts.; and cheese, 942,773 cwts.

New Zealand possesses considerable mineral resources, the gold exports alone in 1916 being £1,199,212, while silver products were valued at £2,286,792 (1917). Other metals and minerals produced include copper ore, chrome ore, antimony ore, manganese ore, coal, kauri-gum, shale, &c. Kauri-gum is the solidified turpentine of the kauri, and is a true resin; next to gold it has contributed more to the revenue of New Zealand than any mineral.

---

## NEW AGRICULTURAL LABOUR CODE IN GERMANY.

**B**Y the new Agricultural Labour Code issued on January 30th, 1919, the German Government has made a sweeping change for the better as regards the position of the agricultural labourer. The new code specifies the maximum hours of labour, the payment of cash wages weekly, the rate of remuneration for overtime, insists on adequate housing accommodation, provides for the cancellation of contracts in case of bad treatment, and makes provision for the prevention and settlement of disputes, and also for

the formation of a Workers' Committee for each agricultural concern, besides giving protection to women workers in the shape of an adequate release from labour when they have domestic duties to perform. As the new code cancels the specified agricultural codes of the various federal States, it enables us to realise the change for the agricultural labourer for example in Prussia, where the promotion of concerted action for an agricultural labourer's strike was an offence entailing a year's imprisonment.



## THE SOVEREIGN IN PEACE AND WAR.

THE following table (reproduced from the *Food Journal*) has been prepared with a view to showing in a simple manner the effect which exchange has on our purchase of commodities from other countries. In order to enable comparison to be easily made, the foreign currency for which the £ sterling exchanged at the various dates has been expressed in terms of English money on the basis of Mint par:—

1. Before the declaration of war, July 30th, 1914.
2. At the armistice, November 11th, 1918.
3. On the signing of peace, June 28th, 1919.
4. At the present time, September 5th, 1919.

	1914.	1918.	1919.	1919.
	July 30.	Nov. 11.	June 28.	Sept. 5.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
France .....	19 9	20 6	23 6	27 6
Belgium .....	19 11	—	24 5	28 0
Italy .....	20 10	24 0	29 1	32 1
Finland .....	20 2	—	44 7	52 4
Portugal .....	23 8	34 4	35 6	39 9
U.S.A .....	20 4	19 7	18 11	17 1
Canada .....	20 1	20 0	19 6	17 9
Holland .....	20 1	18 11	19 5	18 7
Spain .....	20 7	19 1	18 5	17 6
Switzerland .....	20 0	19 0	19 10	18 9
Greece .....	19 11	—	19 4	19 7
Norway .....	20 2	19 4	20 3	20 1
Sweden .....	20 2	18 11	19 8	18 11
Denmark .....	20 2	19 8	21 5	21 1
Japan .....	20 2	17 10	18 7	17 1
Brazil .....	22 11	25 10	24 7	25 0
Argentina .....	19 10	18 6	18 7	17 3
Germany .....	20 2	—	—	92 1

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN EUROPE.

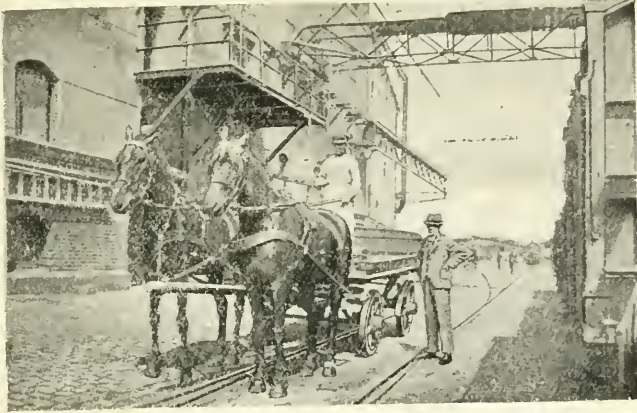
IN a special memorandum prepared by Mr. Herbert Hoover and reproduced in the *Food Journal* in August, 1919, Mr. Hoover summarised the economic position in Europe as follows:—

The economic difficulties of Europe as a whole at the signature of peace may be almost summarised in the phrase "demoralised productivity." The production of necessaries for this 450,000,000 population (including Russia) has never been at so low an ebb as at this day.

A summary of the unemployment bureaus in Europe will show that 15,000,000 families are receiving unemployment allowances in one form or another, and are, in the main, being paid by constant inflation of currency. A rough estimate would indicate that the population of Europe is at least 100,000,000 greater than can be supported without imports, and must live by the production and distribution of exports; and their situation is aggravated not only by lack of raw materials, imports, but by low production of European raw materials. Due to the same low production Europe is to-day importing vast quantities of certain commodities which she formerly produced for herself and can again produce. Generally, in production, she is not only far below even the level of the time of the signing of the armistice, but far below the maintenance of life and health without an unparalleled rate of import.

After discussing the causes of the situation (including the blockade after the armistice) and the remedies, in which regard he emphasises the fundamental necessity of maximum production and of a reduction of the inflated currency, Mr. Hoover thus concludes:—

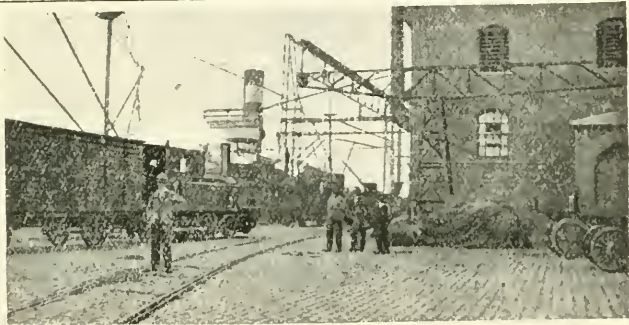
With Europe turned towards peace, with her skill and labour aligned to overcome the terrible accumulation of difficulty, the economic burden upon the West should not last over a year, and can be carried and will be repaid. To effect these results the resources of the Western hemisphere and of Europe must be mobilised.



BUTTER  
CELLARS  
AT  
AARHUS



WAREHOUSES AT QUAYSIDE. IN WHICH C.W.S.  
BUTTER CELLARS ARE SITUATED.



CWS  
AARHUS  
OFFICES  
DENMARK

## FAMILY GROCERY BILL

PURCHASING POWER OF £1 STERLING BASED  
OF 21½ LBS. GROCERIES (MADE UP AS

YEAR.	AVERAGE PRICE PER LB.				
	Bacon.	Butter.	Cheese.	Flour.	Lard.
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
1882 .....	7.16	15.52	6.47	1.75	6.47
1883 .....	6.78	14.88	6.71	1.64	5.62
1884 .....	6.01	14.34	6.71	1.45	4.66
1885 .....	5.09	13.37	5.43	1.26	3.89
1886 .....	5.06	12.58	5.39	1.12	3.78
1887 .....	5.41	12.60	6.40	1.13	4.20
1888 .....	5.60	12.34	5.74	1.17	5.03
1889 .....	5.46	12.95	5.53	1.29	4.21
1890 .....	5.03	12.38	5.39	1.19	3.89
1891 .....	5.11	12.86	5.64	1.32	3.87
1892 .....	5.84	13.21	5.80	1.18	4.39
1893 .....	6.69	12.74	5.87	1.00	5.79
1894 .....	5.34	11.61	5.70	0.85	4.41
1895 .....	4.85	11.19	5.02	0.90	3.75
1896 .....	4.37	11.58	5.09	1.00	2.89
1897 .....	4.89	11.47	5.58	1.20	2.68
1898 .....	4.96	11.35	5.24	1.39	3.24
1899 .....	4.75	12.19	5.85	1.01	3.22
1900 .....	5.74	12.21	6.10	1.04	4.02
1901 .....	6.14	12.45	5.49	1.02	4.83
1902 .....	6.55	12.20	5.92	1.09	5.80
1903 .....	6.31	11.97	6.45	1.08	4.84
1904 .....	5.53	11.81	5.37	1.13	4.00
1905 .....	6.08	12.32	6.09	1.12	4.04
1906 .....	6.64	12.82	6.55	1.09	4.89
1907 .....	6.56	12.39	6.79	1.15	5.00
1908 .....	6.15	13.08	6.68	1.29	4.99
1909 .....	7.24	12.73	6.73	1.37	6.32
1910 .....	8.19	12.87	6.56	1.23	6.83
1911 .....	6.87	13.40	7.11	1.16	5.01
1912 .....	7.21	13.95	7.47	1.24	5.77
1913 .....	8.21	13.51	7.05	1.22	6.13
1914 .....	8.10	13.88	7.53	1.29	5.84
1915 .....	9.28	17.28	9.30	1.87	5.75
1916* .....	11.44	†14.30	11.39	2.10	8.50
1917* .....	15.90	†18.53	15.38	2.31	13.44
1918* .....	19.47	†18.70	16.40	1.89	16.54

NOTE.—Prices making up above figures are wholesale and mostly at port, and are only for relative comparison.

\* In 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1919 the figures are based on the substitution of 1 lb Butter and 1 lb. Margarine instead of 2 lbs. Butter.

† This price represents the cost of ½ lb. Butter and ½ lb. Margarine.

## FOR THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS.

ON COST OF AVERAGE WEEKLY FAMILY ORDER

BELOW FROM C.W.S. OFFICIAL RECORDS):—

AVERAGE PRICE PER LB.			Cost of Average Weekly Family Order of 2½lbs.	Purchasing Power of £1 Sterling on same basis.	YEAR.
Oatmeal.	Sugar.	Tea.			
d.	d.	d.	d.	lb.	
1.43	3.11	21.55	90.32	57.13	..... 1882
1.54	2.96	21.55	86.54	59.62	..... 1883
1.44	2.37	21.02	79.20	65.15	..... 1884
1.40	2.13	20.46	72.16	71.51	..... 1885
1.29	1.95	19.84	67.25	76.73	..... 1886
1.13	1.83	19.71	67.77	76.14	..... 1887
1.12	2.05	19.57	70.81	72.87	..... 1888
1.24	2.36	19.26	72.01	71.66	..... 1889
1.20	1.90	17.72	66.37	77.75	..... 1890
1.36	1.94	17.42	69.26	74.65	..... 1891
1.37	2.00	17.44	69.61	74.13	..... 1892
1.25	2.20	17.28	68.69	75.12	..... 1893
1.12	1.80	17.00	60.63	85.11	..... 1894
1.10	1.61	16.87	58.38	88.39	..... 1895
1.63	1.66	16.60	59.48	86.75	..... 1896
1.12	1.45	16.37	61.47	83.94	..... 1897
1.23	1.49	16.17	63.85	80.81	..... 1898
1.09	1.55	15.86	61.00	84.59	..... 1899
1.12	1.60	16.94	63.69	81.02	..... 1900
1.19	1.73	17.26	65.18	79.16	..... 1901
1.73	1.61	16.89	66.50	77.60	..... 1902
1.20	1.75	16.63	65.37	78.94	..... 1903
1.19	1.97	17.87	65.39	78.91	..... 1904
1.17	2.17	16.98	67.56	76.37	..... 1905
1.18	1.83	15.42	67.28	76.69	..... 1906
1.34	1.92	15.54	67.82	76.09	..... 1907
1.33	1.86	15.65	70.21	73.49	..... 1908
1.29	1.82	15.13	71.79	71.88	..... 1909
1.16	2.03	15.45	72.38	71.29	..... 1910
1.25	2.05	15.81	71.00	72.67	..... 1911
1.44	2.08	15.85	74.28	69.46	..... 1912
1.36	1.69	15.77	72.45	71.22	..... 1913
1.44	2.28	16.14	76.65	67.32	..... 1914
1.98	3.16	21.26	99.06	52.09	..... 1915
2.12	4.31	25.18	107.13	48.16	..... *1916
3.80	4.83	28.82	132.63	38.90	..... *1917
3.57	5.81	29.34	137.99	37.39	..... *1918

Average Weekly Family Order is computed at: 1lb. Bacon, 2lbs. Butter, ½lb. Cheese 12lbs. Flour, ½lb. Lard, 1lb. Oatmeal, 4lbs. Sugar, and ½lb. Tea.

For the six months ended June 21st, 1919, the average weekly cost figures at 138.76d.

## CONTROL OF PRICES.

As regards prices, if we take 100 shillingworth of essential food at pre-war prices—that food was costing 205 shillings in July, 1917. In that month the Government instituted a system of control. In October, 1917, the price had fallen to 194 shillings; in July, 1918, it had risen to 202 shillings; and in October, 1918, to 216 shillings. Before control the price had risen steadily from 100 shillings to 205 shillings; for the remainder of the war the price fluctuated between the narrow limits of 194 and 216.—*The Parliamentary Secretary to the Food Ministry.*

## USE OF FLOUR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

### Bread Buying *v.* Domestic Baking.

THE following official figures from the *Food Journal* of June last are interesting as showing the quantities of flour used by registered manufacturers and sold by registered retailers, as well as the average purchase of flour per head per week for domestic uses, as compared with the amount used by bread manufacturers. From the right hand column of figures in the third table it will be seen that domestic baking varies topographically to a very great extent, the Newcastle and Leeds divisions showing the highest proportions in Great Britain, and the Edinburgh and Glasgow and London and Birmingham divisions the lowest.

#### WEEKLY AVERAGE QUANTITY OF FLOUR USED BY REGISTERED MANUFACTURERS.

	No. of Manufacturers.	Flour for Bread and Rolls.	Flour for Confectionery.	Flour for Biscuits.
		Sacks.	Sacks.	Sacks.
England.....	33,573	473,855	41,082	23,845
Wales .....	2,777	41,567	3,207	1,671
Scotland .....	2,544	78,840	9,998	6,241
Great Britain .....	38,894	594,262	54,287	31,757

#### QUANTITY OF FLOUR SOLD BY REGISTERED RETAILERS DURING FOUR WEEKS.

	No. of Retailers.	G.R. Flour	Self- raising Flour.	Cake and Special Flour.
		Sacks (280lb.)	Cwt.	Cwt.
England.....	120,704	764,216	271,023	41,241
Wales .....	9,550	76,033	26,062	4,299
Scotland .....	9,867	31,815	26,809	864
Great Britain .....	140,121	872,064	323,894	46,404

CONSUMPTION OF FLOUR PER HEAD PER WEEK.

If we assume that the figures in (1) are roughly proportional to the amount of home baking, the figures in (3) will be an index of that amount.

DIVISION—	1. Flour sold by Retail.	2. Flour used by Manufactur- ers of Bread.	3. Ratio of Col. 1 to Total Quantity of Flour sold and used.
	lb.	lb.	Per cent.
Newcastle.....	4.44	1.99	69
Leeds.....	4.04	1.89	67
Preston.....	1.76	3.85	31
Nottingham.....	2.09	4.57	31
Birmingham.....	0.55	5.51	9
London.....	0.48	5.17	8
Cambridge.....	1.89	4.93	27
Home Counties, North.....	0.56	5.28	9
Home Counties, South.....	0.84	5.00	14
Reading.....	0.55	5.46	10
Bristol.....	1.01	4.94	17
Carnarvon.....	2.76	4.51	37
Cardiff.....	2.04	4.87	30
Edinburgh.....	0.45	5.44	7
Glasgow.....	0.44	5.89	7
Inverness.....	0.81	3.32	19

## KING'S LATEST LIST.

**CO-OPERATION AT HOME AND ABROAD.**—A Description and Analysis. By C. R. FAY, M.A., D.Sc. Demy 8vo. Cloth. 12s. 6d. net. Inland Postage, 6d. New Edition early in 1920

*Economist.*—"This is a really useful book . . . and should hold the ground for a considerable time as a standard work on its subject."

**PEOPLE'S BANKS: A Record of Social and Economic Success.**—By HENRY W. WOLFF, Author of "The Future of our Agriculture," &c. Fourth Edition. Newly revised and brought up to date. Giving a history of the Origin and Extension of Co-operative Banking, Statistics, and a description of the different forms in use in various countries. Demy 8vo. Cloth. 10s. 6d. net. Inland Postage, 6d.

**INFLATION.** By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A., Sc.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. Paper cover, 3s. 6d. net. Cloth, 4s. net. Inland Postage, 4d.

CONTENTS: Chapter I.—The Abandonment of the Gold Standard during the War. II.—The Consequent Inflation. III.—The Burden of High Prices. IV.—The Burden of Public Debt and of Taxation for Interest—the Return to the Gold Standard.

**WAR FINANCE.**—Second Edition, with 3 New Chapters. By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A., Sc.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Edinburgh. Demy 8vo. Cloth. 12s. 6d. net. Inland Postage, 6d.

**WEALTH: A Brief Examination of the Causes of Economic Welfare.**—Second Edition, with Index. By EDWIN CANNAN, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of London. Crown 8vo. Cloth. 5s. net. Inland Postage, 6d.

*Times.*—"A concise and instructive book."  
*Glasgow Herald.*—"Mr. Cannan is probably the most trenchant, suggestive, and original of living economists."

Lists of Messrs. King's Publications on—War and Peace, Fiscal Question, Health, Land, Finance, Women's Questions, Poor Law, Local Government, Labour, Railways, Transport, and Subject Catalogue of Publications on Economics, Politics, and Sociology, will be sent, post free, on application.

P. S. KING & SON LTD., Orchard House, 2-4, Gt. Smith St., Westminster.

## CAMPAIGN OF CONTROL.

### 1918. DECEMBER.

1. Fat Stock: Prices increased for December.
1. Cattle export from Great Britain to Channel Islands regulated by permit.
1. Syrup, Glucose, and Molasses: Maximum prices established for Great Britain.
2. Eggs: Maximum prices come in force.
2. Tea: Removal of restrictions on quantity purchasable.
2. Milk famine in Central Lancashire through farmers' strike for 9d. per quart.
9. Canned Condensed Milk: Prices for Ireland come in force.
14. Citrous Fruits: Brokers to be registered from this date.
15. Butcher's Meat: Ration doubled on coupons numbered 7 in England and Wales.
16. Apples: New wholesale and retail prices in force.
16. Canned Fruit: New maximum retail prices.
22. Butcher's Meat: Ration doubled on coupons numbered 8 in Scotland.
23. Fresh Bread: Sale permissible to December 28th in England and Wales.
29. Sugar: Value of purchasing authorities and vouchers doubled.
30. Oranges and Lemons: Reduced prices in force.
30. Fresh Bread: Sale permissible to January 3rd in Scotland.

### 1919. JANUARY.

1. Potatoes: Growers' prices for 1918 crop increased for January and February.
1. Fat Stock: Increase of prices for the month.
1. Canned Fish: New maximum retail price list in force.
8. Announcement of a 25 per cent increase of the gas and electricity ration to householders.
9. Food Ministry Honours: Fifty officials receive the Order of the British Empire.
10. NEW FOOD CONTROLLER: Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., appointed to succeed Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P.
27. Sugar: Weekly domestic ration increased from 8oz. to 12oz. per head; to residential and catering establishments from 6oz. to 8oz.

### FEBRUARY.

1. Fat Stock: Prices increased for the month.
1. Canned Fish: Tab-labels to be attached specifying grade or variety.
14. Condensed Milk: Reduced retail prices commence.
17. Dried Fruits: Reduced retail prices commence.
27. Cartridges: Restrictions removed.

### MARCH.

1. Cattle: To farmers, live-weight prices increased by 1s. per cwt., and dressed carcase prices by 4d. per lb.
1. Sheep: To farmers, live-weight prices increased according to scale, and dead-weight prices for Class A sheep increased by 4d. per lb.
1. Sugar: Dealings in Sugar (Restriction) Order, 1917, revoked.
1. Sweetmeats: Revocation from this date of Sale of Sweetmeats (Restriction) Order, 1918; Sale of Sweetmeats (Restriction, Ireland) Order, 1918, and Sale of Sweetmeats in Theatres (Restriction) Order, 1918.
3. Dates: Uniform price of 6d. per lb. fixed for all varieties sold retail.
3. Meat: Reduced prices in force.
3. Shredded Suet: Wholesalers' prices reduced.
3. Vegetarian Butter: Wholesalers' price under clause 2 (b) of the Order reduced.
17. Shredded Suet: Retail price reduced.
17. Vegetarian Butter: Retail price reduced.
17. Irish Oats: Prices reduced.
19. Cheese: Retail price of Government Cheese 1s. 6d. per lb.
22. Ice Cream: Revocation of Restriction Order, 1917.
21. Tea: Suspension of Order governing price, and partial suspension of Order governing distribution.
31. Bacon, Hams, and Lard: Suspension from this date of control of prices and distribution of imported bacon, hams, and lard.
31. Peas and Beans: Reduction of retail prices.
31. Condensed Milk: Canned Condensed Milk (Requisition) Order, 1918, revoked from this date.

### APRIL.

1. Live Stock: Increase of prices on first, second, and third grade cattle and sheep.
1. Potatoes: Growers' increased prices.
7. Imported Onions: Wholesale and retail prices reduced.
30. Milk: Wholesale Milk Dealers' (Control) Order revoked.

### MAY.

1. Potatoes: Increase of growers' prices for ware potatoes.
26. Caerphilly Cheese: Control of distribution comes to an end.
31. Condensed Milk: Revocation of Imported Canned Condensed Milk (Requisition) Order, 1918.
31. Condensed Milk: Revocation of Condensed Milk (Distribution) Order, 1918, and of instructions thereunder.

### JUNE.

1. Sweetmeats: Revocation of clause 1 of the Sugar (Confectionery) Order, 1917.

3. "No Treating" Order revoked by the Central Liquor Traffic Control Board.
22. Revocations relating to Meat Prices Order revoked: Orders again take effect.
23. Oils and fats again placed under Government control owing to the extortionate prices charged by profiteers.
25. Amendment of the Spirits (Prices and Description) Order, 1919.

**JULY.**

1. Milk Amendment Order comes in force: Retail prices raised by 4d. per gallon in Great Britain.
7. Meat: New schedule of maximum retail prices comes in force.
10. Amendment of the Bacon and Ham (Prices) Order, 1919.
12. Order amending the Beer (Prices and Description) Order, 1919.
21. The Intoxicating Liquor (Output and Delivery) Order No. 2, 1919, in force.
30. Pickled, smoked, and cured herrings may be bought and sold free from restrictions imposed by previous orders.
31. Jam and Syrup (Registration of Dealers) Order, 1918, revoked.

**AUGUST.**

1. Relaxation of bread restrictions, enabling the resumption of the sale of new bread.
1. Jelly: Increase of prices of jelly mentioned in Jam Prices (No. 2) Order, 1918.
3. Maximum Prices Order for stone fruit for jam manufacturing.
5. New instructions to wholesalers and retailers of Government butter.
5. Canned Condensed Milk: New Maximum Retail Prices Order.
8. Maximum Prices Order *re* Imported Cheese.
9. New Order comes in force for the requisitioning of imported bacon, ham, and lard.
11. Bacon, Ham, and Lard: Maximum retail prices again fixed on both imported and home-produced commodities.
11. Milk prices for the period, August 11th to 31st, raised by 4d. per gallon in Great Britain.
11. Imported dried fruits come under control.
14. New Cereals Restriction Order issued, decreeing restriction on use and sale by weight. Previous orders revoked.
21. Another 6s. per ton increase in the prices of coal.
22. Desiccated Coco-nut (Maximum Prices) Order of 1918 revoked.
22. Edible Offals (Maximum Prices) Order of 1918 amended.
22. New Meat (Maximum Prices) Order issued as regards wholesale prices.
23. Registration of Dealers (New Certificates) Order of 1919 amended.
23. Dried Fruits (Restriction) Order—A general licence excludes Tunis, Algerian, and Egyptian dates, with French plums packed in tins or

- bottles, from the provisions of the above order.
27. Malt (Restriction) Order revoked.
28. Stone Fruit (Jam Manufacturers' Prices) Order revoked.

**SEPTEMBER.**

1. Imported Bacon, Ham, and Lard (Requisition) Amendment Order issued.
1. Cream Order again becomes operative, whereby the sale of cream is prohibited except for butter making, or for such purposes as the Food Controller may authorise.
2. Caerphilly Cheese (Retail Prices) Order suspended, leaving the retail sale free from any restriction as to price.
3. Until further notice, bread is allowed to be sold at the rate of 4½d. per 2lb. under certain conditions, notwithstanding the provisions of Clause 5 of the Flour and Bread Prices Order.
9. The exemption from Clauses 20 and 21 of the Rationing Order (1918) is extended to any catering establishment where no meal is served at a price exceeding 1s. 6d. (excluding the usual charge for beverages).
9. Imported Butter (Restriction) Order (1919) comes in force.
23. Permission for the retail sale of Egyptian, Algerian, and Tunisian dates at stated maximum prices.
23. Maximum Prices Order (for importers) regarding imported grain, flour and meal, comes into effect.
23. Restrictions in regard to oats, maize, and South African maize meal (as imposed in the Directions dated December 12th, 1918) cease to take effect.
30. Margarine (Restriction) Order (dealing with margarine used in manufacture) comes into force.

**OCTOBER.**

1. Milk (Winter Prices) Order comes in force. Maximum prices retail to be at the rate of 3s. 8d. per gallon for October; 4s. from November, 1919, to March, 1920, inclusive; and 3s. 8d. per gallon for April, 1920. Maximum wholesale prices to be at the rate of 2s. 2d. per gallon for October, 2s. 8d. for November, 3s. 3d. for December, January, and February, 3s. for March, and 2s. 2d. for April.
3. Requisitioning (under the Imported Meat Requisitioning Order) begins of imported meat arriving in the United Kingdom after this date.

**CONTROL DURING THE RAILWAY STRIKE.**

- Sept.
26. The Food Controller declares a state of emergency, and reduces the weekly ration of sugar from 12oz. to 6oz., the weekly ration of butter from 1½oz. to 1oz., and the weekly ration of butcher's meat to 1s. 8d. worth.
  27. Food Hoarding (Amendment) Order issued.



28. Rationing of butcher's meat, bacon, flour, bread, sugar, and milk, in public eating places established as per scale.
28. Hyde Park closed in order to facilitate the carrying out of the arrangements for supplying London with milk.
29. Maximum prices for growers and wholesalers fixed on potatoes and other vegetables, and the use of margarine in the manufacture of articles for sale prohibited, except as regards stocks in hand.
30. Restrictions on the manufacture and sale of fancy pastries.
30. Maximum prices for eggs: for fresh and imported fresh eggs, 5s. per doz. wholesale, and 5s. 6d. retail; for preserved eggs, 4s. wholesale and 4s. 6d. retail; and for small eggs, 2s. 8d. wholesale and 3s. retail, per doz.

Oct.

2. Maximum prices on Spanish onions.
7. Revocation of the Public Meals Order (1919), the Rationing Order, 1918, the Food Hoarding (Amendment) Order, 1919.
9. The Food Controller declares the state of emergency at an end and revokes more orders.

---

## THE INTER-CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE AT PARIS.

**T**HE Inter-Co-operative Conference, which opened at Paris on June 25th, with Professor Gide as chairman, had as its objects to prepare the way for a reorganisation of the international co-operative movement, and to adumbrate a policy adapted to the world needs of the new era, whose contrast with the old was distinctively shown by the presence of Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Armenian, and Polish representatives, in addition to a galaxy of prominent representatives from a multiplicity of movements. To prepare the way for international reorganisation, the conference, by resolutions, called on the officials of the International Co-operative Alliance to convoke on August 19th a meeting to determine the date, place, and agenda of the next meeting of the Central Committee: the conference also expressing the desire that the Central Committee should meet in Geneva, if possible, and towards the end of the year, and that the following topics should appear on the agenda: The constitution of the International Co-operative Alliance, the convocation of the International Congress, and the decisions of the Inter-Allied and Neutral Conferences.

The conference also charged the Alliance executive with the duty of calling a meeting of representatives of Co-operative Wholesales for August 20th, for the purpose of promoting closer international trade relations, and for the same date the Alliance executive is requested to call a meeting of a special commission to deal with the question of investigating and supplying the needs of the countries devastated during the war.

As regards the economic policy recommended by the conference for the benefit of nations, its comprehensive character may be seen from the following summary: The abolition of import duties other than those for fiscal purposes, and especially as regards the necessaries of life and the necessaries of industry; increase of facilities for international intercourse and exchange of commodities; reconstruction and development of transport by land and water; direct intercourse between agricultural and consumers' associations, together with increased production of foodstuffs; international financial schemes for the liquidation of war debts; the transformation of inter-allied committees into international committees of supplies for the purpose of distributing (according to the world's resources) alimentary supplies in conformity with the needs of each nation; the collaboration of the public authorities of each country with the co-operative organisations; the establishment of an international economic statistical bureau as a source of intelligence for international committees; and finally, the unification of weights, measures, and coinages, social laws, international postal and railway arrangements, &c., &c.

## THE TASKS OF CO-OPERATION IN THE NEW ERA.

By PROF. CHARLES GIDE.

AT no period in the course of its history, covering more than three-quarters of a century, has co-operation had such a chance of success as it has to-day. If it has the ability to utilise the great opportunity, co-operation will become one of the chief factors of economic evolution. If it allows the opportunity to escape, co-operation will have failed to accomplish its destiny.

Suffice it to consider the glorious tasks now presenting themselves for co-operative achievement. Of these tasks I will deal merely with three.

### THE FIRST TASK.

The first is to establish the right price. And the term must not be taken in the narrow sense, as signifying merely the sale of each article at the minimum price which productive exigences admit of. The term must be understood in a broad sense and as signifying the bringing of supply and demand into equilibrium. The point is to re-establish equilibrium

between supply and demand whenever the index number ascends like the errant index hand of the barometer during the passage of a cyclone. Of these two price-factors (supply and demand) the first eludes the grasp of co-operative distributive societies for the reason that they are not as yet organised strongly enough (not even in England, and still less in other countries) to increase production to any notable extent, nor even the importation of commodities. But they are already sufficiently powerful to exercise a certain control over demand. They can regulate it and discipline it so far as the millions of stores members are concerned; and even as regards the rest of the population, they can educate the consumer by teaching him to reduce his demand to the level of supply, and by prescribing a voluntary rationing—that is to say, economy: a system far more efficacious, both morally and economically, than the regulation ration-card method. The societies ought to teach the rich consumer that it is his duty to abstain from overbidding whenever there is a shortage of commodities; inasmuch as overbidding can have no other result than that of depriving the poor man of his share.

Now it is obvious that if the consumer could be got to reduce his demand just to the same extent to which supply diminishes, the



PROF. CHARLES GIDE.

scales would remain evenly balanced, so to speak, and the index finger denoting the price would not stir. Unfortunately it is the contrary phenomenon which makes itself manifest. In every country one may behold men, both rich and poor, like ravenous beings after a long fast, making a rush for consumption, and with bank-notes for weapons contending against each other for the scanty products offered for sale in the market. These paroxysms it is which co-operative distributive societies ought to counteract, thereby emphasising the fact that their function is not only economic but moral as well.

#### THE SECOND TASK.

The second task is to affirm the superiority of consumers' interests to those of producers, since consumption is the aim of all social activity and production but the means thereto. Needless to say, this task will be difficult, and, in a certain respect, invidious, for it will clash with the interests of the producers and trade unionists, and even with the socialists; for socialism is occupied with the interests of the working classes only in so far as the latter are wage-earners—that is to say, in so far as they are producers. And yet these interests are only avocational interests or class interests at most, and if they are allowed to be pushed without limitation it signifies the ultimate sacrifice of the interests of the whole community, including those of the workers themselves.

And here is the social danger with which every country is menaced at the present time. Every day there is a demand for a shorter working day and a higher wage, and in order to secure these the strike and "ca' canny" are incessantly resorted to, with the result of a diminishing production at the very time when the needs of Europe call for the extension of productive effort up to the maximum, and at a time when all ought to advance to work just as all formerly advanced to the firing line. Who are better qualified than the consumers' societies to represent public interests at this critical hour? Who can arrest this march to the abyss better than they can? Who can teach the workers better than they that the striving after an unlimited rise of wages is just as futile as the striving of the Danaides (who, in the infernal regions mythological, were condemned eternally to fill a bottomless cask), inasmuch as the perpetual increase of wages becomes transformed into the perpetual increase in the cost of living. Constituted for well-nigh the whole body of workers our societies can exercise an influence on the working class such as capitalists could not bring to bear, nor intellectuals even. Most often it is the same men who are members of trade unions and of consumers' societies at one and the same time, and consequently it will be easy to arouse in them the consumer's interest (which is generally unconscious and dormant) in order to oppose it to the interest of the producer which with him is always vigilant and intense.

## THE THIRD TASK: LAST BUT NOT LEAST.

The third task, which to me appears the last but not the least, for our co-operative societies is that of creating a Europe in their own image, that is to say, a co-operative Europe, and of securing thereby for our children a chance of peace more trustworthy than that afforded by the Treaty of Versailles.

The hour is ripe for the re-creation of such a Europe, for Europe has just undergone a democratic revolution such as one would not have dreamt of. The three great military empires have collapsed, and on their ruins a score of young republics have been making their advent. Amongst the public the point to which the constitution of Europe has been transformed is not generally known. Suffice it to note that before the war Europe contained 18 monarchical states with over 410 millions of inhabitants, and only three republics containing less than 50 millions of people all told: whereas to-day the monarchical states are only twelve in number (and none autocratic) with 150 millions of inhabitants and no more, as against 18 to 20 republics (the exact number is not as yet known) containing over 300 millions of inhabitants! All these new-born republics are, as is natural at their age, just now somewhat turbulent and ready to buffet each other, but they will settle down and experience the need to federate and to form unions amongst themselves, economic ones at least, if not yet political—unions leading to the same objective as our co-operative federations, viz., the abolition of competition between nations (which is the generator of war) and the establishment of *ententes cordiales* in its stead. No longer will each nation be absorbed in making itself self-sufficing and in doing without the foreigner—a preoccupation which is the embodiment of national egoism. Still less will nations be absorbed in capturing foreign markets—a preoccupation signifying economic imperialism. But on the contrary, there will be the desire to utilise the resources of each nation with a view to supplying the needs of all as well as possible.

True it is that such a task may appear to transcend the possibilities of co-operative achievement. How can co-operative societies attain success where the "big four" have attained so little? All the same, we have to recognise that the consumers' societies in Europe now embrace a score of millions of members representing approximately one-tenth of the whole European population: and the co-operative proportion is much larger still if we add to the consumers' societies all the other forms of co-operative organisation (credit, agriculture, production, &c.).

Moreover, the question of number is one of quite secondary importance where social movements are concerned. It is by virtue of its intrinsic worth that the idea radiates, and it is by example that it is propagated. And so one should not hesitate to declare that the co-operators of various countries can do much for the peace of Europe if they will combine not only to reconcile the enemies of yesterday but

also to avoid dissension and conflicts such as manifested themselves among yesterday's allies. Our International Co-operative Alliance, which preceded the Society of Nations by twenty years, may render useful assistance, modest though it be, to the big younger sister. Moreover, the International Co-operative Alliance will not be by itself: a number of other international associations are about to be reconstituted, and will exert themselves to renew those ties which the war brutally severed. We must combine our efforts. In the month of December this year (1919) the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance is to be integrally reconstituted, and it will meet at Geneva in order to signify its intention to work side by side with the Society of Nations—and not in its shadow, but to illumine it: or, in the words of Scripture, “to be a lamp to its feet and a light to its path.”

---

## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.



A glimpse of the C.W.S. Laboratory for the analysis of milk and foodstuffs generally, the testing of soils and fertilisers, and the scientific examination of all industrial materials. This is located at 109, Corporation Street, Manchester, and its staff of highly-qualified chemists gives it a standing equal to any public analyst's laboratory in the United Kingdom.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY.

By S. F. PERRY, SECRETARY OF THE PARTY.

---

SINCE the memorable decision arrived at by the Swansea Congress in 1917, when the co-operative movement finally decided to enter the political arena, varying amendments of the constitution have been adopted under which the political activities of the co-operative movement are now carried on under the title of the "Co-operative Party." The entry of the movement into politics was not hastily taken, as for years the matter had been one arousing keen discussion and divided opinion at the annual Congresses. The Parliamentary Committee of the Congress repeatedly had occasion to declare that the co-operative movement would never receive the recognition to which it was entitled until co-operators were directly represented in Parliament and on local authorities. Year after year attempts to bring the movement to the recognition of this fact failed to meet with success, but the great war of 1914, bringing in its train many vast upheavals of existing organisations and societies, accomplished for the co-operative movement indirectly what many of its most sincere and enthusiastic leaders had failed to achieve.

During the first years of the war, when the cost of living rose to an alarming extent, and the organisations representing the industrial classes of the country sought to impress upon the Government the necessity for drastic measures being taken to safeguard the interests of the consumers, co-operators strongly urged that the opportunity should be taken by the Government to avail itself of the resources of the co-operative movement. The Government, however, firmly adhered to its old policy of "preserving the ordinary channels of trade," with the result that the whole army of brokers and other intermediary agencies reaped rich harvests at the expense of the people, and prices of food and other necessaries continued their upward tendency. Time and time again co-operators were handicapped in their administration by restrictions and Government regulations, and by the firm opposition of vested interests strongly represented on Parliamentary Committees. All these things emphasised the necessity of co-operators realising their responsibilities, and of seeking to mould legislation so that the interests of consumers should be well looked after. It is a remarkable fact, and stands as a landmark in the history of co-operative politics, that immediately after the movement had decided for political representation its claims were recognised, to some extent, by the appointment of many of its able and trusted leaders to positions of responsibility on Government Committees to deal with war problems. The experience that co-operators were able to place at the disposal of the Government

has been freely recognised by those in authority, and their work has proved that co-operators can apply with success to national and international problems the principles which have been such a material factor in improving the lives of the toiling masses. It will thus be seen that early in their advent into politics co-operators justified their claim for recognition as factors in the building up of a social order under which we may have a happy and contented people.

#### ORGANISATION.

The constitution of the Co-operative Party has undergone those changes essential to all new organisations in their infancy. The controlling body is now a national committee, which is directly responsible to the Central Board of the Co-operative Union and to the Co-operative Congress. The committee consists of twenty-nine members, viz., nine members of the Central Board, nine members representing and elected by societies contributing to the co-operative political fund, one member appointed by the Central Education Committee, two members appointed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, one by the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, one by the Co-operative Productive Federation, two by the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress, one each by the Women's Co-operative Guild, Scottish Women's Co-operative Guild, and National Co-operative Men's Guild. All sections of the movement have representation on the national committee, and provision is made for direct election by subscribing societies apart from the usual channels of the Co-operative Union. Much of the administrative work is delegated to an executive of seven members, who meet at frequent intervals, reporting later to the full committee. The local organisation is carried out through the medium of local Co-operative Parties organising either in large areas, such as London, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, or by constituencies. In cases where many co-operative societies operate, district Co-operative Parties are formed, on which all the societies in the area are represented. The model rules adopted for the guidance of local parties provide for representation of the management committee, the educational committee, women's and men's guilds, employees, and members directly elected by and from the general body of members. By this method of organisation it is claimed that all interests are represented on the Co-operative Parties, and accordingly they are strengthened in their work of building up the necessary organisation.

The finances of the Co-operative Party are raised by a contribution from subscribing societies of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per member per year; by special grants from societies which cannot be described as distributing societies; and subscriptions from individuals in sympathy with the policy of the Co-operative Party. In the year 1918, 563 societies became affiliated to the scheme for political representation, and subscriptions to the amount of £7,139. 17s. 4d. were received,

including £1,000 and £500 subscribed respectively by the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies. In addition to the subscriptions received in the manner described above, the Co-operative Union guarantees the administrative expenses of the head office and its staff, who are under the control of the Union.

The finances subscribed to the national fund of the Co-operative Party are available only for national purposes. The method of obtaining funds locally differs widely according to circumstances. In some cases societies make grants of 2d. per member per year, out of which the  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. subscription to the national fund is paid, leaving a balance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. available for local purposes; in other instances societies have so altered their rules to enable them to allocate  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ of their sales per annum for organisation and political work; others make periodical grants as occasion demands. It is a remarkable instance of loyalty to the declared opinions of Congress that one of the largest societies in the country which originally voted against entering into political action, after the decision of Congress had been taken voted the sum of £1,500 for political work, contested a Parliamentary seat at the last general election, and also appointed a full-time agent to attend to registration and organisation work. Under the constitution of the Co-operative Party the initial choice of Parliamentary candidates, subject to final approval of the national committee, is entirely in the hands of the local Co-operative Parties. This democratic form of selection is a considerable help in creating a feeling of confidence and maintaining interest in local organisation. A panel of representative national co-operators—men and women—has been compiled by the national committee to assist local Co-operative Parties in their choice, but this does not interfere with the complete freedom of action by the local people in regard to making their choice.

#### PARLIAMENTARY CONTESTS.

The first venture of the Co-operative Party into politics took place in May, 1918, when Mr. H. J. May, well known as the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, fought a by-election at Prestwich. Though he failed to achieve success, Mr. May fought a splendid fight, and rallied to his support men and women anxious to work and to vote for the principles of co-operation. This was followed by a more serious attempt at the general election in December, 1918. At this election ten candidates definitely running as "co-operative" candidates were nominated in various parts of the country. Though the abnormal circumstances prevailing at the time told heavily against them, the candidates, in most cases, polled splendidly. At any rate, the Co-operative Party can claim to be the only party whose candidates all secured the return of the £150 deposited with the returning officer. A splendid victory was achieved in the Kettering Division of Northamptonshire, and Mr. A. E. Waterson, M.P., became the first co-operative member to enter the House of



Commons. At Paisley, Bradford, Clackmannan, King's Norton, and other constituencies the co-operative candidate polled well, and the experience generally proved that, given a strong lead, co-operators are favourable to the progressive policy being adopted by the co-operative movement. In constituencies where no co-operative candidates were nominated, co-operators were urged to submit test questions to the candidates of other parties, and afterwards to organise the co-operative vote in support of those favourable to the co-operative policy. The work of our co-operative representative in the House of Commons, assisted by many well-known Labour leaders, has been of splendid service to the co-operative movement; and just as we have realised that the amount of respect and consideration we shall get from any Government depends absolutely

on the strength of our representation in Parliament, and the pressure we are able to bring to bear upon Governments, so co-operators are determined to take their part in the councils of the nation.

Co-operators have not confined their activities to securing representation in Parliament alone. At the urban district council elections in the spring of the year many co-operators, for the first time, were nominated as candidates. The results were most encouraging, and co-operation is now being introduced in the administration of local affairs to a degree hardly ever contemplated. On magisterial benches, too, co-operators are making their presence felt, and the experience gained in the movement is now being applied to the

administration of justice in many of our courts in all parts of the country. On November 1st hundreds of co-operative candidates were nominated for the various local authorities. Sometimes they were designated as co-operative candidates only, and on other occasions ran under the joint banner of labour and co-operative. Perhaps the most encouraging side of co-operative politics is that which portrays the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by co-operators in tackling the civic and social problems of administration.

#### THE FUTURE.

I think sufficient has been written to prove that co-operators have at last entered politics in real earnest. From all parts of the country come encouraging reports of the fervour with which co-operators have taken up this new feature of our work. People put into politics a zeal and enthusiasm which are rarely to be found in any other movement, except it may be religion. Stimulated by



A. E. WATERSON,  
First Co-operative M.P.

this, co-operation is going ahead by leaps and bounds, and adherents are flocking to its banner. On the other hand, co-operators are appreciating that they cannot disregard altogether their relationship to the general cause of democracy, and movements are developing which are likely to have an important bearing on the whole political future of this and other countries. The action of the two orthodox capitalist political parties in forming in November, 1918, an official coalition has taught many of the workers a lesson in unity. A strong desire has been expressed for a closer union between the co-operative, the labour, and the trade union movements, and accordingly at the Carlisle Congress in June, 1919, a resolution was adopted instructing the national committee to enter into negotiations with the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, with a view to a closer federation for electoral purposes, and the ultimate object of forming a united people's or democratic party. In the carrying out of this resolution lie great possibilities. If a triple alliance of the labour, trade union, and co-operative movements can be formed, each preserving its own identity to some extent and yet working together in the common cause, it might easily revolutionise the whole realm of politics. Leaders of the trade union and labour movements realise these great possibilities, and have shown an earnest desire to arrive at some form of agreement. The old capitalist parties, too, have realised that if the workers are united in a common cause, then the day of capitalist domination in politics is rapidly passing away. To the bringing about of this great achievement of one united people's or democratic party all lovers of freedom must devote their energies, and if unity can be accomplished it will mean the dawn of a better day for the toilers.

---

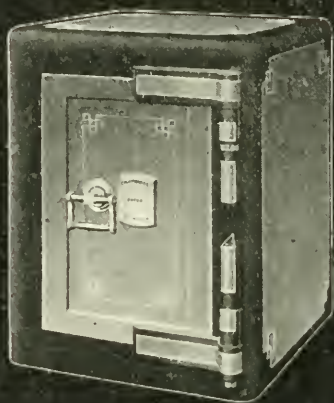
## POLITICAL ADVANCE OF CO-OPERATION ABROAD.

In Sweden four leading members of the Swedish Co-operative Union have been recently elected to the Riksdag, or Parliament, that is to say, the chairman of the Union (Hr. I. O. Odlund), the Secretary of the Union (Hr. Anders Orne), and two of the Union's Directors (Hr. Rosling and Hr. Söderborn).

In Finland a group of co-operators have been elevated to the leading positions in the State, viz., Dr. Stahlberg, the Republic's first President; Professor Vennola, Minister of State; and Hr. Ritavuori, Home Secretary. All three have figured as members or committeemen of the Elanto Society in Helsingfors.

Austria, moreover, has distinguished itself by the appointment of Dr. Karl Renner (ex-chairman of the Central Union of Austrian Co-operative Distributive Societies) as Prime Minister of the new Republic.

# THE CHATWOOD SAFE.



**THE CHATWOOD SAFE CO. LIMITED**

BANKERS' ENGINEERS

Head Offices and Works: **BOLTON.**

Branches:

**LONDON**  
56, Gracechurch St., E.C.

**MANCHESTER**  
Royal Exchange.

## STATISTICS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

**E**MBRACING as it does the whole industrial co-operative movement in the United Kingdom (a minor fraction excepted) the Co-operative Union ranks as a colossus amongst the world's co-operative movements—a colossus whose proportions at the close of 1918 are summarised in the membership approaching 4,000,000, in the share and loan capital exceeding £80,000,000, in the trading turnover of £250,000,000 (in round figures), in the net surplus of nearly £18,000,000, in the army of employees mustering over 164,000, and in the collective wages and salaries bill of practically £15,000,000 for the year.

The specific ascent of figures during 1918 is denoted by the increase of membership (59,623), by the increase of share and loan capital to the amount of £11,118,002, by the sales increase of £24,065,890, by the collective increase of employees to the number of 1,880, and by the salaries and wages bill increase to the amount of £2,647,431. On the other hand, owing to conditions which need no elaboration, the net surplus for the year shows a decrease of £492,033.

Still more impressive are the increases between 1913 and 1918; that is to say, 883,609 in membership, £25,553,769 in share and loan capital, £118,943,791 in sales, £3,442,153 in net surplus, 21,388 in the number of employees, and £6,242,836 in the matter of salaries and wages.

With this brief preface the reader may now review the subjoined statistics of the Union at his leisure.

### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION STATISTICS FOR 1918.

Class.	Number of Societies	Number of Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Number of Employees.	Salaries and Wages.
			£	£	£		£
Distributive Societies	1,364	3,846,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645	119,629	10,216,932
" Federations	5	61	31,579	121,597	7,637	31	2,878
Productive Societies..	95	37,393	1,974,479	5,714,041	398,602	9,745	912,785
Supply Associations..	3	8,349	452,055	1,763,450	58,122	1,805	177,841
Special Societies .....	4	693	60,631	620,917	26,503	593	50,092
Wholesale " .....	3	1,972	16,559,698	85,601,687	716,058	32,580	3,343,756
<b>Total, 1918 ...</b>	<b>1,474</b>	<b>3,894,999</b>	<b>80,473,150</b>	<b>248,979,685</b>	<b>17,702,567</b>	<b>164,383</b>	<b>14,734,281</b>
" 1917 ...	1,478	3,835,376	69,355,148	221,913,795	18,194,600	162,503	12,086,853
" 1916 ...	1,481	3,566,241	67,348,808	197,295,322	19,150,021	158,715	10,838,075
" 1915 ...	1,497	3,310,524	62,230,430	165,031,195	17,003,956	155,379	9,928,926
" 1914 ...	1,510	3,188,110	58,704,695	138,473,025	15,204,098	148,264	9,213,464
" 1913 ...	1,508	3,011,390	54,919,381	130,035,894	14,260,414	142,995	8,491,448

### RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES.

Passing from the whole to the parts, and beginning with the retail distributive societies, the first thing to note is their geographical and statistical distribution in 1918.

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1918.

	Number of Societies.	Member- ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.
			£	£	£
English .....	1,055	3,239,702	51,109,501	121,174,847	12,319,269
Scottish.....	261	575,385	9,947,149	32,654,903	4,098,605
Irish .....	48	31,444	338,058	1,328,213	77,771
Total .....	1,364	3,846,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645

The second thing to note is the comparative figures. For 1918 these figures show an increase of membership to the extent of 58,041, an increase of share and loan capital amounting to £5,648,215, an increase in sales figures to the amount of £13,154,351, an increase of employees to the number of 913, and an increase of wages to the amount of £1,781,269, and also an increase of the total net surplus to the amount of £579,054. Comparing the figures of 1918 with those of 1913 the outcome is an increase of membership to the number of 967,883, an increase of share and loan capital to the amount of £18,792,943, an increase of sales to the amount of £71,567,589, an increase of employees to the number of 16,177, and an increase of wages and salaries to the total amount of £4,342,989. As regards the net surplus the figure for 1918 is £3,644,342 more than the figure for 1913. It is interesting to note that, while in 1913 the net surplus worked out at 15·3 per cent of the total sales, in 1916 it worked out at 13·4 per cent, in 1917 at 11·2 per cent, and in 1918 at 10·6 per cent of the total sales.

## RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1913-18.

Year.	Number of Societies	Total Membership	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Total of Employees, Dist. and Prod.	Total Salaries and Wages.
			£	£	£		£
1913...	1,387	2,878,648	42,601,765	83,590,371	12,851,303	103,452	5,903,943
1914...	1,390	3,054,297	46,317,939	87,964,229	13,501,825	103,074	6,319,967
1915...	1,375	3,264,811	48,848,596	102,557,779	14,960,086	109,449	6,749,725
1916...	1,362	3,520,227	53,322,352	121,688,550	16,335,079	115,651	7,452,616
1917...	1,366	3,788,490	55,746,493	142,003,612	15,916,591	118,716	8,465,663
1918...	1,364	3,846,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645	119,629	10,246,932

In 1918 the total reserve funds amounted to £4,343,272 as compared with £9,217,294 for the previous year; the value of the stock in trade equalled £23,488,587, as compared with £26,300,078 for the previous year; the value of the land, buildings, machinery, and fixed stock amounted to £15,247,115, as compared with £19,861,857 for the year before; while the total investments amounted to £34,202,902, including house property investments. The total investments for 1918 show a reduction of £4,338,348 as compared with the figures for 1917.

As regards workers, 26,094, or 21·81 per cent of the total, in 1918 were classed as engaged in production, as compared with 26,012, or 21·91 per cent, in 1917, with 27,129, or 23·46 per cent, in 1916, and 28,555, or 26·09 per cent, in 1915: whilst the wages bill for productive workers amounted to £2,507,329 in 1918, as compared with £2,110,154 in 1917, £1,978,572 in 1916, and £1,821,413 in 1915.

### PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES

(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALERS).

The productive societies in 1918 showed a total membership of 37,393, share and loan capital to the amount of £1,974,479, trade to the amount of £5,714,041, and a surplus of £398,602; whilst the workers numbered 9,745, and the wages total came to £912,785. As compared with 1917 this means an increase of membership to the number of 1,035, £169,525 increase in share and loan capital, £567,582 increase in sales, £38,862 increase in surplus, 293 fewer employees, and £145,939 more in wages.

Comparing 1918 with 1913 we find the increase as follows: In membership, 2,731; in share and loan capital, £273,446; in sales, £2,003,807; in surplus, £145,588; and in the wages paid, £316,405, coupled with a decrease of 697 in the number of employees.

### PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES

(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES).

Year.	Number of Societies.	Member-ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Trade.	Surplus.	Number of Em-ployees.	Wages.
			£	£	£		£
1913...	108	34,662	1,701,033	3,710,234	253,014	10,442	596,380
1914...	108	36,880	1,822,349	3,800,627	276,792	10,725	613,555
1915...	103	34,912	1,688,118	3,860,052	316,896	10,657	634,921
1916...	101	35,142	1,771,604	4,461,491	333,842	10,284	732,106
1917...	97	36,358	1,804,954	5,146,459	359,740	10,038	766,846
1918...	95	37,393	1,974,479	5,714,041	398,602	9,745	912,785

## SUPPLY ASSOCIATIONS.

The figures for the supply associations from 1913 to 1918 are as follows:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Members-ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Trade.	Surplus.	Workers.	Wages.
			£	£	£		£
1913...	4	95,061	563,240	2,078,661	49,231	1,956	179,688
1914...	4	95,117	572,010	2,030,245	41,470	2,099	183,528
1915...	4	8,473	483,951	3,280,360	54,151	1,799	172,167
1916...	4	8,560	435,239	3,402,308	92,328	1,661	196,866
1917...	3	8,282	438,388	1,712,718	58,602	1,816	164,195
1918...	3	8,349	452,055	1,763,450	58,122	1,805	177,841

## THE ENGLISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

For 1918 the figures of the C.W.S. are recorded as follows: Share and loan capital, £11,896,941; wholesale distributive trade, £65,167,960; net surplus, £160,538; workers, 24,100; and wages, £2,529,137.

Compared with 1917 these figures signify a trade increase of £7,457,827, an increase of 1,323 in the number of workers, and £545,268 more paid in wages, together with an increase of £4,959,616 in share and loan capital, and a decrease of £1,154,617 in the net surplus.

Compared with 1913 the 1918 figures signify the following increases: In share and loan capital, £5,576,178; in sales, 33,795,984; in employees, 3,106; and in wages, £1,145,883, together with a net surplus decrease of £475,581.

Year.	Society Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Net Surplus.	Number of Workers.	Wages.
		£	£	£		£
1913 .....	1,168	6,320,763	31,371,976	636,119	20,994	1,383,254
1914 .....	1,193	6,301,017	34,910,813	840,069	23,190	1,539,354
1915 .....	1,195	6,641,598	43,101,747	1,086,962	23,924	1,777,406
1916 .....	1,189	7,109,291	52,230,074	1,519,005	22,215	1,819,727
1917 .....	1,192	6,937,325	57,710,133	1,315,155	22,777	1,983,869
1918 .....	1,200	11,896,941	65,167,960	160,538	24,100	2,529,137

In 1918 the sales of the productive departments amounted to £17,729,568, as compared with £18,581,555 in 1917, £16,263,500 in 1916, and £12,812,956 in 1915.

## THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

For 1918 the statistical summary of the S.C.W.S. is as follows: Share and loan capital, £4,546,296; trade, £19,519,485; net surplus, £547,993; employees, 8,324; and wages, £797,510, with an extra £9,348 as bonus.

As compared with 1917 these figures signify a trade increase of £2,439,643, an increase of net surplus by £47,078, an increase of £288,478 in share and loan capital, and an increase of £141,636 in wages, together with a bonus decrease of £668, and a reduction of workers by 198.

Comparing 1918 with 1913 there has been an increase of £849,881 in share and loan capital, an increase of £10,555,452 in trading figures, an increase of £207,263 in the net surplus, and an increase of £391,695 in wages, despite a decrease of workers to the number of 361.

Year.	Society Members	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Net Surplus.	Number of Workers.	Wages.	Bonus.
		£	£	£		£	£
1913...	268	3,696,415	8,964,033	340,730	8,685	405,815	16,583
1914...	266	4,130,170	9,425,383	393,115	8,877	530,378	18,783
1915...	264	4,464,633	11,363,075	456,516	9,103	554,634	13,017
1916...	262	4,564,637	14,502,410	501,531	8,307	593,165	12,614
1917...	263	4,257,818	17,079,842	500,915	8,522	655,874	10,016
1918...	261	4,546,296	19,519,485	547,993	8,324	797,510	9,348

In 1918 the sales of S.C.W.S. products amounted to £5,492,528, as compared with £6,294,857 in 1917, and £4,708,103 in 1916.

#### IRISH AGRICULTURAL WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

The figures of the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society show a steady all-round advance, apart from a reduction in capital in 1918.

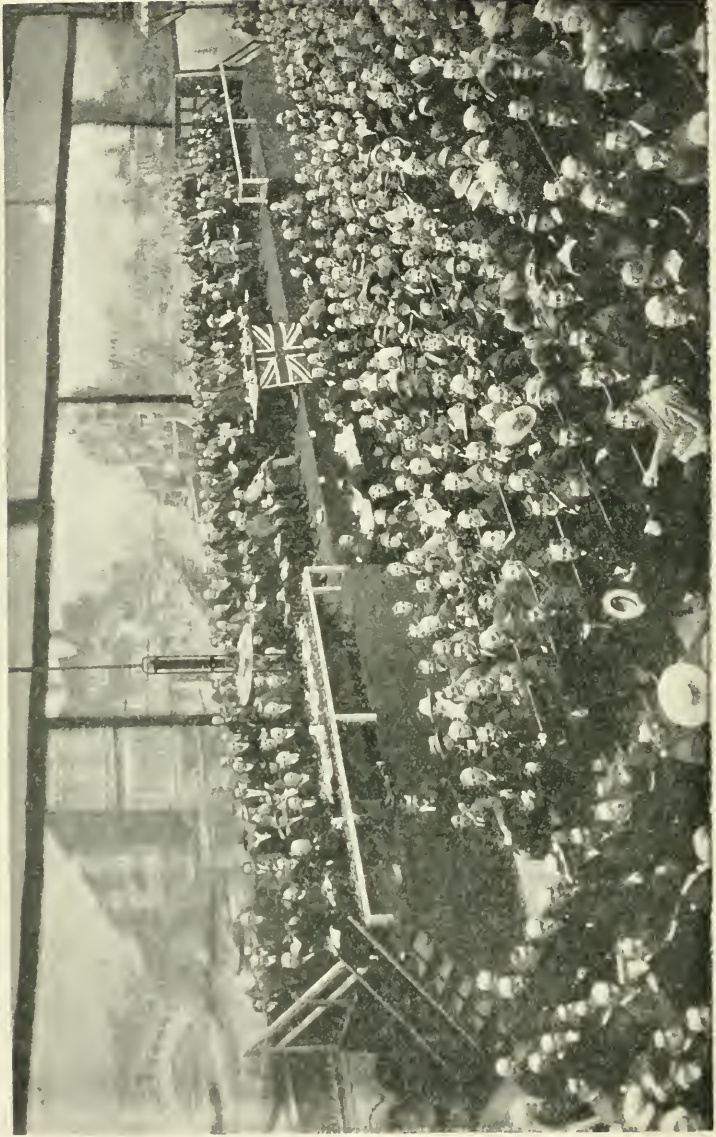
Year.	Member-ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Surplus.	Number of Workers.	Total Wages.
		£	£	£		£
1915 .....	327	28,225	375,379	3,141	81	5,400
1916 .....	381	65,518	479,877	4,989	100	6,854
1917 .....	453	83,187	651,567	5,577	125	10,730
1918 .....	511	25,975	914,242	7,527	156	17,109

### CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES IN 1918 AND THE FOUR PREVIOUS YEARS.

Year.	Total Workers.	Engaged in				Wages.	
		Production.		Distribution.		Pro-ductive.	Dis-tributive.
		Number.	Per cent. of Total.	Number.	Per cent. of Total.		
						£	£
1914.....	148,264	69,275	42.68	81,989	57.32	3,984,783	5,228,681
1915.....	155,379	66,486	42.79	88,893	57.21	4,269,017	5,659,909
1916.....	158,715	62,401	39.32	96,314	60.68	1,546,874	6,291,201
1917.....	162,503	61,404	37.79	101,099	62.21	4,876,614	7,210,289
1918.....	164,383	62,401	37.96	101,982	62.04	5,915,254	8,819,030





*Photo by]*

CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, CARLISLE, JUNE, 1919.

*[Jack, Carlisle.*

## THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, 1919.

THE co-operative movement held its fifty-first annual Congress in the border city of Carlisle on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of June last, the presence of a score of international delegates, representing the movements in France, Belgium, Roumania, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, constituting a visible token of the restoration of peace. As the civic ambassador to the Congress the Mayor welcomed the 1,700 delegates, over whom Mr. Alderman Hayward (Chairman of the Central Board) presided during the three days' proceedings, the first of which was devoted to the consideration of the Central Board's report and those of its committees and their general acceptance. The next two days' proceedings, devoted on the one hand to co-operative affairs and on the other to matters of public policy, gave scope for various interesting discussions, amongst which those relating to co-operative party policy occupied a conspicuous place. How far the movement has advanced since pre-war days (when the perennial question arose as to whether the movement should or should not enter politics) was shown by the official resolution for "a closer relationship between all democratic organisations in the common interest," and calling for a mandate for

the National Co-operative Representation Committee to negotiate with the Labour Party and Trade Unions Congress Parliamentary Committee with a view to a federation for electoral purposes, and with the ultimate object of forming a United Democratic or People's Party.

An amendment for affiliation with the Labour Party, as against a working arrangement for election purposes, had the effect of raising a straight issue, which Congress ultimately decided by empowering the Representation Committee to open up negotiations with a view to the establishment of a working agreement, and by the adoption of a further proposal for amending the scheme for securing direct representation. The political activities undertaken by the National Co-operative Representation Committee will henceforth be conducted under the name of the Co-operative Party. On the other hand, the Congress refused its consent to proposals for allowing a co-operative candidate to run as a co-operative and labour or socialist candidate, and for embodying a definitely worded far-reaching programme in the election address of every approved co-operative candidate for Parliament. As regards other proposals, the Congress sanctioned the autonomy of the Scottish Parliamentary Representation Committee, the increase of the subscription to the Union to 2d., the provision of a national co-operative war memorial, the formation of a consolidated reserve fund, a national co-operative employees' superannuation fund, the amendment of district conciliation boards, the determination of the position of co-operative employees in relation to sympathetic strikes, assistance for societies in devastated areas on the Continent, the establishment of an international statistical

bureau, the convening of an international conference of wholesale societies, and, in addition to all these, the conference sanctioned the Education Committee's proposal for the establishment of a co-operative college with an instruction to the Central Board to organise a fund forthwith. The General Co-operative Survey was remitted to a special congress to be convened in February, 1920, for the purpose of dealing with the whole matter, and of making recommendations to the General Congress the same year.

In regard to matters of public policy the resolutions dealing with Food Control and Protection occupied the chief place: the first question being dealt with in a couple of resolutions, in one of which it was declared that

This Congress calls upon the British Government to take all necessary steps to secure the continuance and extension of the application of the co-operative principle to its plans of economic reconstruction; and, further, that the reforms automatically secured by the operation of D.O.R.A.—especially those relating to sales by net weight or measure, standards and tests of quality, and exhibition of prices—should at once receive permanent legislative sanction.

In the other resolution the Congress strongly urged "upon the Government the necessity of continuing the Ministry of Food as a permanent Department charged with the maintenance of proper and adequate supplies, and such other measures, essential alike in war or peace, as may be necessary to prevent profiteering, and the exploitation of consumers."

To the fiscal policy of the Government the Congress expressed its opposition in the following uncompromising terms:—

This Congress strongly protests against the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in taking advantage of the present Budget to introduce the old bad principle of Protection under the guise of Imperial Preference, and calls upon the Government to institute a full inquiry into our fiscal system, in order to secure the freest possible exchange of commodities in the interests of consumers the world over, and as a means of establishing an enduring peace.

The Congress also expressed its unqualified opposition to the policy of conscription as at present applied; and declared for the nationalisation of land and coal mines, as well as for adequate housing measures for the people. On the other hand a resolution for a levy on capital, for the purpose of reducing the national debt, was rejected by the majority.

Bristol was chosen as the gathering place for 1920, despite the allurements of Torquay.

---

In 1872 the average earnings of agricultural day labourers in Denmark amounted to £22. 12s., in 1915 to £46. 17s., and in 1918 to £77. 4s., so that the increase between 1915 and 1918 amounted to £30. 7s. as compared with an increase of £24. 5s. during the preceding 43 years. Over the whole period of 46 years the rise has amounted to 240 per cent for day labourers, while farm servants during the same period have gained an advance of 400 per cent on the average wages of 1872, which for men amounted to no more than £7 per annum, and for women to no more than £3. 17s.

## WOMEN'S GUILD CONGRESS, 1919.

THE two-day Conference of the Women's Guild was held at Middlesbrough on Tuesday and Wednesday, June 24th and 25th, under the presidency of Mrs. Hood, 834 delegates attending the proceedings, and a municipal welcome being brought by the Mayor. After the despatch of domestic business the Conference signalled itself by the expression of advanced views on an array of public questions. To begin with, the Conference unanimously voted for an active alliance between the co-operative and trade union movements (through mutual membership, joint banking, insurance, and political action), and also declared for the development of co-operative international trade as an immediate essential: while the adoption of the following terse resolution left no doubt as to the Guild's antagonism to the militarist forces at work:—

That we demand the abolition of military conscription in Britain, and call upon the present Government to repeal all Acts of compulsory military service.

With a true perception both of what the League of Nations is and what it ought to be, the Conference declared its conviction that

the League of Nations, as at present constituted, cannot fulfil the hopes of the peoples of the world, and calls on the workers of the world to unite at once to secure a true League of Peoples, to include all nations from the beginning, with direct representation of the peoples and the total rejection of all military alliances between individual powers.

The resolution elicited a spirited discussion, and was finally carried by a decisive majority. Later on, the resolution appealing to the Government for the release of all military and political prisoners, including conscientious objectors, likewise gave rise to an animated debate concerning the conscientious objectors, with regard to whom very decided opinions were expressed both for and against, the preponderance being finally shown, however, by the passing of the resolution.

That home affairs were not neglected is shown by the discussions on education and the housing question, and the adoption of resolutions thereon; that on housing especially being couched in terms of explicitness:—

That this Congress protests against the ineffective and dilatory methods of the Government in dealing with housing, demands the conditions which ensure adequate houses for the workers, and the appointment of advisory committees of working women by all housing authorities. It opposes the payment of inflated war prices for land, and calls for the immediate taxation of land values by which to provide funds for building and reduce the price of land. And further, this Conference declares that unless these reforms are carried out, conscription of house-room will be justifiable, together with the acquisition of full control of land by the people.

Derby was selected as the place for next year's Conference.

## CO-OPERATIVE DIARY, 1918-19.

## 1918. DECEMBER.

- Inauguration of direct co-operative representation in Parliament by the election of Mr. A. E. Waterson for Mid-Northants as the first co-operative M.P.

## 1919. JANUARY.

4. C.W.S. Quarterly Meetings. Chief topics of discussion: the issue of Development Bonds, re-registration of consumers, the salaries of directors, application from auditors, and the employment of trade union labour by the C.W.S. Resolutions passed for the increase of C.W.S. directors' salaries to £500 per annum (plus war bonus on the same scale as that paid to the chief officials), and for every C.W.S. employee to be a member of a trade union recognised for affiliation to the Trade Unions Congress. Result of elections: Manchester District, T. J. Henson and W. Hemingway; Newcastle District, W. Clayton; London District, T. W. Allen (all for two years); auditor, T. Wood (elected to serve twelve months).
11. General C.W.S. Meeting in Manchester attended by 1,030 delegates. Ratification of Divisional Meetings' resolutions.
11. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union. Mr. Alderman Fred Hayward elected president. A Chinese society (the Szechwan C.S.) joins the Union.
25. Joint Co-operative and Trade Union Conference held at Walworth. Nearly 1,000 delegates present, representing 375 co-operative and 168 trade union organisations. Resolutions passed in favour of co-operative consolidation and development in the London area, of joint representation on the London County Council and in the Metropolitan Boroughs, of closer union, of a satisfactory standard minimum wage for all workers, and of definite efforts directed towards the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. A joint council for London was also decided on.
- Issue during the month of C.W.S. 5½ per cent Development Bonds to realise £2,500,000.

## FEBRUARY.

- Deputation from the Russo-British Co-operative Information Bureau to the Department of Overseas Trade to complain of the restrictions imposed on co-operative trade with Siberia.
- 7-8. Inter-Allied Co-operative Conference in Paris, presided over by Professor Charles Gide. Conference demands the maintenance and extension of inter-allied food committees, continuance of inter-allied control over the transport of foodstuffs, collabo-

ration of public authorities with co-operative organisations, and the creation of an international bureau of economic statistics, a commercial treaty for the League of Nations, &c. The conference also decides on the immediate institution of an inter-allied co-operative bureau for the promotion of help to societies in devastated regions.

15. At meetings in Manchester and Paisley of representatives of the Co-operative Newspaper Society and *Scottish Co-operator* respectively, resolutions were adopted for the merging of the two organisations, the chief features of the scheme adopted being the local autonomy of the *Scottish Co-operator* and the cessation of the Scottish edition of the *Co-operative News*.

## MARCH.

- 5-10. Deputation of C.W.S. trading representatives to Lyons Fair.
6. National Joint Conference of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, held in the Memorial Hall, London; 677 delegates present, representing 231 co-operative societies and 62 trade unionist organisations; Alderman F. Hayward, J.P. (chairman of the Central Board), in the chair. The conference declares for the policy of mutual support, and declares its uncompromising opposition to the pandering to private interests as shown by recommendations of the Government Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy After the War.
8. S.C.W.S. Quarterly Meeting in Glasgow. Acceptance of the Board's recommendations for extension of the stationery and jute departments and for the erection of new preserve, confectionery, and pickle factories at Shieldhall at a cost of £157,577. Directors' war bonus of £50 per annum increased to £150.
15. Annual Meeting of the Productive Federation in Leicester.
15. Managers of C.W.S. and S.C.W.S. coal departments give evidence before the Coal Commission.
15. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union. Proposed alteration of model rules (so as to allow of co-operative employees becoming eligible for election to boards of management) remitted to the Central Board.
28. St. George's Society (Glasgow) inaugurates a Welfare Council.

## APRIL.

- C.W.S. grants a 44-hour week to several thousands of employees.
2. Elections for the C.W.S. Board announced. F. Denman (Bradford) appointed to the vacancy occurring through the death of H. C. Pingstone. M. Parkes (Crewe), T. Adams (Stock-

- ton), and A. W. Golightly (Edmonton) re-elected for the Manchester, Newcastle, and London districts respectively. T. J. Baylis (Rotherham) reappointed auditor.
5. C.W.S. Divisional Meetings. Employees' peace pension fund proposal adjourned; motion for C.W.S. housing schemes defeated; scheme for whole-time auditors and retiring compensations accepted.
  5. Important judgment given in the Edinburgh Court of Session by Lord Ormisdale, who decides that the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, authorises the members of a co-operative society to appropriate a portion of the surplus for political purposes, providing that such purposes are declared in the society's rules. In this instance the Barrhead Society lost its case through a badly-framed rule, and was declared to have no power, as its rules stood, to expend its surplus for political aims.
  - 11-12. Co-operative Union's Central Board Meeting. Motions passed recommending the Congress to include land nationalisation in its programme, to approve of the provision of a war memorial, and also of a resolution with the object of protecting consumers against profiteering. Resolution also adopted for the sending of a circular to all co-operative societies, suggesting that as a condition of employment every eligible shall be a member of a trade union recognised for affiliation to the Trade Unions Congress.
  12. Manchester Meeting of the C.W.S. Weird instances recorded of Government muddling.
  12. Announcement of co-operative successes at the recent Boards of Guardians and Parish and District Council elections.
  12. Press announcement of the C.W.S. decision to purchase the designs and patterns of the Bell Motor Commercial Vehicle Works at Dewsbury, and to establish motor works at Manchester for constructing commercial motors.
  14. Death of Alderman John Allison, for many years a prominent figure in the movement in Manchester.
  - 20-21. Annual Meeting of the A.U.C.E. at Leeds, 216 branches being represented by 458 delegates, who declare in favour of efforts towards amalgamation with the Shop Assistants' Union, and reaffirm their previous decision for affiliation with the Trade Unions Congress and the National Labour Party as soon as opportunity serves.
  21. Press announcement of the purchase by the C.W.S. of the Withington Street Glass Works, Pendleton, Manchester, for £19,500.
  26. Annual Conference of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale, held in Glasgow, 145 organisations being represented by 145 delegates. Conference adopts resolution embodying reconstruction proposals and also resolutions embodying a claim for autonomy in regard to the political organisation of Scottish co-operators.
  26. Joint Conference of Co-operators and Trade Unionists held in Manchester, over 700 delegates, including 200 representing trade unionist organisations. Conference declares for mutual co-operation between the two movements with a view to the control of industry by the consumers and workers.
  29. Mr. T. W. Allen, director of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress, and deputy-chairman of the Consumers' Council of the Ministry of Food, receives a knighthood.
- MAY.**
3. Great Co-operative and Trade Unionist Demonstration at the Albert Hall, London, Mr. T. Killon (chairman of the C.W.S.) presiding. George Bernard Shaw moves the resolution declaring for united action and Robert Smillie supports.
  3. Transfer of the 35 motor lorries and garage of the Cotton Industry Motor Transport Ltd. to the C.W.S.
  10. Co-operative Union's United Board Meeting in Manchester. Announcement of the formation of a joint committee representing the Irish Section of the Co-operative Union, the Irish Wholesale Society, and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, with the object of preventing friction and overlapping between the distributive and agricultural societies.
  31. Retirement of Mr. James Odgers, general manager of the Co-operative Insurance, to which he was appointed secretary in 1873.
- JUNE.**
7. Central Board Meeting. Grants to the Guilds comprise £400 for the English Women's Guild, £200 for the Scottish Women's Guild (an increase of £25), and £75 for the Irish Women's Guild (an increase of £25). New members elected to the Central Board: Messrs. Cocker and Haworth (North-Western Section), Messrs. Downie and Palmer (Scottish), Mr. Readshaw (Northern), Mrs. Cottrell (Midland), and Messrs. Dickenson and Mc.Gill (Southern).
  - 9-11. Fifty-first Annual Co-operative Congress, held in the Market Hall, Carlisle; Alderman F. Hayward (chairman of the Central Board) presiding over an assembly comprising 1,700 representatives, including fraternal delegates from France, Belgium, Russia, Sweden, Finland, and Roumania; a civic welcome by the Mayor of Carlisle forming part of the initial proceedings. The attitude of the Congress with regard to matters of public policy was expressed in resolutions demanding the application of the co-operative principle in the Government's reconstruction plans, the continuance of the Food Ministry as a permanent institution, the nationalisation of land and coal mines, and adequate

housing measures for the people, and in other resolutions approving of the principle of proportional representation, denouncing conscription, and condemning Protection disguised as Imperial Preference. Resolutions concerning co-operative measures covered the following ground: a working electoral arrangement with the Labour Party, the designation of the N.C.R.C. as the Co-operative Party, autonomy for the Scottish Parliamentary Representation Committee, the increase of the 1½d. subscription to the Union to 2d., the provision of a national co-operative war memorial, the formation of a consolidated reserve fund, a national co-operative employees' super-annuation fund, a co-operative college, the amendment of district conciliation boards, the definition of the position of co-operative employees in regard to sympathetic strikes, assistance for societies in devastated areas abroad, the establishment of an international statistical bureau, and the convening of an international conference of wholesale societies for the promoting of international trading.

14. Jubilee celebration of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society in Glasgow, Mr. R. Stewart presiding over a festive gathering of 1,800, including representatives from the Glasgow Corporation and the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of Scotland, England, Ireland, and Switzerland. At the shareholders' quarterly meeting the sum of £30,000 was voted for deserving objects.
19. Joint Advisory Council Meeting of Co-operators and Trade Unionists in London.
- 24-25. Women's Guild Congress at Middlesbrough, comprising 834 delegates under the presidency of Mrs. Hood; a mayoral welcome forming part of the inaugural proceedings. The Congress, by resolutions, pledged itself to promote an alliance between the co-operative and trade union movements, called for the development of international co-operative trading, declared against conscription, welcomed the development of cash trading, declared for a League of Peoples, and demanded adequate housing for workers.

#### JULY.

3. Result of elections for the C.W.S. Board and auditor made known. Retiring candidates all re-elected.
5. Announcement of the C.W.S. purchase of property at Kempston, near Bedford, for the purpose of establishing a branch works of the Rushden C.W.S. boot factory.
5. Co-operative Demonstration in Manchester. Co-operators assert their civic rights by holding a demonstration in Platt Fields in defiance of the Manchester City Council's prohibition.
5. Divisional Meetings of the C.W.S.

Committee's recommendations carried.

9. Conference of representatives of the Co-operative Party, the Labour Party, and the Trade Unions Parliamentary Committee, held at the House of Commons, and a sub-committee appointed to prepare a scheme for a closer union and to report to a future conference.
12. C.W.S. Meeting in Manchester. Protest against the Government's 6s. increase of the price of coal. Announcement of the C.W.S. directors' decision to withdraw from the Cotton Masters' Federation.
12. United Board Meeting in Manchester.
13. Death of Mr. A. Grierson, manager of C.W.S. tailoring factory at Broughton, Manchester.
19. Press announcement of the appointment of Mr. J. Pryse Jones as general manager of the Co-operative Insurance Society in succession to Mr. James Odgers.
19. Special Meeting (in London) of the Executive of the International Co-operative Alliance discusses the question of resuming the work of the Alliance, and decides on a meeting of the Central Committee to be held in Geneva in the following December.
21. Death of Mr. Miles Parkes, C.W.S. director since 1907.
- 21-22. Two-days strike in South Yorkshire of over 5,000 co-operative employees belonging to the A.U.C.E. Additional war bonuses granted in provisional settlement of the dispute.

#### AUGUST.

13. Mr. W. Maxwell, chairman of the International Co-operative Alliance, receives a knighthood.
11. A representative deputation of the co-operative and other working-class organisations interviews the Prime Minister at 19, Downing Street, and urges the importance of making the Food Ministry a permanent State institution. The Premier gave a sympathetic and non-committal reply.
16. Meetings of the Co-operative Newspaper Society and the *Scottish Co-operator Newspaper Society* approve the rules for the National Publishing Society, in which the two respective societies have agreed to merge their identity.
- 22-23. Strike of co-operative stores employees (members of the A.U.C.E.) in the Bolton district in Lancashire and the Airedale district of Yorkshire. The strike settled by compromise *re* wage scale after a 24-hours conference of representatives of the Hours and Wages Board and of the A.U.C.E., with A. A. Purcell (of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council) as chairman. The settlement averts the general lock-out of all the A.U.C.E. members employed in the stores of the North-Western Section—a lock-out decided on in response to the strike.

29. Death of Mr. James Young, a director of the S.C.W.S.  
 29-30. Co-operative Union's Central Board Meeting in Manchester.

#### SEPTEMBER.

13. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union, Mr. Hayward presiding. Questions dealt with included the price of bread and of milk, the recent bakers' strike, the Hours and Wages Boards, &c.  
 13. Quarterly Meeting in Edinburgh of the S.C.W.S., Mr. Robert Stewart presiding. Balance sheet for the first half of 1919 presented showed sales amounting to £11,732,872, an increase of £2,617,611, or 28.7 per cent over the corresponding half year of 1918.  
 18. The C.W.S. acquires the Reddish printing works of Taylor, Garnett, Evans, and Co., employing between 400 and 500 workpeople. The new acquisition brings the number of C.W.S. printing establishments up to five.  
 21. Great Co-operative and Labour Demonstration in Hyde Park, London, against profiteering.  
 27. Retirement announced of Mr. H. Eelsey, 31 years a director of C.W.S. Board, being first to retire under new compulsory scheme.  
 27. Half-yearly balance sheet of the C.W.S. shows a total turnover of £41,322,659, representing an increase of £11,800,082 (or 39½ per cent) on the turnover for the corresponding half of 1918, and a trading loss of £99,506.  
 27. C.W.S. employees' bonus increased: the bonus of the higher-paid em-

ployees by 10 per cent (from 55 to 65 per cent), and that of others by 15 per cent (i.e., from 75 per cent to 100 per cent).

27. Announcement of a disagreement between the Federation of Hours and Wages Boards and the A.U.C.E. as regards the North-Western settlement.

#### OCTOBER.

4. C.W.S. election results announced. Manchester District: Messrs. A. Varley and G. Hayhurst re-elected, and W. R. Blair elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Parkes. For Newcastle District, Mr. P. Coley re-elected. For London District, Mr. W. T. Charter elected to fill the vacancy due to the retirement of Mr. H. Eelsey. Mr. J. Smith re-elected as auditor.  
 4. Quarterly Divisional Meeting of the C.W.S., except at York and Bristol, where it was impossible to obtain a quorum owing to the railwaymen's strike.  
 11. C.W.S. Quarterly Meeting in Manchester. Committee's recommendations approved. Discussion as to the reinstatement of conscientious objectors.  
 24. The *Woman's Outlook* appears.  
 25. The S.C.W.S. acquires the Pleasance Works linen factory and the St. John's floorcloth works, situated at Falkland, in Fifeshire.

#### NOVEMBER.

1. The movement enters the field at municipal elections. A number of Co-operative candidates returned.

## CO-OPERATIVE CONSOLIDATION IN PARIS.

The development resulting from the consolidation of co-operation in Paris is borne witness to by the report for 1918, the first since the fusion of co-operative forces. The establishments of the new "Union des Cooperatives" have increased from 107 to 150, including 73 grocery shops, 63 butchery shops, and 17 restaurants; while the membership has increased from 16,621 to 23,334, and the turnover, apart from direct sales and laundry operations, totalled up to 30,834,235 francs, or £1,233,369—a figure signifying the tripling of the turnover during the course of last year, and that the organisation is now the leading co-operative society in the republic. The services it has rendered in opening refrigerated meat shops and keeping down prices, in opening restaurants for the benefit of the munition workers, and its efforts for revictualment in the department of the Oise after the German retreat, have all received official acknowledgment and support.



## THE C.W.S. AND THE WAR.

### A Record of Public Service.

---

**T**HROUGH the instrumentality of the Great War the nation has passed through a fiery ordeal, putting all things to the proof and effectually testing the calibre of institutions, organisations, and men. From this, the most searching ordeal recorded in history, the co-operative movement has emerged with honour untarnished and with moral reputation enhanced. Amongst economic organisations the movement has stood forth unsullied by the lust of gain.

This is writ large in the record of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which, during the war period, has figured as the foremost exemplar of co-operative principle and policy, just as in peace time it ranks as the greatest co-operative organisation on the face of the globe.

The policy of public service displayed in all its activities during the war era is revealed in the distributive sphere by the rule of keeping down prices; in the sphere of public affairs by the work of its representatives on Government committees and on the Consumers' Council; in the sphere of production by its exertions as a universal provider for the forces, and, in general, by the loyalty observed in regard to Ministerial regulations and the rendering of willing assistance to Governmental representatives at all times. Of all this the following details provide ample proof, and at the same time furnish an indication of the transformation which would have been wrought, the economies which would have been effected, and the scandals which the nation would have been spared had the whole economic organisation of the realm been conducted in the same spirit and on the same lines as those depicted herewith.

#### THE MINIMUM-PRICE POLICY OF THE C.W.S.

As the price policy of an economic organisation constitutes an infallible criterion of character, we will take, to begin with, that of the C.W.S., which during the war period made manifest the social policy of co-operation in an outstanding degree, just as the anti-social proclivities of private enterprise displayed themselves on an unparalleled scale, and by a campaign of public exploitation so intense that the Government had no alternative but to exercise its authority and charge itself with the regulation of affairs in order to deliver the nation from jeopardy. On the other hand, the C.W.S. deliberately made it its policy to conduct its affairs on the basis of minimum prices.

Take flour to begin with. To the extent of its pre-war purchases of wheat the C.W.S. kept the price of its flour down to the pre-war figure, and this at a time when private-enterprise produce mills were rushing up rates in consequence of the general scramble for

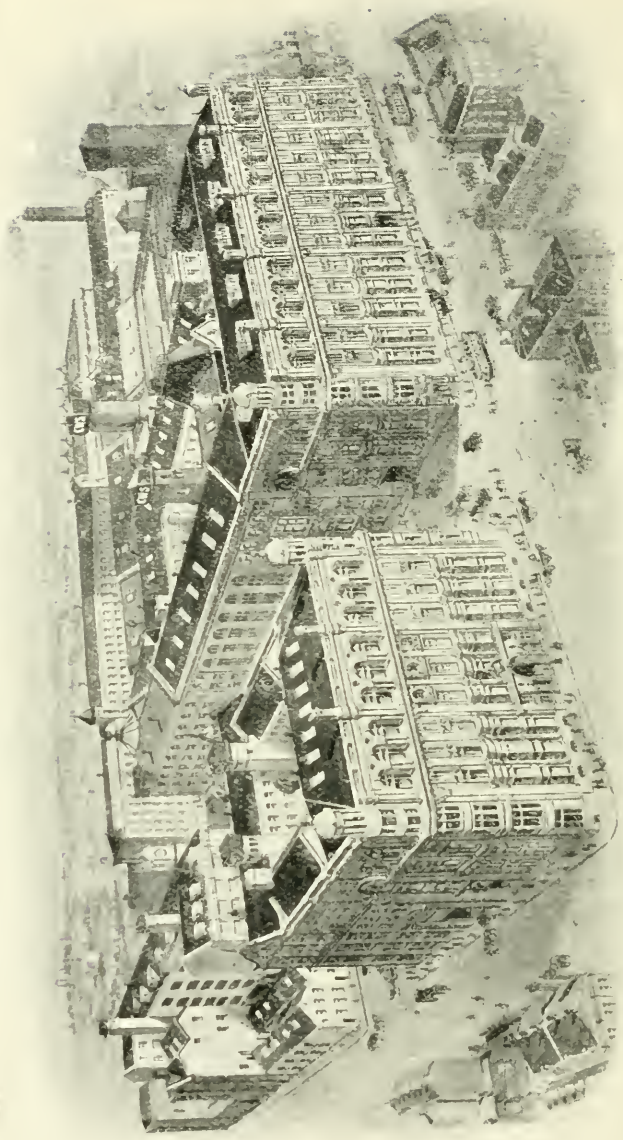
flour, which gave profiteers a special opportunity after the beginning of the war. As a result of C.W.S. policy many co-operative societies were enabled to keep the price of bread down to 5½d. per loaf, stores members were enabled to obtain war-time bread at peace price, and the movement had a great accession in numbers. Moreover, the military authorities in their early difficulties sought the advice and aid of the C.W.S., and not in vain, as shown by the supply of a large quantity of flour at cost price and the refusal to make the country's difficulties an opportunity for gain.

Next with regard to Danish butter, which for a period was sold at 15s. per cwt. less than the rates in the outside market, whilst for granulated sugar the C.W.S. charges scaled 3s. per cwt. below those of the Government before private importations were stopped; and the prices of rice and grain have been lower than those quoted by outsiders. As regards tea, it may be stated that when this article became controlled the C.W.S. invoiced its packets at ½d. per lb. less than the regulation price, and continued to do so until events showed that this method of benefiting the public was attended with legal risk—and then, and then only, was the price raised to control level. In the matter of canned goods, moreover, despite the abnormal demand and the rapid rise of prices outside, the C.W.S. fixed its prices on cost, with the result that societies received their pro-rata quantities of salmon at rates ranging as much as £1. 10s. per case below market values, whilst canned fruits were disposed of at 20s. per dozen below outside quotations, and not infrequently canned goods were sold at prices ranging fully 50 per cent below outside rates.

As regards a host of other commodities—including arrowroot, borax, cream of tartar, condensed milk, desiccated coco-nut, juice, matches, soda crystals, soap, salt, tartaric acid, and private merchants' goods—as in other cases where the C.W.S. has had a free hand, prices all through the war have been kept much below market quotations.

In the matter of green fruit, the full margin allowed during the regime of control has not been taken advantage of by the C.W.S., so that societies in this respect also have been enabled to purchase at prices lower than would have otherwise been the case. Add to these by-no-means-exhaustive particulars the fact that C.W.S. draperies, &c., have also been sold at a considerable percentage below market rates, and the all-round price policy of the Co-operative Wholesale, together with the copiousness of the benefits conferred, become sufficiently realisable to need no further elaboration.

Yet in this connection there is one thing more to which reference may be made, viz., the fact that when control became necessary, and the ordinary channels of the trade were used to distribute the food controlled by the Government, the C.W.S. elected to be placed on the lowest footing as regards rates of commission, thus saving the country as much as from 4 to 6 per cent—a saving amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of pounds.



C.W.S. CENTRAL PREMISES, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER.

## CO-OPERATION WITH GOVERNMENT.

The assistance rendered to the Government is next deserving of note. The warehouses of the Wholesale have been extensively used for Government purposes, and in this connection reference may be made to the C.W.S. warehouses placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Food for the purpose of grading butters and the storage of cheese. Furthermore, C.W.S. buyers in Ireland, America, Canada, Denmark, &c., have been engaged in the work of providing supplies for the various Government departments; and the services rendered will be made clear by a little particularisation. Thus, for instance, on August 31st, 1917, cable messages were sent both from Manchester and the Ministry of Food to the C.W.S. manager of the New York Depot (the late Mr. John Gledhill) informing him of his appointment as buyer of provisions for the British Government, and also requesting that a consultation with Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, of the U.S. Food Administration, should precede operations, which commenced a fortnight later, and in which Mr. A. C. Wieland, of the Montreal Depot (subsequently called on as coadjutor), gave valuable aid. In December of the same year the formation of the Allied Provision Export Commission (comprising the British, French, Italian, and Belgian Ministries of Food) as the sole purchasing organisation for practically all edibles exported from the States to the Allies, led to the appointment of the New York C.W.S. representative as a member of the Commission; and at his demise, while in harness, so to speak, in February, 1918, his successor at the New York Depot (Mr. Murphy) was elected on the Commission in his stead, and so remained till its dissolution in February, 1919, the New York Depot meanwhile providing gratuitous office accommodation for British Ministry of Food meat inspectors.

The Government Currant Purchasing Commission (of five members) sent out to Greece, in which a C.W.S. representative (Mr. Mills) took part, is also worthy of reference, the plan of operations having been worked out by the Government department in consultation with the Dried-Fruit Advisory Board, of which another C.W.S. representative (Mr. Mastin) was a member. The methods that have been in use for many years and found most easily workable by C.W.S. buyers on their annual visits to the East, and described at Advisory Board meetings by the C.W.S. representative, were adopted with unimportant variations by the Ministry of Food—the fact that the private traders on the Advisory Board could suggest no acceptable improvements affording a sufficient tribute to the efficacy of C.W.S. methods. But for the inability of the Shipping Controller to supply the requisite number of vessels the operations in Greece would have been a complete success.

## AS MINISTERIAL ADVISERS.

The work performed by C.W.S. representatives as Ministerial advisers and as shapers of public policy comes next in review, and how

the movement was represented in this special connection may be seen from the subjoined list. The first six names are those of members of the C.W.S. Board of Directors, the rest being those of managers of works and heads of departments.

SIR T. W. ALLEN .....	Consumers' Council; Assistant Secretary to Food Controller.
MR. W. LANDER.....	War Pensions Committee; Reconstruction Committee.
„ J. E. JOHNS.....	Tea Advisory Committee.
„ W. E. DUDLEY .....	Consumers' Council.
„ H. ELSEY.....	Orders Committee, Ministry of Food.
„ P. COLEY.....	Consumers' Council, Cocoa Advisory Committee, and Coffee Advisory Committee.
„ A. W. LOBB.....	Advisory Committee on Eggs and Egg Products, Butter and Cheese Advisory Committee, and member of the Butter and Cheese Imports Committee constituted by the Ministry of Food.
„ J. MASTIN .....	Dried Fruit Advisory Committee.
„ C. HOWARD.....	Jam Advisory Committee.
„ J. S. OLDHAM .....	Advisory Committee on Bacon.
„ J. A. HEWETT.....	Fish Cannery, Board of Directors.
„ J. E. GREEN .....	Oils and Fats Advisory Committee.
„ A. E. GOUGH .....	Chief Inspector, Cheese Section, Ministry of Food.
„ A. T. WHILEY.....	Milk Section, Ministry of Food.
„ H. BORGES .....	Margarine Clearing House Committee, and Margarine Advisory Committee.
„ J. MILLS .....	Government Buying Deputation to Greece.
„ C. O'SULLIVAN (Cork)	Grader under Government Butter Control Scheme.
„ W. J. MURPHY .....	Allied Provision Export Commission (U.S.A.).
„ R. TURNER.....	Retail Tea Section, Ministry of Food.
„ T. PARKINSON.....	Member of the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies, Flour Mills Control Committee.
„ W. GIBSON .....	Chairman of the Manchester, North Wales, and North-Western District Advisory Committee on Standard Clothing; Member of the Advisory Committee on Flannels, Blankets, and Hosiery; Army Contracts Advisory Committee.

MR. O. H. EDWARDS ..... Cocoa Advisory Committee, Raw Cocoa Advisory Committee, Cocoa-Butter Advisory Committee, Cocoa Allocation Committee, and Cocoa and Chocolate Advisory Committee.

#### CO-OPERATIVE STEWARDSHIP.

A few particulars will serve as a general indication of the manner in which the C.W.S. representatives discharged their stewardship. Take, to begin with, the regulations with regard to tea, the flat retail price of which was instituted owing to the retail trade failing to carry out instructions strictly and to sell at the prices laid down in the control order. In this connection it may be stated that the C.W.S. representative on the retail tea section of the Ministry of Food called attention to the fact that the Government held control over the railways, and that it was the duty of the Ministry of Food to arrange that the cost of tea, including carriage, should be made uniform for all parts of the kingdom, details concerning cost and explanations of methods being also given, and the wisdom of the proposal being shown by the final adoption of the scheme after a preliminary rejection.

The proceedings on the Dried-Fruit Advisory Committee furnish another significant illustration. Here again the feeling of the private traders on the committee was to pursue the traditional methods and to keep to the old channels of trade, in opposition to the policy of direct buying urged and explained by the C.W.S. representative, whose policy ultimately received official approval and adoption, the outcome being the despatch of direct buying commissions to Greece, Spain, and America, on the first and most important of which a C.W.S. representative was appointed, as has been already stated, together with the fact that tonnage difficulties proved the solitary obstacle to the achievement of complete success, whereon other arrangements had then to be made. Suffice it to state that a comparison of the results attained by direct buying and by the alternative system afforded the Food Controller a sufficing demonstration of the superiority in cheapness of direct operations.

Reference must also be made to the efforts of co-operative representatives to secure the abolition of restrictions prejudicial to the consumer. Thus with regard to apple importation every endeavour was made, by continuous representations to the Government, to secure the abolition of the embargo which had been imposed. On the Potato Advisory Committee, on which both the English and Scottish Wholesales were represented, urgent and repeated appeals were made for the abolition of potato control, with the object of cheapening the supply. As for oranges and lemons, the withdrawal of Government control was due to the C.W.S. in great measure, the results bearing witness to the extent to which the measure was justified.

## ON THE CONSUMERS' COUNCIL.

Last, but by no means least, comes the record of work of co-operative representatives on the Consumers' Council, whose deliberations began in February, 1918, the co-operative delegation consisting of representatives both of the English and Scottish Wholesales, whilst a member of the Women's Co-operative Guild formed one of the three representatives of women's industrial organisations. The policy of the co-operative delegation may be gathered from the fact that all its influence at the very beginning was brought to bear with regard to the question of prices, and first of all to secure the adoption of a flat rate for tea and the reduction of the price to 2s. 6d. per lb., a resolution to the latter effect being adopted in the month following the first meeting. Next came the co-operative pressure to secure a flat rate on sugar, the result being that the Council adopted the co-operative resolution recommending the sale of sugar at a wholesale carriage-paid rate, with a view to the establishment of a flat retail price. The voicing of the huge volume of public discontent with regard to the continuous raising of price also went along with constructive proposals, and it was urged that a strong note of admonition be addressed to the ruling authorities concerning the gravity of the position and the dangers attached.

Along with all this went the efforts to secure fair play for the co-operative movement—both by the reconstruction of Food Control Committees and in other ways—the co-operative contention being that it should be a definite instruction to the local authorities to appoint co-operative members; that co-operation was entitled to at least one-fourth of the membership, and labour an equal proportion; the remaining half to be appointed by the local authorities; and events have since indicated the public advantages that would have been gained had these proposals been adopted. The consumer's right of transfer of registration with retailers was also forcibly urged, with the result that the Council signified its approval by the adoption of a co-operatively-moved resolution signifying a recommendation for the carrying of these views into effect. January, 1919, found the Council again deliberating on matters relating to margarine and tea, and the co-operative representatives standing out strongly for uniform rates throughout the country.

And if co-operators may justly claim credit for their work on the Consumers' Council, and for their share in raising the Council to the influential position it attained in connection with the Food Controllership, they may also point to the fact that they have looked to the future and are pressing for a continuance of the Ministry of Food to safeguard the consumer.

## EQUIPPING THE FORCES.

In its contribution to the equipment of the British and Allied forces during the war the C.W.S. has likewise done yeoman service, the scale

of which may be realised by the large volume of outfits supplied to the British army and navy, the Ministry of Munitions, the Women's Land Army, our Indian troops, for Kaffir labour, and for the Allied Governments (French, Belgian, Italian, and American). It may be stated that within a month from the declaration of war the C.W.S. was engaged on the task of supplying emergency suits for Kitchener's Army, and such was the energy put into the work that the whole of this abnormal task was completed in record time; delivery commencing in three weeks from receipt of orders, and supplies being despatched at the rate of 10,000 suits per day. By degrees the productive works and factories became exclusively employed on Government output, and every credit is due to the managers and employees for the efficient manner in which the work was got through. As to the classes of articles supplied it is sufficient to state that a mere list of details would take up a full page. Suffice it to say that the equipments comprised clothing and underclothing of every description, from serge and khaki suits and singlets and socks to boots and braces, pocket handkerchiefs, oilskin clothing, and sou'-westers, to say nothing of woollen blankets, tooth and hair brushes, knives, forks, and spoons, towels, hold-alls, and armlets, brushes, blacking, and clasp-knives, and a host of other articles too numerous to mention.

It is a satisfaction to know that the C.W.S. received the recognition they merited.

#### AS UNIVERSAL PROVIDER.

It remains to add a few words with regard to the work done in other directions by the C.W.S. in its capacity as universal provider. A week from the outbreak of war the C.W.S. was engaged on the task of catering for the East Lancashire Territorials and feeding many thousands of troops—a work in which the active co-operation of a number of large societies was sought and willingly given, and a work which continued till such times as the troops were despatched to other spheres. On the formation of the Canteen Board, the C.W.S. was then, without solicitation, placed on the list of those authorised to conduct army canteens, and in connection with this work canteens were opened by the C.W.S. at Doncaster, Clipstone, Newtown (Mon.), Whalley, and elsewhere, including Weeton, where the C.W.S. was the sole contractor for the large force of men encamped there for several months. The Wholesale Society also supplied commodities in large quantities to the Canteen and Mess Society, in addition to running canteens, which, along with the rest, were ultimately taken over by the War Office, to which the C.W.S. meanwhile supplied foodstuffs to a large extent.

In other directions also the C.W.S. extended its activities, and notably in the post parcels service to troops, parcels ranging from Christmas puddings at a popular price to mixed parcels at cheap rates, a service which unfortunately had to be discontinued after the second year owing to the shortage of supplies. Meanwhile the C.W.S. continued its despatch of parcels for smokers, and on a duty-free basis, the total



number of parcels of this character amounting to a quarter of a million, and the postage thereof costing £13,000; whilst the number of cigarettes sent out totalled up to no less than 50 millions, and the number of cigars to 150,000, whilst the amount of tobacco figured out at 60 tons.

#### C.W.S. EMPLOYEES AND THE EUROPEAN WAR.

The war services of C.W.S. employees must also be accorded the tribute due. How well C.W.S. staffs have served their country is shown by the enlistment of practically 6,000 members and the fact that nearly 600 have laid down their lives in the national service, while the awarding of 90 British and three foreign distinctions equally serves to show how nobly co-operative employees have played their part. Add to this the payment by the C.W.S. of a sum of nearly £700,000 in wages to employees after joining the colours, together with the guarantee of equivalent reinstatement on return, and it will be seen how far both sides have vied with each other in their country's cause.

Statement showing the following information up to December 28th, 1918, and May 31st, 1919:—

	As on Dec. 28th, 1918.	As on Oct. 25th, 1919.
(1) Approximate cost in Wages to all Employees who have joined the Colours—		
(a) Present cost per week .....	£3,400	£125
(b) Total payments to date, since commencement of War.....	£628,000	£59,400
(2) Total number of Employees enlisted.....	5,996	5,996
Number of Employees who have been officially reported "Killed," "Died of Wounds," or "Died through Sickness".....	563	600
Number officially reported "Missing" .....	86	80
Number demobilised or discharged as no longer fit for Service.....	458	4,807
Number with Fores .....	4,889	509

#### SUMMARY OF MILITARY OR NAVAL DISTINCTIONS AWARDED TO C.W.S. EMPLOYEES DURING THE WAR.

Award.	No. of Employees.
D.S.O. ....	1
Military Cross.....	3
Royal Flying Medal .....	1
D.C.M. ....	16
Military Medal .....	64
Meritorious Service Medal.....	4
Certificate.....	1
Total British.....	90
French Medal Militaire .....	1
Croix de Guerre Belge .....	1
Russian Order of St. George (second class) .....	1
Grand Total.....	93

## A CONTRAST AND THE MORAL.

From the preceding sketch the reader is now in a position to realise the value of the services rendered by the Co-operative Wholesale Society during the war crisis, both to the Government and the nation at large—services constituting a co-operative object-lesson of unqualified significance when contrasted with the cupidity and profiteering which have nauseated the public to the uttermost limit. In a word, the co-operative spirit, the co-operative organisation, and the co-operative policy have proved their moral superiority in a national crisis and on a national scale, and this despite all the difficulties placed in the way of the movement and the weighting of the scales of justice on behalf of its adversaries. True to its mission, the Co-operative Wholesale has made the public weal its vital concern in diametrical opposition to the bacchanalia of gain-seeking by which the private interests have gained an unenviable fame—interests which, after gorging on the spoils of war, have now inaugurated the era of peace with a campaign of rapacity no less flagrant than heretofore—a campaign conveying a dual admonition to the huge mass of the nation, viz., that it behoves the people to make a consolidated effort to escape from the regime of mere self-seeking, and that co-operation shows the way out.

## “ NATIONALISATION ” IN CANADA.

AT the commencement of 1919 the people of Canada, through their representatives in Parliament, agreed to acquire by arbitration the capital stock of the Canadian Northern Railway Company. Its lines—almost 10,000 miles—were consolidated with other railways which previously had been administered by the Minister of Railways in the Government of Canada. The new system was named Canadian National Railways, and it was placed under a single board of directors, in the selection of whom political consideration in the usual acceptance of the term has no weight. Men of outstanding ability and integrity identified with successful Canadian industrial and commercial enterprises were chosen.

Practically, this means that government ownership has been put into effect with a system serving every province of the Dominion, and having a total mileage of about 14,000—about 35 per cent of the railway mileage of Canada.

This railway system is also to operate Canada's national merchant fleet, now under construction. The contract for

the ships, 45 in number, was placed with shipbuilding firms in Canada by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. It is interesting to note that from an Order in Council which has been passed several plans for the disposition and operation of the vessels were considered, as follows: (1) By the regular steamship operators on a basis of hire or commission to be agreed upon; (2) by an organisation to be formed within the Department, subject to and under instructions from the Minister; (3) by the Canadian National Railways; (4) by sale to private interests on terms to be agreed upon, and subject to the condition that they should be available for Canadian trade so long as any such trade is offering. As a result it was decided to transfer the vessels to the Canadian National Railways for operation and maintenance, the terms of repayment being as follow, with interest at 5½ per cent: 1st year, 20 per cent; 2nd, 15 per cent; 3rd, 10 per cent; 4th, 10 per cent; 5th, 10 per cent; 6th, 10 per cent; 7th, 10 per cent; 8th, 5 per cent; 9th, 5 per cent; and 10th, 5 per cent.

## C.W.S. PRODUCTIVE WORKS.

Particulars of Supplies and Results of Working for Years ended June 22nd, 1918, and June 28th, 1919.

	Year Ended June 22nd, 1918.			Year Ended June 28th, 1919 (53 weeks).		
	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.
	£	£	s. d.	£	£	s. d.
Biscuit, &c., Works: Crumpsall....	307,371	8,478	0 6½	457,916	11,980	0 6½
Preserve, &c., Works: Middleton..	1,130,556	57,098	1 0	1,801,454	a20,241	0 2½
Soap Works: Irlam, Silvertown, Dunston .....	2,244,139	96,432	0 10½	2,309,901	a 1,508	0 0½
Flour and Provender Mills: Duns- ton, Silvertown, Sun, Star, Avon- mouth, Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, Slaithwaite, Hull.....	8,126,777	74,474	0 2½	8,604,344	43,228	0 1½
Tobacco Works: Manchester.....	1,004,273	3,171	0 0½	1,558,790	a19,345	0 2½
Lard Refinery: West Hartlepool ..	243,591	16,259	1 4	390,662	20,739	1 0½
Margarine Works: Higher Irlam ..	566,572	40,458	1 5½	1,653,973	a50,188	0 7½
Printing Works: Longsight, Leicester, Pelaw .....	391,171	4,078	0 2½	485,062	a 9,818	0 4½
Colliery Works: Shilbottle.....	60,786	(a)2,534	0 10	72,970	a 747	0 2½
Flannel Works: Littleborough ....	91,091	1,674	0 4½	142,393	a 8,412	1 1½
Hosiery Works: Huthwaite .....	353,159	4,633	0 3½	383,891	1,849	0 3
Corset Works: Desborough.....	83,287	220	0 6½	130,964	a 776	0 1½
Shirt Factories: Broughton, Pelaw..	240,146	1,089	0 1	366,216	3,282	0 2½
Woollen Mills: Batley.....	81,063	2,539	0 7½	113,592	3,517	0 7½
Weaving Sheds: Bury, Radcliffe ..	398,091	170	..	576,290	8,659	0 3½
Clothing Factories: Leeds, Broughton, Pelaw .....	239,606	229	0 0½	624,025	16,057	0 6½
Boot and Shoe Works: Leicester, Heekmondwike, Rushden .....	1,033,411	20,930	0 4½	1,329,527	27,354	0 4½
Cabinet Factories: Broughton, Pelaw .....	114,983	1,046	0 2½	167,962	a 65	..
Brush Works: Leeds .....	46,322	177	0 0½	59,826	765	0 3
Iron Works: Keighley.....	32,994	455	0 3½	41,397	637	0 3½
Bucket and Pender Works: Dudley	37,802	2,168	1 1½	48,368	4,882	2 0½
Tinplate Works: Birtley.....	6,203	(a) 270	0 10½	6,548	79	0 2½
Paint and Varnish Works: Roehdale	26,454	(a) 692	0 6½	44,576	a 375	0 2
	16,862,848	332,282	0 4½	21,370,587	31,853	0 0½

(a) Loss.

## C.W.S. PROGRESS

From Commencement in March, 1864, to December, 1918.

YEAR ENDED	Number of Members belonging to C.W.S. Share-holders.	Shares.	Net Sales.	Net Profit.	Average Dividend Paid per £.
			£	£	d.
October, 1864 (30 weeks)	18,337	2,455	51,857	267	1½
" 1865	24,005	7,182	120,754	1,858	3½
" 1866	31,030	10,968	175,489	2,310	3
January, 1868 (65 weeks)	59,349	11,276	331,744	4,411	3
" 1869	74,737	14,888	412,240	4,862	2½
" 1870	79,245	16,556	507,217	4,248	1½
" 1871 (53 weeks)	89,880	19,015	677,734	7,626	2½
" 1872	114,588	24,410	758,764	7,867	2½
" 1873	134,276	31,352	1,153,132	11,116	2½
" 1874	168,985	48,126	1,636,950	14,233	2½
" 1875	198,608	60,930	1,964,829	20,684	2
" 1876	249,516	78,249	2,247,395	26,750	2½
" 1877 (53 weeks)	276,522	94,590	2,697,366	36,979	2
" 1878	274,649	103,091	2,827,052	29,189	2
" 1879	305,161	117,657	2,705,625	34,959	2½
December, 1879 (50 weeks)	331,625	130,615	2,645,331	42,764	2½
" 1880	361,523	146,061	3,339,681	42,090	2½
" 1881	367,973	156,052	3,574,095	46,850	2½
" 1882	404,006	171,940	4,038,238	49,658	2½
" 1883	433,151	186,692	4,546,889	47,885	2½
" 1884 (53 weeks)	459,734	207,080	4,675,371	54,491	2½
" 1885	507,772	234,112	4,793,151	77,630	3½
" 1886	558,104	270,679	5,223,179	83,328	3½
" 1887	604,800	300,953	5,713,235	65,141	2½
" 1888	634,196	318,583	6,200,074	82,490	2½
" 1889 (53 weeks)	679,336	342,218	7,028,914	101,984	3½
" 1890	721,316	434,017	7,429,073	126,979	3½
" 1891	751,269	473,956	8,766,430	135,008	3½
" 1892	824,149	523,512	9,300,904	98,532	2½
" 1893	873,698	570,149	9,526,167	84,156	2½
" 1894	910,104	598,496	9,443,938	126,192	2½
" 1895 (53 weeks)	930,985	635,541	10,141,917	192,766	3½
" 1896	993,564	682,656	11,115,056	177,419	3½
" 1897	1,053,564	728,749	11,920,143	135,561	3½
" 1898	1,118,158	775,536	12,574,748	231,256	4½
" 1899	1,179,609	821,224	14,212,375	286,250	4
" 1900	1,249,091	883,791	16,043,889	289,141	4
" 1901 (53 weeks)	1,315,235	948,944	17,612,082	288,321	4
" 1902	1,392,399	1,006,894	18,397,559	336,369	4
" 1903	1,445,099	1,043,031	19,333,142	297,304	4
" 1904	1,594,145	1,196,703	19,809,196	332,374	4
" 1905	1,635,527	1,307,341	20,785,469	304,568	4
" 1906	1,703,564	1,388,338	22,510,035	410,680	4
" 1907 (53 weeks)	1,768,935	1,476,021	24,786,568	488,571	4
" 1908	1,845,415	1,570,732	24,902,842	371,497	4
" 1909	1,925,517	1,657,305	25,675,938	549,080	4
" 1910	1,991,576	1,740,619	26,567,833	462,169	4
" 1911	2,067,776	1,830,511	27,892,990	579,913	4
" 1912 (53 weeks)	2,160,191	1,916,151	29,732,154	613,007	4
" 1913	2,272,496	2,039,054	31,371,976	636,119	4
" 1914	2,336,460	2,130,959	34,910,813	840,069	5
" 1915	2,535,972	2,284,758	43,101,747	1,086,962	6
" 1916	2,653,227	2,653,774	52,230,071	1,519,005	5
" 1917	2,748,277	2,981,133	57,710,132	1,150,732	3
" 1918 (53 weeks)	2,854,584	3,195,737	65,167,960	(a) 16,188	1
			753,049,486	13,035,482	3½

(a) Loss.

## LANDMARKS IN C.W.S. HISTORY.

1864.  
 Mar. 14. C.W.S. commenced business at  
 1868. 3, Cooper Street, Manchester.  
 June 1. Kilmallock Purchasing Depôt  
 1869. opened.  
 Mar. 1. First Balloon Street Warehouse  
 opened.  
 July 12. Limerick Depôt opened.  
 1872.  
 May —. Newcastle Premises opened.  
 Aug. —. Manchester Boot and Shoe Dept.  
 constituted.  
 Oct. 14. Deposit and Loan Dept. com-  
 1873. menced.  
 Jan. 13. Crumpsall Works purchased.  
 April 14. Armagh Depôt opened.  
 June 2. Manchester Drapery Dept. com-  
 menced.  
 July 14. Waterford Depôt opened.  
 Sept. 15. Leicester Boot and Shoe Works  
 1874. (Duns Lano) commenced.  
 Feb. 2. Tralee Depôt opened.  
 Mar. 9. London Branch opened in the  
 Minories.  
 Mar. —. Joint Action with Scottish  
 C.W.S. begun.  
 May —. Mr. James Crabtree retires from  
 the chairmanship. Mr. J. T.  
 W. Mitchell succeeds.  
 Sept. 20. Durham Soap Works purchased.  
 Dec. —. Leicester Factory (Duns Lane)  
 1875. purchased.  
 April 2. Liverpool Purchasing Dept. com-  
 menced.  
 June 15. Manchester Drapery Warehouse,  
 1876. Dantzic Street, opened.  
 Feb. 21. New York Depôt established.  
 May 24. S.S. *Plover* purchased.  
 July 16. Manchester Furnishing Dept.  
 commenced.  
 C.W.S. Loan and Deposit Dept.  
 1877. becomes the Banking Dept.  
 Jan. 15. Cork Depôt established.  
 April —. Bugle Horn Colliery taken over  
 1879. by C.W.S.  
 Jan. 18. Garston Forwarding Depôt com-  
 menced.  
 Feb. 21. S.S. *Pioneer* launched.  
 Mar. 24. Rouen Depôt opened.  
 June 30. Goole Forwarding Depôt opened.  
 1880.  
 Jan. 1. *C.W.S. Annual* first issued.  
 June 30. S.S. *Plover* sold.  
 Aug. 14. Heckmondwike Boot and Shoe  
 1881. Works commenced.  
 Jan. 12. Leman Street (London) Premises  
 opened.  
 S.S. *Cambrian* purchased.  
 June 6. Copenhagen Depôt opened.  
 1882.  
 Mar. —. Bugle Horn Colliery sold.  
 Oct. 31. Leeds Saleroom opened.  
 Nov. 1. Tea Dept. (London) commenced.  
 1883.  
 July —. Direct Cargo of Tea for C.W.S.  
 comes from China.  
 S.S. *Marianne Briggs* bought and  
 1884. renamed *Unity*.  
 Sept. 29. Bristol Depôt com'ced business.  
 Oct. 6. S.S. *Progress* launched.  
 Hamburg Depôt opened.
1885.  
 Aug. 25. Huddersfield Saleroom opened.  
 1886.  
 April 22. Nottingham Saleroom opened.  
 Aug. 25. Longton Depôt opened.  
 Oct. 12. S.S. *Federation* launched.  
 1887.  
 Mar. 14. Batley Mill commenced.  
 Aug. 29. Heckmondwike Currying Dept.  
 commenced.  
 Oct. —. Employees' Sick and Burial Club  
 instituted.  
 Nov. 2. Manufacture of Cocoa and Choco-  
 late commenced.  
 Nov. 2. London (Leman Street) New  
 Premises opened.  
 1888. Enderby Boot Factory opened.  
 July —. S.S. *Equity* launched.  
 1890.  
 May 16. Blackburn Saleroom opened.  
 June 10. Leeds Clothing Factory com-  
 menced.  
 Oct. 22. Northampton Saleroom opened.  
 1891.  
 Mar. 14. Land Purchased at Broughton.  
 April 18. Dunston Corn Mill opened.  
 June —. Site for Irlam Works purchased.  
 Oct. 22. Cardiff Saleroom opened.  
 Nov. 4. Leicester Wheatsheaf Works  
 opened.  
 Nov. 4. Aarhus Depôt opened.  
 1892.  
 May 5. Birmingham Saleroom opened.  
 1893.  
 May 8. Broughton Cabinet Factory op'd.  
 1894.  
 Jan. 1. Ship Canal opened for Traffic.  
 S.S. *Pioneer* first Merchant  
 Vessel to reach Manchester  
 from overseas.  
 June —. Montreal Depôt established.  
 Oct. 2. Irlam Works opened.  
 1895. Broughton Tailoring Factory  
 commenced.  
 Jan. 23. Printing Dept. commenced.  
 Mar. 9. First C.W.S. Creamery (Castle-  
 mahon) acquired.  
 Mar. 16. Death of Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell.  
 Mr. J. Shillito elected Chairman.  
 June —. Durham Soap Works closed.  
 Aug. 5. Gothenburg Depôt opened.  
 Oct. —. S.S. *Unity* run down and sunk  
 1896. in River Seine.  
 April 24. West Hartlepool Lard Refinery  
 purchased.  
 June 13. Roden Estate purchased.  
 June 26. Middleton Jam Works com-  
 menced.  
 July 1. The *Wheatsheaf* first published.  
 Denia Depôt opened.  
 Broughton Mantle, Shirt, and  
 1897. Underclothing Factories op'd.  
 Feb. 10. Northampton (Guildhall Road)  
 Premises opened.  
 Mar. 1. Broughton New Tailoring Fac-  
 tory opened.  
 Mar. 22. London Tea Dept. New Premises  
 opened.  
 Aug. 7. Sydney Depôt commenced.

1898.  
 Mar. 12. Tobacco Factory (Manchester) purchased.  
 April 1. Littleborough Flannel Mill acquired.  
 June 26. Odense Dépôt opened.  
 July 11. Longsight Printing Works commenced.  
 Dec. 16. Rushden Boot Factory purchased.
1900.  
 Jan. 19. Herning Bacon Factory purchased.  
 April 14. Silvertown Flour Mills opened.  
 1901.  
 April 30. Sydney Tallow Factory purchased.  
 July 27. Roden Convalescent Home op'd.  
 Sept. —. Bute Terrace (Cardiff) Premises opened.  
 Sept. 3. Tralee Bacon Factory commenced.  
 1902.  
 April 9. Pershore Street (Birmingham) New Premises opened, and Cycle Dépôt established.  
 May 1. Work commenced at Pelaw Drug Factory.  
 June 21. Nugawella and Weliganga (Ceylon) Tea Estates purchased.  
 Sept. 8. Luton Cocoa Works opened.  
 Sept. —. Work commenced at Pelaw Cabinet Factory.  
 Nov. 1. Launch of S.S. *Unity* (H.).
1903.  
 June 20. Trafford Wharf and land purchased.  
 July 1. Leicester Hosiery Factory taken over.  
 Oct. 24. Launch of S.S. *Fraternity*, London Brushmaking transferred to Leeds.  
 1904.  
 Jan. 25. Employees start Thrift Fund.  
 Feb. 20. Marden Fruit Farm purchased.  
 April 18. New Drapery Buildings (Manchester) opened.  
 June 20. Brislington Butter Factory commenced.  
 July 1. Huddersfield Brush Factory taken over.  
 Collective Life Assurance instituted by C.I.S.  
 Silvertown Grocery Productive Factory built.
1905.  
 Feb. 15. Weaving commenced at Bury.  
 July 3. Desborough Corset Factory op'd.  
 Sept. 5. Esbjerg Dépôt opened.  
 Oct. 26. Launch of S.S. *New Pioneer*.
1906.  
 Jan. 1. Rochdale Flour Mill taken over.  
 Mar. 31. Star Mill (Oldham) taken over.  
 April 28. Sun Flour Mill bought.  
 May 16. Broad Quay (Bristol) Premises opened.  
 Dec. —. East Coast Shipping Dept. closed.  
 Dec. 15. Land and Buildings Purchased for Leeds New Brush Works.  
 1907.  
 Aug. —. Minimum Wage extended to all Adult Male Employees.  
 Oct. 1. Huddersfield New Saleroom op'd.
1908.  
 Feb. 4. Huthwaite Hosiery Factory commenced.  
 May 18. Silvertown Soap Works opened.  
 June 29. Keighley Ironworks, Dudley Bucket and Fender Works, and Birtley Tinplate Works taken over.
1909.  
 Jan. 16. Irish Creamery Conference. C.W.S. agree to transfer Creameries.  
 Feb. 15. Dunston-on-Tyne Soap Works opened.  
 Feb. 22. Pontefract Fellmongering commenced.  
 April 5. Leicester Printing Works commenced.  
 1910.  
 April 27. Avonmouth Flour Mill opened.  
 July 19. Leman Street (London) Extensions opened.  
 Dec. 1. Rochdale Paint Works commenced.  
 1912.  
 Mar. 16. Land Bought for Leeds Boot and Shoe Works.  
 July 3. C.W.S. Health Insurance Section formed.  
 Aug. 6. Wisbech Estate purchased.  
 Aug. 12. Radcliffe Weaving Shed commenced.  
 Dec. 21. Delegates recommend Adoption of Minimum Wage for Girl and Women Workers on the "Congress" Scale.
1913.  
 Jan. 20. Sheffield Shirt Factory opened.  
 Denmark (Ceylon) Tea Estate purchased.  
 Lower Barcaple and Westhall (Ceylon) Tea Estates purchased.  
 Sept. 13. Clitheroe Estates purchased.  
 Sept. 26. First Food Ship (S.S. *Hare*) left Ship Canal for Dublin.  
 Dépôt at Makene (Sierra Leone) established.
1914.  
 South Wynaad (Southern India) Tea Estates purchased.  
 Dépôt at Acera (Gold Coast) established.  
 Freetown (Sierra Leone) Trading Store opened.
1915.  
 Feb. 12. Mr. John Shillito (Chairman) died.  
 Mar. 5. Mr. T. Tweddell appointed Chairman.
- July 1. Halifax Flour Mill taken over.  
 July 1. Sowerby Bridge Flour Mill taken over.  
 July 1. Colne Vale Flour Mill taken over.  
 July 1. Unity Cutlery Society and Federated Cutlers taken over.
- Mar. 23. Mr. Thos. Tweddell (Chairman) died.  
 April 14. Mr. T. Killon appointed Chairman.  
 Aug. 19. Whitgift Estate (Goole) purchased.  
 Sept. 16. Marshland Estate (Goole) purchased.  
 Oct. 2. Rixton Estate purchased.  
 Oct. —. Weston Hall Estate purchased.  
 Nov. 1. Birmingham Pinafore, &c., Factory commenced.  
*Producer* first published.
- Dec. 5. African Oil Mill (Liverpool) acquired.
1917.  
 Jan. Purchase of Wiltens Farm, Canada, comprising 10,240 acres.  
 Jan. Purchase of land at Port Harcourt, West Africa.  
 Jan. 13. Shilbottle Colliery purchased.  
 Feb. 3. Delphi Mill taken over.  
 April 28. Clayton Vinegar Brewery purchased.

1917.	1918.
July 7. Congleton Dairy purchased.	Mar. —. Wilmington Flour Mills (Hull) acquired, also S.S. <i>Aegir</i> and 10 lighters.
Aug. 4. Checkley and Blakenhall Estates purchased.	Mar. —. Clothing Factory at Crewe acquired.
Aug. 17. Empire Works (Acton) purchased.	Mar. —. Dairy acquired at Congleton.
Sept. —. Purchase of Avenue Mill (Cotton Weaving) at Chorley.	Mar. —. Land and Buildings acquired at Manchester, Middleton Junction, and London for extensions.
Sept. —. Purchase of Land at Lagos, West Africa.	June —. Hebden Bridge Fustian Factory acquired.
Sept. —. Joint Purchase (with the S.C.W.S.) of new Tea Plantations in Southern India and Ceylon.	June —. Warth Mill (Woolen Weaving), Diggle, acquired.
Sept. —. Joint Purchase (with the S.C.W.S.) of Land at Acera, West Africa, for extension of Depot.	June —. Britannia Dairy, Bruton, acquired.
Sept. —. Acquisition by the C.W.S. of Land at Silvertown, Poulton (Birkenhead), and Diggle for extensions; and of Land and Buildings in London, Wyomondham, and Manchester.	June —. Land and Buildings acquired in London, as also Land at Delph (Oldham), at Rochester (Stafford), as well as Land and Buildings at Carmarthen, all for extensions.
Dec. —. Acton Jam Works acquired, Land and Buildings acquired for extra warehousing accommodation at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Land at Northampton and Irlam also acquired for extensions.	Sept. —. Land and Buildings acquired at Broughton (Manchester) for development of Broughton C.W.S. Factories.
	Sept. —. Land and Property acquired for extensions at Newcastle.
	Sept. —. Land and Buildings acquired for extensions at Birmingham.

## CO-OPERATIVE TEA ESTATES.

Owned by the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies.

	CEYLON.	Acres.	Year Purchased.
Mahavilla Group—			
Nugawella and Weliganga .....	399	.....	1902
Mahavilla.....	321	.....	1907
Denmark .....	151	.....	1913
Dambagalla .....	98	.....	1910
	969	(535 in rubber).	
Westhall Estate .....	1,931	.....	1913
Bowhill Estate.....	723	.....	1915
Nagastenne .....	487	.....	1914
Baharundrah.....	567	.....	1918
	4,677		
Mango Range Group—	INDIA.		
Mango Range .....	4,382	.....	1915
Attikunnu and Glenfruin.....	710	.....	1915
Richmond and Marian .....	720	.....	1917
Caroline.....	650	.....	1915
Strathearn and Maryland .....	999	.....	1917
Ripon .....	1,416	.....	1918
	8,877		
Murugalli .....	2,494	.....	1915
Sheikal Mudi.....	2,500	.....	1916
	13,871		
Total in India.....	13,871		
GRAND TOTAL.....	18,548		

## Mr. MILES PARKES, J.P.

**D**URING the year the death of Mr. Miles Parkes, J.P., a Director of the C.W.S., has been recorded. This occurred on July 21st, at Worleston, near Crewe.

Mr. Parkes was 61 years of age, and during his career he had been a strenuous advocate of working-class causes. His devotion to the co-operative movement had been sustained throughout his manhood, and after activities in connection with the Crewe Co-operative Society, and the Co-operative Union Limited, he was elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited in 1907. He served the C.W.S. as a member of the Drapery Committee, and in a wider sphere of the movement was an impressive speaker at co-operative assemblies.

Mr. Parkes was particularly well known in Crewe, he having lived in the town and vicinity all his life. He was a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Crewe Town Council, also of the Higher Education Committee, and a life governor of the Crewe Cottage Hospital. To this public career was added his close association with all co-operative effort of the town. He was president of Crewe Co-operative Society for many years, till his appointment as a



THE LATE MR. MILES PARKES, J.P.

C.W.S. Director. He had also been actively associated with the Co-operative Union, being a member of the North-Western Sectional Board from 1901 to 1907, serving in turn on the United Board and the Central Board.

He had taken part in trade union work in Crewe and district, and had been most of his life connected with religious activities. He had served as church steward, circuit steward, Sunday school superintendent, was a local preacher, and treasurer for the Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Association. Hence, Mr. Parkes had served several useful and benevolent causes, all in the interests of the working classes.

The great respect in which he was held was evinced by the large attendance of all sections of the public at his funeral on July 25th at Crewe cemetery.



## RECENT PURCHASES OF THE C.W.S.

**F**OLLOWING on the list of purchases (amounting to 1½ millions sterling) given in last year's PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, we now give a further list of acquisitions approximating in value to three-quarters of a million pounds. The list includes purchases recommended by the C.W.S. to societies, and sanctioned at the meetings of delegates during the past twelve months.

### LAND AND BUILDINGS.

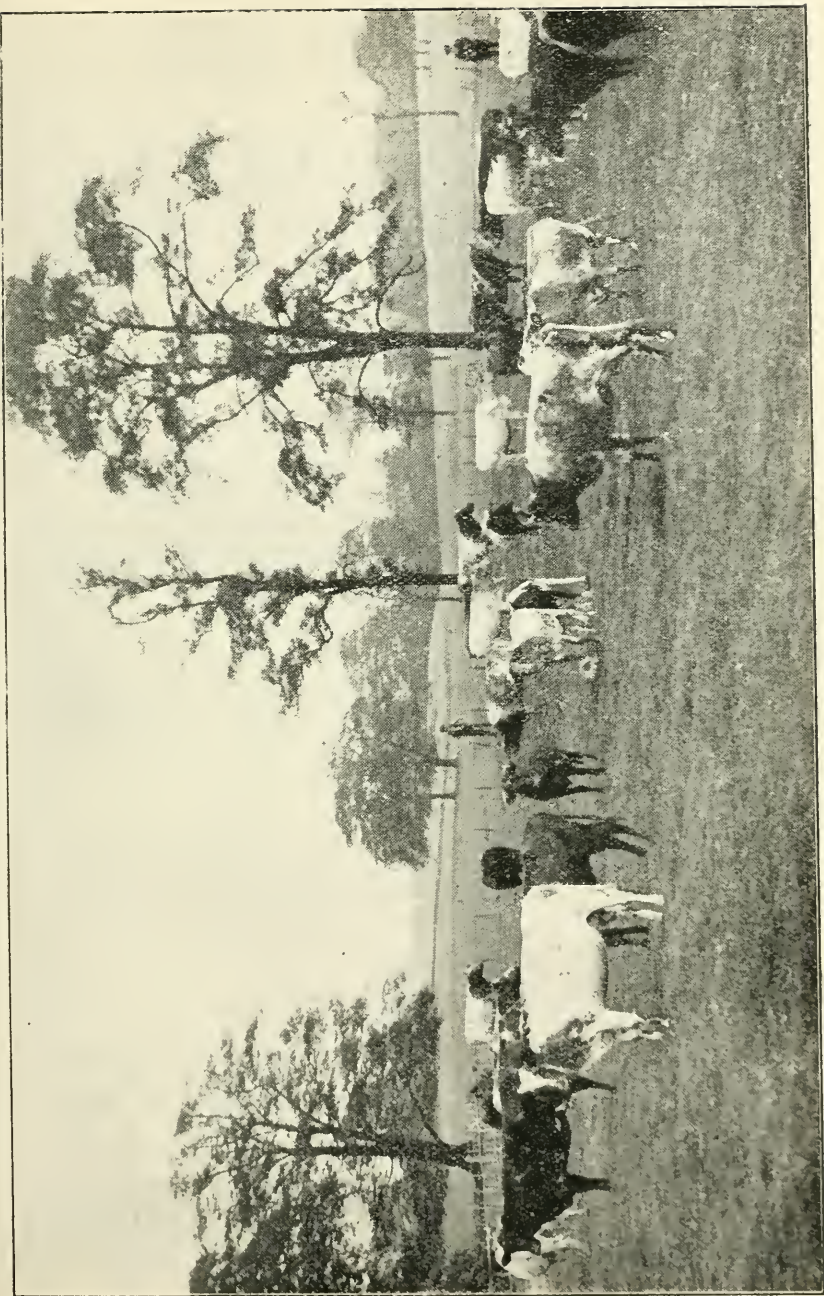
Place.	Area.	Price.	Purpose.
		£	
Grappenhall Tannery, Warrington...	27½ acres .....	62,386	Tanning.
Land and Buildings at Hull.....	9,922 sq. yards...	66,500	Extension in Jam Making.
Middleton's Wharf, Wapping, London .....	—	95,000	Facilities for Handling Goods
Penner Cake Mills, Bristol.....	65 sq. yards...	45,000	Manufacture of Cattle Feeding Cake.
Motor Works at Manchester .....	3,360 .. ...	20,000	Manufacture of Motor Vehicles.
Land at Northampton .....	4½ acres .....	8,000	Extension of Boot Manufacture.
Land and Buildings at Sheffield.....	1,730 sq. yards...	7,650	Extension of Cutlery Manufacture.
Land and Buildings at Bristol.....	1 acre.....	4,950	Extension of Corset Manufacture.
Land and Buildings at Irlam .....	21 acres, &c. ...	3,195	Extension of Soap Making.
Chrome Tannery at Street, Somerset	2 acres .....	3,100	Leather Manufacture.
Land and Buildings at Stratford, Essex .....	4,177 sq. yards...	2,700	Extension of London Building Department.
Land at Radcliffe, near Manchester	11 acres, &c. ...	2,300	Weaving Factory Extension.
Land and Buildings at Manchester...	1,854 sq. yards...	2,089	Extensions.
Land and Buildings at Bedford.....	1,175 .. ...	1,250	Boot Manufacturing Extensions.
Land and Buildings at Chorley .....	2,431 .. ...	640	Warehouse Extensions.
Land and Buildings at Dudley .....	215 .. ...	440	Developments.

### FARMS AND BUILDINGS.

Place.	Area.	Price.	Purpose.
		£	
Hetton and Holburn Estate, Beal, Northumberland .....	3,862 acres .....	108,325	Farming.
Stoughton Estate, Leicester.....	5,751 acres, &c. .	150,000	Farming.
Estate at Compton Bassett, Wilts....	4,607 .. ...	108,000	Farming.
"Pear Tree Farm," Coldham, Cambridgeshire .....	277 .. ...	22,350	Farming.
"New Farm," Roden .....	297 .. ...	8,804	Farming.
"Quarry Farm," Ampney St. Mary, Wilts, and Limestone Quarry .....	31 .. ...	1,150	Farming, &c.
Land at Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk.....	163 .. ...	10,950	Seed Testing.

### FOREIGN FIELDS AND BUILDINGS.

Place.	Area.	Price.	Purpose.
		£	
"Baharundrah," Freehold Estate, Ceylon .....	560 acres .....	6,400	E. & S. C. W. S. — Tea Growing.
Land at Accra, West Africa.....	355 sq. yards .....	1,500	E. & S. C. W. S. — Extension of Depot for collection of Produce.



PASTORAL SCENE ON C.W.S. ESTATE.

# PRODUCTION

BEING **THE BACKBONE OF**  
**CO-OPERATIVE PROSPERITY**  
EVERY COMMITTEE-MAN,  
EVERY MANAGER, EVERY  
MEMBER IN SCOTLAND,  
SHOULD MAKE A POINT OF

LOYALLY  
SUPPORTING



S·C·W·S  
ENTERPRISES

## THE S.C.W.S. AND THE WAR.

THE events of the war which occurred during the year seriously disturbed the normal course of business, and those whom necessity compelled to remain at home in the performance of their duty experienced great difficulty and incurred grave responsibility in discharging their tasks.

This was felt to a very great extent in the carrying on of the business of the S.C.W.S., and, in addition, both directors and officials had to do the best they could by serving as representatives on a number of Government Committees which were established to carry on the distributive business of the country.

The society took an active part in keeping down the prices of commodities in which they dealt, and in quite a number of cases charged prices which were very considerably under the market rate. This alone exercised the time of the officials to a large extent. In addition, they attended and were active in the work of the Government Departments to which they were appointed representatives. Several members of the board and officials were representatives on the Consumers' Council; on the Potato Advisory Committee for Great Britain; on the Scottish Allocation Potato Authority Board; on the Cheese Advisory Committee; the Substitution of Labour Committee; and also on several subsidiary committees appointed to carry out the work of the Government Departments.

This society took an important part in the equipment of the forces with boots and clothing, and in supplying canteens with provisions. The total value of the contracts with Government and with various army canteen departments for each of the years was as under:—

### SUPPLIES TO GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS DURING THE WAR.

YEAR.	Grocery and Provisions.	Drapery and Clothing.	Boots.	Furniture.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1915 .....	9,455	133,875	53,593	3,584	200,507
1916 .....	19,350	62,860	43,735	848	126,793
1917 .....	36,988	85,255	97,716	16	219,975
1918 .....	42,348	289,493	57,943	25	389,809
1919 (6 months) ...	4,020	97,960	15,781	25	117,786
Total .....	112,161	669,443	268,768	4,498	1,054,870

### SERVICE OF EMPLOYEES.

During the period of the war the number of men who served was as under:—

Total number of men who left to join H.M. Forces.....	2,075
Total number returned to service of society at September 30th, 1919 .....	1,222

Total number still serving with H.M. Forces (this number includes temporary employees) .....	278
Total number of men disabled in the war and employed in departments.....	139
Total number killed, presumed killed, and died on service...	315

Departments generally have a number of employees who have been demobilised but have not returned to the service of the society, these being in most cases men who entered the service of the society after the outbreak of war and subsequently left our employment to serve in His Majesty's Forces.

The society also agreed that all men would be taken back into their situations at the close of the war, or when they were demobilised, and during the time they were absent and in army service the difference between their army pay and allowances received from the army and the wages which they were being paid on joining the service was paid to them by the society.

Those who have not been demobilised are still receiving this pay, and up to the end of June, 1919, the amount of wages paid was approximately £139,000.

The society also gave very considerable assistance to the committee appointed in Glasgow to look after the Belgian refugees, and Calderwood Castle, on the estate belonging to the society, was fitted up and occupied by Belgian refugees for over four years, the total amount expended in connection with this being £6,518.

#### THE S.C.W.S. IN 1918.

The trade of the society continues to expand, the sales for the year 1918 being £19,216,762, an increase of £2,133,488 over 1917, while for the half year ended June, 1919, the amount of sales was £11,732,878. Included in these amounts £5,644,129 and £3,477,840 represent the value of goods manufactured in the society's own factories for year 1918 and half year ended June, 1919, respectively.

The total capital of the society at June, 1919, inclusive of reserves and insurance funds, was £6,425,938, being an increase of £1,681,679 as compared with June, 1914.

The net surplus for the year 1918 amounted to £481,318, and for the half year ended June, 1919, £166,516. These figures, on the vastly increased trade as compared with the pre-war period, represent a substantial decline in the ratio per £ of turnover, and afford striking proof that a policy of keen-cut prices was pursued.

#### NEW ACQUISITIONS.

Additional property acquired by the society during the year included 365 acres of land at Stranraer for farming operations, while the purchase of a floorcloth and linen factory in Fifeshire has just been completed.

## Mr. JAMES YOUNG.

---

WE regret to record the death during the past year of Mr. James Young, who was a member of the Board of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. He passed away on Friday, August 29th, 1919.

Mr. Young had had the strenuous life of a working man endeavouring to raise himself amongst his own class and be of service to them. He was born in 1865 at Coalburn, Lesmahagow, and commenced life as a pit boy at New Craighall. Later he visited America, and on returning to his native country again went to work at the coal-mine. Owing to the part he took in the miners' strike of 1894 he decided it was better to leave the coal-mining industry, and he secured work at Musselburgh Paper Mills.



THE LATE MR. JAMES YOUNG.

Next he transferred his political faith from that of Liberalism to the new doctrine of the Independent Labour Party. With a temperament keenly susceptible to right and wrong, he found it difficult to get along under the existing order of things. He subsequently gave up employment at the paper mills and became an insurance agent.

Always interested in local co-operation, he became the president of Musselburgh and Fisherrow Society, where he was the means of considerable development being made. In 1907 he was elected on the Board of the S.C.W.S. to fill a vacancy rendered by the death of Mr. T. C. M'Nab. In this higher co-operative capacity Mr. Young did good service with the finance, drapery, and grocery committees, and had always been a strong supporter of co-operative wholesale enterprise. In 1914 he twice visited West Africa with other directors for the purpose of securing raw materials for co-operative manufacturing and trade. It was after returning from his second visit from the West Coast that he caught a chill on his arrival in England, and had, unfortunately, been in indifferent health up to the time of his death. Besides having made his mark in the co-operative world, he was also a man who had shown great interest in public affairs, and was a member of the Town Council of Musselburgh.

## SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

### Productive Works.

	Transfers, Year, Dec., 1917.	Transfers, Year, Dec., 1918.	Half Year ended June 28th, 1919.		
			Transfers.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.
	£	£	£	£	d.
Boot and Shoe Factory...	423,066	419,636	231,274	5,872	6·09
Clothing Factories.....	263,528	398,072	238,139	6,066	6·20
Cabinet, Brush, &c., Fac- tories.....	114,072	108,650	86,239	2,121	5·90
Printing Works .....	132,818	142,530	88,364	-3,938	10·70
Tobacco Factories.....	402,347	462,027	300,928	2,555	2·04
Preserve and Grocery Productive Factories....	834,884	703,480	460,047	8,234	4·29
Tweed, Blanket, and Jute Mills .....	184,270	252,687	127,629	16,372	30·79
Flour and Meal Mills.....	3,154,136	2,115,010	1,424,348	-3,810	0·64
Soap Works .....	250,599	309,263	168,430	3,370	4·80
Creameries .....	1,357,228	1,622,091	1,093,398	-50,724	11·13
	7,116,958	6,533,446	4,218,796	-13,882	0·79

NOTE.—“Transfers” includes direct sales not charged through Distributive Departments.

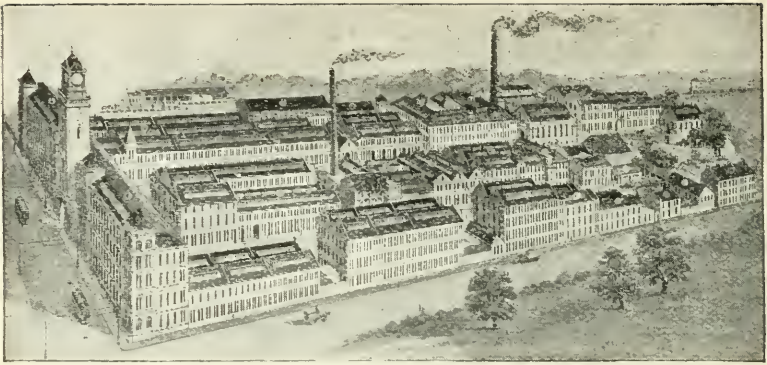
—Loss.

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

Progress from Commencement, December, 1868, to December, 1918.

Year ended.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Societies.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Em- ployees.	Capital—includes Share, Deposits, Reserve, and Insurance Fund.			Net Sales.			Net Profit.			Average Dividend.
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Dec. 7, 1868	..	..	1,795	0	0	9,697	7	1	48	12	10	..
5, 1869	..	..	5,174	17	4	81,094	2	6	1,303	15	0	3½d.
Nov. 19, 1870	..	..	12,542	17	9	105,249	12	4	2,418	9	2	4½d.
18, 1871	..	..	18,009	3	1	162,658	7	7	4,131	8	6	5½d.
16, 1872	18,708	..	30,931	5	3	262,530	19	10	5,435	3	9	4½d.
15, 1873	21,271	..	50,433	3	5	384,489	4	0	7,445	19	1	4½d.
14, 1874	24,651	..	48,981	15	6	409,917	7	9	7,553	5	2	4½d.
13, 1875	27,112	..	56,750	16	0	430,169	7	11	8,232	11	6	4d.
4, 1876	29,008	..	67,218	18	5	457,529	0	4	8,836	2	3	4d.
3, 1877	31,945	..	72,568	12	9	589,221	9	3	10,925	8	3	4d.
2, 1878	34,830	..	83,173	17	8	600,590	9	8	11,968	1	9	4d.
2, 1879	36,008	..	93,076	18	9	630,097	11	10	14,988	19	6	4½d.
Oct. 30, 1880	41,584	..	110,179	2	11	845,221	15	6	21,685	4	8	6½d.
Nov. 5, 1881	49,073	..	135,713	7	10	986,646	13	8	23,981	9	0	6d.
4, 1882	53,684	..	169,428	13	5	1,100,588	16	6	23,219	14	6	5½d.
3, 1883	59,529	..	195,396	11	0	1,253,154	7	1	28,365	18	5	5½d.
1, 1884	65,331	..	244,186	10	9	1,300,331	10	1	29,434	13	9	5½d.
Oct. 31, 1885	70,066	..	288,945	16	1	1,438,220	7	8	39,641	8	4	6½d.
Dec. 25, 1886	79,874	..	333,653	1	0	1,857,152	0	4	50,398	13	10	6½d.
31, 1887	87,220	..	367,309	4	0	1,810,015	15	6	53,538	17	3	6½d.
29, 1888	96,521	..	409,668	15	1	1,963,853	16	2	53,538	17	3	6½d.
28, 1889	107,004	..	480,662	2	6	2,273,782	0	7	61,756	14	3	6½d.
27, 1890	117,664	..	575,322	5	11	2,475,601	9	3	76,545	16	2	7d.
26, 1891	131,086	..	671,108	14	1	2,828,036	16	7	89,090	12	7	6½d.
31, 1892	139,022	..	778,494	13	4	3,104,768	8	7	96,027	3	10	6½d.
30, 1893	149,164	2,726	869,756	5	10	3,135,562	7	8	89,116	6	1	6½d.
29, 1894	159,820	2,629	940,835	15	7	3,056,582	18	9	88,452	0	3	6d.
28, 1895	171,895	3,029	1,134,269	19	6	3,449,461	10	9	132,374	7	4	7d.
26, 1896	189,763	3,194	1,237,317	14	0	3,822,580	17	6	174,982	0	2	7½d.
25, 1897	211,859	4,308	1,286,624	4	4	4,405,854	3	7	156,341	12	1	8d.
31, 1898	223,669	5,054	1,333,077	19	9	4,692,330	9	9	165,580	11	10	7d.
30, 1899	240,873	5,629	1,457,645	4	10	5,014,189	0	5	213,896	15	3	8d.
29, 1900	251,376	6,481	1,676,765	7	2	5,463,631	2	8	222,366	12	0	8d.
28, 1901	270,920	7,059	1,929,113	18	5	5,700,713	7	3	231,686	9	9	8d.
27, 1902	281,258	7,471	2,125,133	12	11	6,959,119	5	2	239,001	17	9	8d.
26, 1903	301,479	8,487	2,314,955	14	8	6,395,487	15	10	239,321	18	11	8d.
31, 1904	321,112	10,415	2,500,063	17	10	6,801,272	8	8	269,601	12	8	8d.
30, 1905	345,226	12,271	2,780,729	6	7	6,939,738	6	0	250,680	7	6	8d.
29, 1906	365,907	12,863	2,950,620	12	2	7,140,182	10	10	280,434	12	6	8d.
28, 1907	381,271	13,486	3,059,245	2	9	7,603,460	7	0	289,197	16	10	8d.
26, 1908	393,549	14,206	3,292,045	14	7	7,531,126	8	0	253,577	6	4	8d.
25, 1909	400,618	15,159	3,316,773	0	9	7,457,136	3	9	271,926	18	6	8d.
31, 1910	415,526	15,704	3,455,627	16	6	7,738,158	16	5	273,563	18	7	8d.
30, 1911	431,045	16,076	3,838,046	0	2	7,851,079	10	0	308,890	10	10	8d. & 1d. Sp'l.
28, 1912	439,969	16,634	4,038,913	12	9	8,391,258	5	2	301,154	1	6	8d.
27, 1913	451,041	17,824	4,468,163	2	11	8,961,033	12	3	340,730	8	2	8d.
26, 1914	461,645	18,699	4,954,915	9	4	9,425,383	17	2	393,115	16	6	8½d.
25, 1915	482,673	22,726	5,298,920	3	7½	11,363,075	12	4	456,546	12	4½	9d.
30, 1916	501,604	24,081	5,525,264	8	7½	14,499,037	2	3	501,531	13	10	8d.
29, 1917	571,458	25,001	5,304,499	1	11	17,883,274	12	2	408,209	4	8½	5½d.
28, 1918	597,883	25,791	5,773,569	8	2½	19,216,762	18	7	481,318	0	8½	5½d.





**Shieldhall Factories of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited  
(Commenced 1887).**

In this striking group of Factories and Workshops close on 4,000 people are now employed, and the present-day Co-operator will be interested to learn that the first week's Wage Bill to Productive employees in 1881 amounted to less than £7. The Productive workers at Shieldhall alone now draw £291,176 annually, and manufacture goods to the value of 2½ millions in twelve months.



**S.C.W.S. Limited, Registered Offices and Furniture and Furnishings Departments.  
Central Premises of the S.C.W.S. since 1897.**

This beautiful and useful structure has all along been regarded as the hub of Co-operation in Scotland. Here, in the main offices, a staff of close on 400 clerks find employment on the first floor, the ground floor giving accommodation for the Board-room, Committee-rooms, Grocery Managers' Rooms, and also Grocery Department Saleroom. The basement and all other floors in the front building are fully occupied by the Furniture and Furnishings Department Showrooms. At the back of the building Warehouse accommodation is provided for the Grocery Department, and here also the Society's spacious Clarence Street Hall is located.

## THE COMING REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

By SIDNEY WEBB.

**W**E stand to-day on the verge of what must be nothing short of a revolution in English local government. We have grown so accustomed to our particular system of elected town and county councils, parish and district councils, and boards of guardians, acting under the supervision and, in some cases the control of the Local Government Board, that we usually fail to realise both how comparatively new is the system and how extravagantly illogical is its form. Now it is about to undergo a convulsion, and submit to various incidental reforms, which, taken together, may fairly be called a revolution.



SIDNEY WEBB.

Although our system of local government has its roots in our oldest history, it is, in its present main features, quite a young thing, scarcely as old as the co-operative movement itself. It had its birth in the revolutionary changes of 1834-5, almost the earliest products of the Reform Bill; and these took a great

many years to work out. A new line of development was opened up in 1870 when the separate school boards began their thirty-two years' life. A second new impetus was given in 1888, when the quarter sessions of the justices of the peace were superseded in their administrative functions by the elected county councils; and a third in 1894, when the parish councils and parish meetings were set up in the villages. The last big stride onward, in some respects the greatest since 1835, was taken in 1902-3, when all the rapidly-increasing educational work of the town and county councils was united with that of the School Boards, and these were given what the School Boards never possessed, practically unlimited power to aid and provide education of every grade and kind (and, with tuition, also maintenance), from the school for mothers to the university. Now the time is at hand for a further convulsion, which will, it may be hoped, initiate at least as big an advance in the volume and range of local government work as did the Acts of 1834-5, 1870, 1888, 1894, and 1902-3.

### KNOCKING THE BOTTOM OUT OF THE POOR LAW.

This new revolutionary convulsion, which—unless the Cabinet is false to all its pledges—we may expect to take place in the very next session of Parliament, is incidental to the establishment of the

Ministry of Health, which has at last got itself accomplished. Merely to unite the National Health Insurance Commission with the Local Government Board, and to baptise the amalgamation with the name of the Ministry of Health—for this is practically all that has been done—is, of course, of no sort of use except as a step to more. But the first duty of the Ministry of Health, and one which for certain imperative reasons cannot be delayed, is the statutory reorganisation of all the provision that is made by the various local authorities in England and Wales for the prevention and treatment of disease, and the public care of the sick and infirm of all kinds. This necessary reorganisation, as is well understood by the Government, though still not by the public at large and perhaps not by the Prime Minister himself, cannot be carried out without the abolition, not only of the boards of guardians and the workhouse, but also of the Poor Law itself. To this programme the Government is definitely pledged, and the Ministry of Health is fully committed. The friendly societies and the trade unions withdrew their opposition to Dr. Addison's little Bill on the express condition, to which he personally as well as officially pledged himself—a pledge repeated by other members of the Government—that every vestige of the Poor Law was to be promptly eliminated from the new Ministry. What makes even more inevitable than a Government pledge this revolutionary change in our local government is the fact, discovered by every politician when he comes up against the subject, that it is impossible to "take the sick out of the Poor Law" without knocking the bottom out of the workhouse, and causing the whole Poor Law structure to tumble down.

Thus, it is not the fact that we are all tired of the Poor Law; that it has been repeatedly rejected, root and branch, by scientific investigators no less than experienced philanthropists; or that the board of guardians, the workhouse, the union area and the fundamental Poor Law assumptions were unanimously condemned by the very authoritative Royal Commission of 1905-9, majority as well as minority, which have settled the fate of the Poor Law system. None of these things led Mr. Asquith's Government to abolish the Poor Law—this will always remain against that Ministry as a crime—in the five years between 1909 and 1914. They did, it is true, condemn the Poor Law to sterility, and waste public money freely, in the necessity under which they found themselves of preventing any new power or duty being conferred on the boards of guardians. Throughout the whole of the present century, in fact, the House of Commons has passed the Poor Law by, and has felt unable to use it for any new function. But so supine are Ministries, and so powerful for obstruction have always been the officials of the Local Government Board, that all this would not have compelled the abolition of the Poor Law, even in "reconstruction after the war"—still less would it have made it inevitable that such a revolution would take place the very next session of Parliament, were it not for another compulsion. The very

urgent necessity of dealing with the medical profession under the National Insurance Act—for the doctors are not far off a strike; the practical need for amalgamating the various forms of public provision for medical attendance and nursing the sick and infirm; the pressing obligation to take further steps for the actual prevention of disease, particularly tuberculosis and the maladies of the newly born—all these things compel the taking out of the Poor Law of all classes of the sick and infirm.

Three-quarters of a century ago this would not have much mattered to the boards of guardians or the Poor Law. They were not supposed to deal with the sick, and they did so only to a trifling extent. They were busied about other things, especially the relief of the able-bodied. Nowadays it is the care of the sick and infirm that causes two-thirds of all the expenditure under the Poor Law. To take the sick and infirm of all kinds out of the workhouses would leave these very nearly empty. When the Minister of Health takes out of the Poor Law all those for whom either medical treatment or nursing have to be provided, in order to merge these patients with those already provided for by the other local authorities in a united Local Health Authority, he will necessarily have to wind up and liquidate the "empty shell" which will be all that will be left of the Poor Law system.

#### THE POOR LAW SYSTEM A COSTLY REDUNDANCY.

The Poor Law has, in fact, now become an entirely unnecessary function of local government, on which we are compelling the ratepayers to spend, in the United Kingdom, not far short of twenty millions sterling annually. I venture upon the estimate—necessarily an entirely speculative one—that one-half of this vast sum is waste, the result of the mere duplication of services. This duplication was entirely unforeseen when the board of guardians was instituted. In 1834, when the new Poor Law was instituted, there was no other local authority in existence that made any provision, at the public expense, for those who were without the means of support. To-day the boards of guardians in England, Wales, and Ireland (and the parish councils in Scotland) are still required by law to go on providing for all classes of the destitute—the maternity cases, the infants and children, all kinds and ages of sick persons, the infirm of all sorts, the mentally or physically afflicted, the aged, and (by equivocation, even in Scotland) the able-bodied unemployed. The character of the provision made—though by the very nature of the Poor Law terribly unsatisfactory and socially inefficient—has been, during the past generation, largely through the devoted labours of Poor Law guardians and Poor Law officials, greatly improved (and thereby rendered much more expensive to the ratepayers). This is why the Poor Law expenditure for the whole of the United Kingdom is somewhere in the neighbourhood of twenty million pounds a year, although the workhouses are often nearly empty, and the total number of persons

relieved is smaller than at any previous period. But, since 1834, other local authorities have been given the task of providing for the poor: and these are now, under various statutes, and out of the same fund of rates and taxes, dealing with ten times as many persons as all the Poor Law authorities put together.

There is, to-day, duplication at all points. The boards of guardians assist poor mothers in their hour of need, and feed and doctor thousands of infants—so do the town councils under their recently extended activities for maternity and infant welfare. The Poor Law authorities maintain their own schools, or provide (horrible thought, actually in their workhouses) for thousands of children of school age—so do the local education authorities, which nowadays give, to literally millions of children, not only schooling, but, where necessary, also food and medical attendance, and even in scores of residential schools of half-a-dozen different kinds, full board and lodging. The boards of guardians maintain the sick and infirm in nearly a hundred thousand institutional beds—twice as large a provision as is made by all the voluntary hospitals put together—and at the same time the town and urban district councils maintain, under the Public Health Acts, over 700 municipal hospitals, at which more than a hundred thousand patients are fed and medically treated every year, usually free of any charge whatsoever. The salaried district medical officers of the Poor Law, in England and Wales alone, 4,000 in number, supply domiciliary medical attendance and medicines, free of charge, to the outdoor poor; and meet, on their rounds, not only the doctors employed by the local health authority under the medical officer of health or the tuberculosis officer, or by the local education authority under the school medical officer, but also the 16,000 “panel doctors” employed by the local insurance committees, dealing almost entirely at the public expense with the very same families, and often with the identical patients. Among the sick, as indeed among other classes of paupers, it is often a mere matter of accident whether an indigent person is dealt with by one local authority as a pauper, or by another as a citizen. It often depends on which public officer gets hold of the case first!

The Poor Law authorities keep in their workhouses tens of thousands of lunatics, idiots, and the feeble-minded, whilst the town and county councils maintain, for a hundred thousand, of the very same classes, their own costly lunatic asylums. The aged are still maintained by the tens of thousands by the boards of guardians, either on indoor or outdoor relief, whilst the old-age pensions committees of the town and county councils are keeping alive about a million (in the United Kingdom) by their dole of 7s. 6d. per week. In many thousands of cases the same old men and women are provided for alternately, and sometimes even simultaneously, by the board of guardians and the old age pensions committee! Even the unemployed able-bodied, for whom the board of guardians were specially established,

are now provided for, almost entirely, by other authorities, such as the distress committees of the town and urban district councils under the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, and the employment exchanges dispensing the State unemployment benefit (since 1918), without even the preliminary of partial self-insurance, at present to something like a couple of million men, women, and children. Very few of the able-bodied are now found in the workhouses, or are, except very transiently, dealt with in any way by the Poor Law.

Yet all the expensive Poor Law staff and machinery continue to be kept up. There is, accordingly, no class or section of "paupers" who are not now actually being provided for by the county, borough, and district councils under the present statutory powers of these councils. If the whole of the Poor Law were repealed to-morrow, and the whole of the meticulous Poor Law orders of the Local Government Board were to expire (as they must on the abolition of the Poor Law system), it would require only the slightest verbal amendments of the Public Health, Education, Lunacy, Mental Deficiency, Old-Age Pensions, National Insurance, and Unemployed Workmen Acts to enable the county, borough, and district councils to take over all the work; and to provide with very great economy of cost for the whole, instead of for an arbitrarily selected fragment of each class and section of those for whom public provision has to be made. It is literally true that to-day there is no part of the work of the Poor Law, no fragment of the service of the board of guardians, that is not actually being done—and by the very nature of the case more efficiently done—in one or other district by the municipal authorities. The whole Poor Law system has become, almost unawares, wholly and extravagantly redundant.

#### THE COMPULSION OF EXIGENCY.

But the mere fact that the Poor Law system is redundant, and its expenditure of nearly twenty million pounds a year (in the United Kingdom) probably half mere waste by reduplication, will not, of itself, compel our present Government to initiate reform. What is £20,000,000 a year in these days of demagogic scrutiny of the spigot, whilst the bung-hole is running free? What will compel Dr. Addison to insist on the Cabinet allowing the introduction of the Bill which he is already preparing is, as already explained, the urgent need of reforming the local provision for the prevention and cure of disease.

Why must all the sick and infirm of all kinds, including maternity and infancy, and the aged and feeble-minded needing nursing care, be taken out of the Poor Law? The reason is two-fold. The first answer is because of overlapping. There are now three separate and very costly public organisations in each place charged with dealing with disease and the sick. The board of guardians has to provide for all the sick and infirm, whatever their ailments, who are technically

destitute. The town or district council provides for persons suffering from a steadily growing list of diseases, whatever the patients' affluence, and is now charged to provide for maternity and infancy, and also for venereal diseases, irrespective of destitution. The local education authority has to provide for the school children who are found to be suffering from child ailments. The local insurance committee also has to provide in its own very costly way for all the sick persons who are insured—that is to say, three-fourths of all the heads of households and one-third of the whole population—whether or not they are destitute. There are, accordingly, in every well-managed district three, if not four, separate medical services, three or four staffs, even three or four series of institutions, all maintained at vast expense out of the same fund of rates and taxes, to deal with what are, to a very large and ever-increasing extent, the same sick people. The first condition of any really effective campaign for the prevention of disease, of any really adequate provision of expert medical treatment and nursing, of any satisfactory dealing with maternity and infancy, not to mention other urgent needs, is to have in each locality one public authority, and one only, responsible for everything done out of the rates and taxes that involves a doctor, a nurse, or a hospital.

The second answer is hard for the old Poor Law guardian to understand, because it is a modern idea, which few people appreciate in all its thoroughness. The Poor Law, by its very nature, even under the very best board of guardians, cannot deal properly with disease as we now wish it to be dealt with, namely, from the standpoint of prevention. It can very seldom get the cases early enough. This is partly owing to the stigma and disgrace attendant on Poor Law relief, which the Local Government Board and the nation, for three-quarters of a century, deliberately fostered. This itself is very largely due to the atmosphere of deterrence with which the boards of guardians and the relieving officers have nearly everywhere surrounded themselves, in order to stave off applicants. Nowadays, when many Poor Law guardians have changed their minds, and would like to get rid of the stigma and the deterrence, they are unable to do so. Very few people go for the first time to the relieving officer without shame and repugnance or come before the board without a feeling of disgrace. Hence no sick person comes for help until he is absolutely compelled to do so. When the sick person at last consents to apply it may not be too late for patching up with medicines and dressings, which is all that the sick person expects, and all that the Poor Law aims at doing, but it is too late for really preventive treatment.

But even if this deterrence could be altered, it would still be impossible for the Poor Law to have any proper system of dealing with sickness, because we now see that this depends upon the earliest possible treatment. It is the fundamental principle of the Poor Law that it can deal only with the destitute when they have become

destitute, and for as long only as they are destitute. When sickness is just beginning—the very time when the doctor should be called in—there is usually no destitution. By the time the patient is so bad as to be unable to go to his work, and destitution sets in, the case has often become irremediable. It is just as if a hospital was debarred from treating any wound until gangrene had set in.

If we are going to spend public money on a large and very costly campaign against disease, we must not only get rid of the waste of overlapping services, but also take care that our money is applied in the right way, for prevention as well as for treatment. We must, therefore, disconnect our public provision for the sick from any connection whatsoever with the Poor Law, and deal with all patients, not as paupers to be deterred, but as citizens to be encouraged to use the public medical service and the public hospital with no more shame or reluctance than they use the post office or the council school. This can never be done under even the best administered Poor Law.

But the reason for the abolition of the Poor Law itself is not merely the practical one that it is impossible to maintain the workhouses, and the separate Poor Law organisation, once the sick and infirm are removed from its care. In an ordinary county borough, such as Manchester or Leeds, the town council now provides for maternity and infancy; for the medical treatment of children of school age; for everything required by various large classes of the sick of all ages: for the lunatics, mentally-defective, and feeble-minded; for the pensionable aged. The overlapping has become universal. We cannot go on with the waste involved in maintaining in every town duplicate staffs and duplicate institutions, at the expense of the rates and taxes, for all the several classes of sick or infirm for which we provide help; one set for those who are technically destitute and who are stigmatised as paupers, and another set for those who are not so stigmatised and are welcomed as citizens—especially when it is often a matter of chance which are dealt with in one way and which in the other. If we are to have economy and efficiency in our local Health administration, we must either merge the municipal health services in those of the Poor Law, or merge the health services of the Poor Law in those of the municipality. There can be no doubt which of these alternatives will be chosen.

#### NOT TRANSFER, BUT MERGING.

Observe, what is in question is a merging of services, a union of staffs and institutions, not merely a transfer of this or that work from the board of guardians to the town council. Many a zealous and humane Poor Law guardian is honestly puzzled why it should be supposed that the councillor will do the work better than he does; and how it can be imagined that a committee of the town council will necessarily be more efficient or kinder to the sick poor than a modern committee of the board of guardians. It is, however, not a



question of merely substituting one directly-elected body for another, or one committee for another. It is merging the Poor Law medical staff and the Poor Law infirmary in the larger and more comprehensive public health service of the municipality, which will have its series of properly classified hospitals, maternity clinics and infant nurseries, dispensaries, sanatoria, convalescent homes, and homes of refuge for the chronic invalids and the infirm aged. It is a merging of the separate Poor Law schools or cottage homes, and all the boarding out, in the wider and more specialised educational system which the council maintains for all the children and young persons. It is a merging of the all-too-scanty Poor Law provision for the feeble-minded in the more extensive and more expert provision that the council makes for the mentally-defective of all grades. With regard to the able-bodied, the idea is—we must say frankly—a definite rejection of all the ways in which the Poor Law deals with the man physically and mentally able to work, who is destitute through inability to obtain employment, and the commission to the council, by the agency of a new committee on which organised labour must be specially represented, of the whole problem of how best to prevent unemployment (a subject which has always been quite outside the guardians' scope), and where it is not prevented, to find either work or maintenance for the unemployed.

#### IDENTITY OF AREAS.

Any such prevention of overlapping and merging of service necessarily involves an identity of areas. The 650 or so Poor Law Unions of England and Wales will need to be sorted out into the 300 and odd boroughs and districts which are populous and important enough to have both local health and local education authorities. For London, where the municipal work is shared between the county council and the Metropolitan borough councils (including the City Corporation), the present functions of the Metropolitan Asylums Board and the boards of guardians would naturally be divided on similar lines. The only serious problem is how, in the rural counties, the work should be divided between the county council and those who will have to act in the different localities.

This necessity for a thorough-going alteration in what are now the Poor Law areas—far from being a drawback—is a positive advantage. Almost any such change of areas will be an improvement. If we want to get rid of the associations of the Poor Law, nothing will be so helpful as to get rid of the old areas and even their old names. These union areas have, indeed, one capital drawback. They were mostly laid out three-quarters of a century ago, before the establishment of railways: and they often do not correspond to-day either with the spread of population or convenience of locomotion. There may be cases in which the adjustment of the Poor Law to the municipal areas will be a change for the worse. But they will be few, and the remedy is, then, to improve the municipal area.

## THE UNIFICATION OF SERVICES.

This is the answer to the complaint of any exceptional board of guardians which objects to see its services dispersed among several smaller municipal areas. Why, it is asked, should not any superior board of guardians, which prides itself on the excellence of its administration, be specially continued in existence under the new system? Such a question indicates a lack of appreciation of what is proposed. The main object of the change is the unification of services. To let any one board of guardians continue to provide separately for its pauper sick; keep its own maternity ward for its pauper mothers, and its own workhouse nursery for its pauper babies; maintain its pauper children in its own pauper schools; keep in its workhouse its various grades of mentally-defective paupers; maintain separately its pauper aged; and keep up its own methods of treatment of its pauper able-bodied, whom a failure to prevent the occurrence of unemployment drives to Poor Law relief—when all the time the town council is maintaining also its separate hospitals and sanatoria, maternity clinics and infant nurseries, schools and asylums, with all their varied staffs—does not seem either economical or desirable.

But there is a decisive reason why no such continuance of any particular board of guardians is possible. Under what statutory powers would it propose to act? The union of all the separate Poor Law services with those of the municipality *in itself necessarily involves the repeal of all the Poor Law statutes, and the dropping of all existing Poor Law orders*, which will cease to be applicable. It is not suggested that any of the *powers* of the guardians should be transferred to the town councils—these powers will simply cease to determine. No town council would nowadays dare to sully itself with the Poor Law, or dream of submitting to the control of the Poor Law orders. The town council will take over the services of the guardians, and administer them under the town council's existing powers—the Public Health, Education, Lunacy, Unemployment, and other Acts, which will need only slight amendment to enable this to be done.

It need hardly be observed that any other course would meet with a storm of opposition. No town council would consent for a moment to come under the terribly out-of-date Poor Law statutes and Poor Law orders, with their stigma and odium, and with the subjection that they involve to the meticulous supervision and peremptory commands of the Local Government Board. Every town council will naturally deal with the sick under the Public Health Acts, and with the children under the Education Acts. When the transfer of the Poor Law services is made, the Poor Law will cease to exist. Would any board of guardians wish their territory to be a Poor Law island, where alone pauperism would survive under Local Government Board orders from which every other locality was free, not sharing in the new and enlarged grants which the health, education, lunacy, employment, and other local authorities will be enjoying?

## AS TO THE RATES.

One final word. Will the change anywhere raise the rates? On the face of it, no. The council's rate will no doubt go up, but the poor-rate will cease altogether. Of course, we cannot effect a vast improvement in the prevention and treatment of disease, and in the care of the infants, the children, the mentally-defective, the aged and the unemployed, without increasing the expense. But the Government has already promised a complete revision of the grants in aid which, so far as health and education are concerned, will be largely increased. With the cessation of the grants now made to the boards of guardians, the new grants will have to be so adjusted as to provide that in no place shall the abolition of the Poor Law involve any increase in the rates.

## WHAT WE HAVE TO INSIST ON.

What we have to insist on, accordingly, is a complete revolution in our local government: the simple repeal of all the Poor Law statutes: the simple dropping of all the Poor Law orders: the very small widenings of the existing legal powers of the Public Health and other Acts under which the county, borough, and district councils now carry on their work; the transfer to these councils, with due financial adjustments according to areas, of all the existing buildings (for allocation among the council's separate services), assets, liabilities, and staffs of the boards of guardians and their federations: the assumption by the health committee of every county, and every borough or urban district which is important enough to be a local education authority, of responsibility, under the supervision and with the advice of the Ministry of Health, for the whole of the public provision that is made for the sick and infirm of every kind (including maternity and infancy); the assumption by the education committee, wherever such a committee exists, of responsibility, under the supervision and with the advice of the Ministry of Education, for the whole of the public provision that is made for children of school age well enough to attend school; the assumption by the Asylums and Mental Deficiency Act committee or committees of every lunacy authority of the responsibility, under the supervision and with the advice of the Board of Control—eventually to be merged in the Ministry of Health—for all the public provision for persons of unsound mind; and the assumption by every old age pensions committee of responsibility for all the public provision for the aged not requiring continuous medical care or nursing.

Two new committees of the 300 county, borough, or district councils which are big enough to be local education authorities, and two only, seem required. One—the employment and training committee—on which the trade unions and employers might well be specially represented, should supersede the present distress committee, and become responsible, under the supervision and with

the advice of the Ministry of Labour, for the best possible dealing (by prevention even more than by treatment) of the problem of unemployment. The other—the home assistance committee—should be the channel for all provision that may be made in money (or gifts in the homes) in every case of distress, with a common register to prevent the present very frequent overlapping of assistance.

#### MINOR REFORMS OVERDUE.

A number of minor reforms in the county, borough, and district councils themselves are long overdue, and we ought to get them embodied in the revolutionary statute that Dr. Addison is, even now, engaged in drafting. Has not the time come for the abolition of the rural district council, and for its supersession (as in Scotland) by a specially formed district committee of the elected parish and county councillors for the district? Moreover, we can no longer go on putting on the shoulders of our councillors the heavy cost incidental to their public work. Some form of payment of expenses of all members of local authorities is imperatively called for. This is not an increase of expenditure, though it will probably be called so by ignorant people. It is merely a transfer of expenditure that is already being incurred—the transfer of an existing burden which we have no right to impose on councillors themselves, to the broader shoulders of the public at large, whom the councillors are serving.

Then there ought to be introduced in local elections the principle of proportional representation, preferably by the single transferable vote (now in force in the Sligo Town Council, in the new Education Authority of Belfast, and in the Scottish Educational Councils). The objections to the single transferable vote in Parliamentary elections—the enormously enlarged constituencies that it would necessitate, the great expense that it would throw on minority candidates, and its inability to provide satisfactorily for by-elections—do not apply to municipal contests, and the simultaneous triennial election in all the wards which it would necessitate would be actually an advantage.

A third reform, almost necessitated by the proposed enlargement of the councils' duties, and by the nature of the work of the new health and employment committees at any rate, if not of others, would be the strengthening of these and other committees, not by co-opted members in the old sense, which is as undemocratic a device as the institution of aldermen in the town councils has become, but by the addition to each committee of a minority of specially representative members, nominated or elected by the vocational associations specially concerned with the particular services.

It would be all to the good, as it seems to me, that the local trade unions and employers' associations should, in this way, elect their own representatives to sit, with a majority of the ratepayers' representatives, on the committee that will deal with unemployment; that the local professional associations of doctors, dentists, nurses,

and midwives should be similarly represented on the health committee; and that the local elementary and secondary school teachers and the professoriate of the local university should put their own members on the education committee.

But there might well be still further provision for criticism, suggestion, and consultation of the local public opinion. It is not enough to organise executive structure. We must organise also public criticism and initiative. I should like to see, in every town, an advisory committee of doctors, dentists, nurses, and midwives, not forming part of the council and neither paid nor appointed by it, but officially charged with watching over all the health services, and empowered to report—first privately to the council, and, whenever deemed advisable, also publicly to the ratepayers—its own expert opinion on all things done or undone. A similar advisory committee of teachers and professors of all grades and both sexes should watch over the local education service. It would, perhaps, be all to the good if an analogous advisory committee of citizens undertook the supervision of the thoroughfares and means of locomotion: if it divided itself into sub-committees on paving, lighting, and cleansing; on tramways and omnibuses; and on parks and open spaces; and if it became definitely responsible for a stream of suggestion, counsel, and criticism in aid of the wisdom of the committees of the council concerned.

Finally, there is the pressing question of improving not only the salaries and status, but also the qualification and efficiency of the official staffs of all our local authorities. There ought to be—at least for optional use by each authority—(a) a system of common entrance examinations for recruitment of the junior staff, which might be provided nationally at convenient local centres; (b) scales of minimum salaries and increments uniform for the whole country for local authorities of equal grade, but providing three or four different levels for the different grades; (c) a national system of superannuation, with a prescribed retiring age, allowing of transfer from town to town without break of pensionable service. All these, and various other minor reforms, should be secured in the “revolution” of English local government that is at hand.

---

## BRITO-SPANISH AGREEMENT.

---

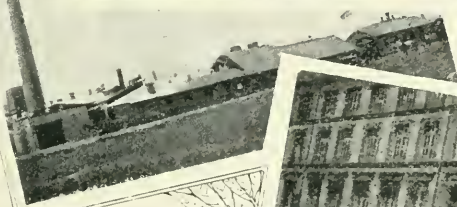
According to a Renter's telegram of April 21st, 1919, the Spanish Minister of State and the British Ambassador to Spain on that date signed the Financial Convention prepared by Count Romanone's Government—a convention providing for the

loan by Spain to Great Britain of 75 million pesetas (£3,000,000) at 5 per cent, “in return for which the British Government will permit the free importation of oranges from Spain, and the export to Spain of 150,000 tons of coal per month.”

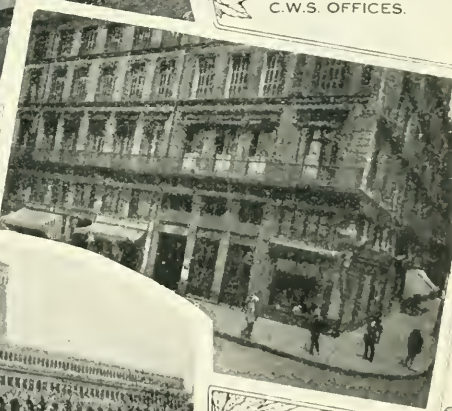
C.W.S.  
OPERATIONS  
ABROAD



ST PETER'S STREET,  
MONTREAL, SHOWING  
C.W.S. OFFICES.



C.W.S. BACON FACTORY  
HERNING, DENMARK



BUILDINGS AT  
ROUEN, CONTAINING  
C.W.S. OFFICES.



NEW YORK  
PRODUCE EXCHANGE,  
IN WHICH  
C.W.S. OFFICES  
ARE LOCATED.

## NATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY AND TOWN PLANNING.

By THOMAS H. MAWSON.

**S**HORTLY after the commencement of hostilities, one of the foremost town-planning pioneers in this country said: "If Great Britain had really shown an intelligent appreciation of town planning and its relation to national efficiency the Kaiser would never have dared to challenge our supremacy. The Germans," he said, "had come to regard us as a decadent race, simply because of our profligate expenditure of life and money on that which did not contribute to physical, mental, or even material wealth." Everyone now admits that the Kaiser had much evidence in support of this view. Where he failed was in not recognising those latent qualities of our race and those progressive municipal developments which were already gathering momentum and winning political support when the war broke out. Of even greater interest is the fact that many social reformers are now attributing a large share of the blame for industrial unrest to the terribly drab existence



T. H. MAWSON.

which perforce has to be endured by the working classes in this country, who are beginning to learn that our present methods have not even the merits of economy to commend them. On the contrary, they know that the terrible mortality amongst children, the low physique amongst the workers, high rates, and every other tax upon industrial energy can primarily be charged against our bad housing conditions consequent upon our inability to recognise in the past wisely and comprehensively the necessity of planning in advance of actual needs.

### WHY HAVE WE FAILED?

Why have we so lamentably failed, and why have we permitted other countries to go so far ahead of us? These questions are difficult to answer, but some of the causes may be stated as follows:—

1. The absence of legislative enactments making it possible to plan over large areas, and the lack of co-operation amongst proprietors of adjacent building lands.

2. The absence of imagination amongst municipal authorities, and their inability to estimate the prospective growth and needs of the town over which they preside, even when statistics of past growth are available upon which to base such estimates.

3. Lack of municipal enterprise, the cry of false economy, and the distrust of any policy which would carry work beyond the municipal year.

4. The absence of any correlation of units or organised grouping of the most important public and semi-public buildings, not only for economy of working but for the creation of any architectural effect which, if wisely ordered, might have a lasting influence on the imaginative faculties of every resident. Thus the railway station, which is the modern portal entrance to the town or city, often discharges its freight of tourists directly into the slums; factories and warehouses are unrelated to transport facilities; the municipal offices are, in general, scattered buildings without any attempt at the creation of an impressive whole. Even in the most important streets, building and sky lines are for the most part disregarded, and anyone is free to build just what he or she likes, whether it be a dwelling-house, a fried-fish shop, a bank, or a chapel—the result of all this being utter confusion.

5. In the past it has not been considered necessary to provide in any ordered sequence either recreational facilities for child and adult, or parks and gardens which should by their natural or formal beauty minister to the mind tired with business and the strain of work. As to the people's homes, any house in which the worker could be induced to live was considered adequate for its purpose, and we may add that it was not until comparison between child welfare in our old towns and the half-dozen model villages, promoted by pioneer reformers, became too glaring and alarming, that any move was made towards the creation of better conditions. One of the results of the great war has been to emphasise the value of man power, and the folly of permitting conditions which do not conduce to the rearing and development of a truly imperial race.

#### THE COST OF UNPREPAREDNESS.

That this lack of municipal foresight with respect to comprehensive planning is responsible for much of our local indebtedness is not denied. If proofs were necessary the following should be convincing enough.

It has been stated that the citizens of London have spent in minor improvements fourteen times the amount which would have carried through Sir Christopher Wren's great plan for the City of London—a plan, by the way, which would have made London the most beautiful city in the world. In contrast to this, it is said that the citizens of Paris reap a profit of at least 100 per cent on the money spent by Haussmann in carrying through his great scheme of reconstruction, and that it is largely the beauty of Paris which attracts so many wealthy visitors.

By the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the layout of Melbourne the citizens have never been called upon to spend the large sums on road widening and the adjustments which in other towns and cities are necessitated by growing needs.



It is estimated that many of our English manufacturing towns are so uneconomically planned that the extra transit charges alone on raw material and manufactured food to and from goods yards to factories entail a loss equal to a 1s. 10d. rate, in addition to the increased expenditure caused by unnecessary heavy traffic upon the maintenance of the roads.

Owing to our failure to plan in advance, land for public and semi-public buildings, parks, and gardens is seldom purchased until absolute necessity compels, and then at a high valuation, with the result that only land sufficient to meet bare necessities is purchased.

Failure to plan in advance of needs leads to constant demands for expensively constructed public utilities; often the growth of industrial towns is so rapid that new additions or new installations are almost obsolete by the time they are ready for use.

The worst failure of all, however, has been our inability to plan for the progressive growth of residential and shopping areas, with the result that slums and congested areas have grown up at an alarming rate, and in many cases we must now resolutely face the expense and inconvenience of rebuilding on modern lines. Therefore, to build a town without a plan leads to extravagant waste of money, municipal inefficiency, and the creation of ugly neighbourhoods which produce degenerate populations. Modern scientific organisation must therefore be made to apply to our towns if efficiency and contentment are to prevail.

#### PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES AND THEIR REALISATION.

What then are our present opportunities and requirements, and how may they be realised? Remember that we now possess the advantages of a Town-Planning Act, along with many supplementary provisions and clauses which permit a council, possessed of vivid imagination and technical knowledge of town-planning problems, to do almost anything it likes. Indeed, it can no longer be claimed that private landowners are the stumbling-blocks over which every good project falls to the ground. It is for the ratepayers to decide for themselves, and in doing this they may count upon the sympathetic support of Government departments.

Before we begin to replan either towns or villages we must take into consideration the specialised needs and growing opportunities presented by the towns we propose to replan, for the requirements of each will be different. There are, nevertheless a few principles and considerations which apply in most cases, and these may be stated as follows:—

Town planning does not consist merely in rearing grand edifices, nor even in building twelve cottages to the acre, however desirable this limitation may be, but first and foremost is a careful study of every factor and detail essential to the town and the blending of these into a harmonious whole, which will secure the best conditions for

industry and commerce and the happiest existences of the population, whose first concern should be the well-being of the town in which they spend their lives.

Before this can be done it is necessary to realise that every town possesses its own individuality, created for it by its past history, its strategic position, and by its topography. One will be a town on the banks of a beautiful broad river spanned by noble bridges; another will be a seaside resort or seaport town; another may be a town built in the mountains. One town may centre round its seats of learning; another around its market place; another may be dominated by its factories; whilst others may be inland resorts, as are Bath, Leamington, and Harrogate. Whatever the town's individuality is, it should be retained and emphasised, for it is its most valuable possession.

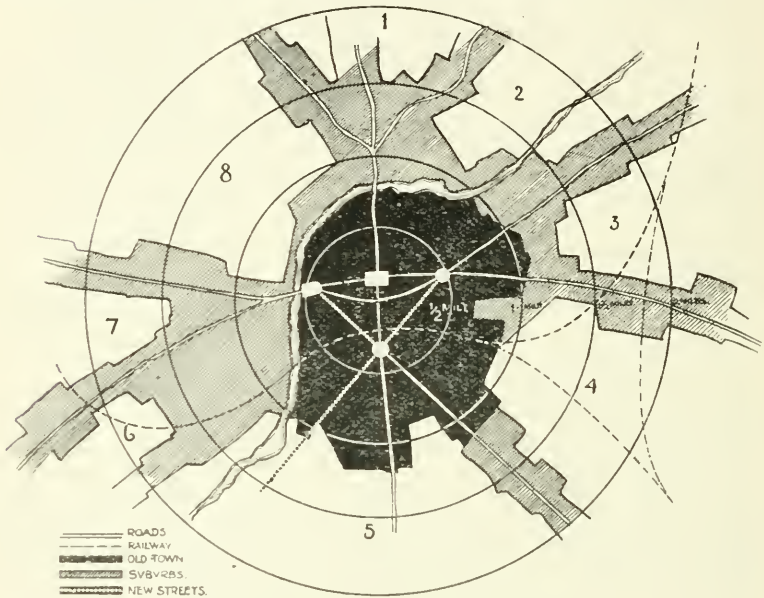
The really important factor, however, in the development of any town is its transport facilities. These have been likened to the life blood of a town or city, and the parallel is justified. It is upon the planning of transport facilities, whether by land, air, or sea, that the success of the whole will largely depend. Indeed, this consideration is of such vital importance that if we possessed sufficient courage it would pay us to scrap some of our towns and rebuild upon strategic and more economic sites. This, however, can never be, for old associations give to the town or city, in which we were born and in which our lives were cast, an endearment and value which will not tolerate destruction, even though we know that from a financial point of view it is foolish to retain the *status quo*. The problem, therefore, is to ensure in advance that the evolutionary changes, which are operative in every growing district, eventuate in a reorganised town which shall as nearly as possible approximate to the ideal.

Some indications of what we regard as the ideal have already been given. The question is, however, the manner in which we can carry out the necessary improvements without incurring ruinous costs and dislocating industrial and commercial activities. This happy result might be attained in the majority of towns without adding appreciably, if at all, to the rates or to municipal indebtedness.

#### RECONSTRUCTION ILLUSTRATED.

Take as an example a Lancashire industrial town of 30,000 inhabitants, which is growing at the rate of 1,000 annually, and demanding new or increased industries, better housing, and a civic centre worthy of the sturdy independence and ambitions of a northern town. In such a town we must introduce better transport facilities; provide one acre of park for every 250 of the population; furnish sites for schools, churches, public libraries, art galleries, probably a new post office, and almost certainly a new railway station. But in securing these improvements we must preserve every building of historic or architectural interest along with every natural beauty spot which gives any distinctive interest to the town.

Some idea of the problem, and the way in which we may solve it, is given in a diagrammatic drawing showing how most existing provincial towns have grown. First we have the old centre in block, and then the straggling suburbs which have grown up along existing arterial roads radiating from the centre of the town. Between these tentacle-like projections are a number of wedge-shaped areas—vacant lands—the whole of which lie within a two-mile radius and provide the town planner with his opportunities. Referring to the existing centre, the elongated white space is the civic centre, the white spots right and left being shopping centres, and the circular spot below the railway is the



HOW OLD TOWNS DEVELOP AND GROW.

station centre, around which are erected two of the principal hotels. The principal shopping streets lie between the dots and along the curved road which provides a bypass road between the two outer dots. Of course, the entire area is intersected by innumerable narrow streets and minor openings, but those shown on the plan are the only ones worthy of the name of arterial roads. Now the merest novice will recognise certain very apparent defects in the existing plan. In the first place there must be provided new diagonal roads extending from the two minor centres to the station, and there must be another diagonal road extending from the station place in a south-westerly direction and then along the bank of the river, which should become a favourite promenade. The next defect is that there are only two

bridges, whereas there ought to be at least four, and possibly five. The river, by the way, is navigable by steam barges, and therefore a factor in the industrial development of the town. So much for the centre: the next question is how are we to develop the wedges.

To this town it is proposed to bring three new industries, which together will employ 6,000 workpeople. Prevailing winds are south to west, and this is a fact we must remember in placing our works. Which is the strategic position for these works? Surely between the navigable river and the railways. Two parts of the town provide these conditions, one south-east and the other north-east, but because of the prevailing wind we choose the latter. As will be seen, however, the north-east district possesses an additional advantage in having two railways, one of which runs to the nearest seaport town, whilst the other connects with important mining and industrial centres. For industrial transport purposes these two railways can be connected by a loop line.

Taking the open spaces in their order, No. 1 and a part of No. 2 would provide the most suitable positions for the housing of the artisan classes. Part of No. 2 and the whole of No. 3 would be reserved for factory sites, also gas and electric power plants. In No. 4 we could arrange contractors' yards, wholesale warehouses, and smaller factories and workshops which are not dependent to any great extent upon foreign transport facilities, whilst a part of this area could also be devoted to artisans' dwellings. No. 5 provides the best residential area. No. 6 could be developed in the interests of the large class of clerks, shop assistants, and others engaged in commercial pursuits, whilst No. 8 provides good sites for residences, high schools, hospitals, and also for the great recreational grounds of the town. This area could be given greater accessibility by the erection of another bridge connecting with the civic centre. In each of the open spaces we could plan public parks and gardens suited to the needs of each locality, along with a system of organised children's playgrounds equipped with the latest gymnastic apparatus, such as is used in the United States of America and Canada. In each section we could develop a community centre which would focus the civic and intellectual life of each district, and thus add to the interest and development of the physical and mental life and well-being of the whole town.

#### COMMUNITY CENTRES.

The way in which these community centres could be arranged is shown by the plan of a similar arrangement designed for Calgary. Here the public school forms the centre, being planned with a view to its use for lectures and other social functions. Surrounding the school are children's playgrounds, tennis lawns, and bowling greens, and in the same open space the public library and a small art gallery are erected. Opposite the main entrance is the local cinema, with shops flanking either side, whilst the two principal corner sites are allocated



to a church and the local fire station. There is no extravagance here; each building is necessary to the life of the district, and their arrangement as shown gives an economic layout which at the same time is orderly and æsthetic.

Thus in a short article I have endeavoured to show the opportunities which in varying degrees are open to every town and village—opportunities which if seized and carried forward with judgment and enthusiasm will do much to remove the reproach with which other countries speak of us. Indeed, I believe that no country possesses our opportunities, and that no other country can provide such splendid conditions for its workers and thinkers alike. Certainly no country can build more cheaply if only we will build on permanent lines and avoid the terrible waste which so often occurs through constant changes resulting from lack of forethought.

---

## AMERICAN LOANS TO THE ALLIES.

---

In October last the United States Government gave an additional credit of 1,000,000 dollars to Italy, bringing Italy's total indebtedness to the United States up to 1,620,922,872 dollars (£324,184,574), and making the total credit to all the Allies (from the United States) 9,647,419,494 dollars (£1,929,483,899).

---

# Refrigeration & Ice Making

---

## The Lightfoot Refrigeration Co. Ltd.

---

**TELEGRAMS:** "Separator, Telew-London"  
**PHONE:** Bank, 5841 and 5842.



35, Queen Victoria St.,  
 London, E.C.

Machines on the Carbonic Acid and on the Ammonia Systems supplied to, and at work at, the principal Co-operative Societies in Great Britain, including the following —

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD., Manchester and London.			
SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD., Glasgow and Aberdeen.			
SUNDERLAND	CREWE	BARNLEY BRITISH	KINNING PARK
NEWCASTLE	STRATFORD	ABBEYDORNEY	TAMWORTH
PENDLETON	ACCRINGTON AND CHURCH	NEWMILNS	LEIGH FRIENDLY
SOUTH SHIELDS	MIDDLESBROUGH	CROFTHEAD	KNOCKNAGASHEL
PAISLEY PROVIDENT	GATESHEAD	GLASGOW EASTERN	CO-OPERATIVE DAIRY CO
LANARK	HEBDEN BRIDGE	CITY OF PERTH	LTD., Co. Kerry

## HOUSING PROGRESS AND THE ACT OF 1919.

By L. G. C.

I HAVE just laid down a copy of *The Future*, the one-day publication issued with the Government's blessing, and which purports to present in popular form the future policy of the Government as set forth by Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the Government. The publication contains one more of those high-toned messages for which the Premier has become famous—or notorious, as you will—during his strenuous political career. In it he says, "The old world must come to an end," and goes on to describe the old world. He speaks of it as a world scarred by slums, and says if we renew the lease of that old world of slums "we shall be guilty of the basest perfidy that ever blackened a people's fame." And it will be remembered he told us some time ago that England should be made a land fit for heroes to live in. The Minister of Health (the Right Hon. C. Addison, M.P.), in the same pages as appears the Premier's message just quoted, tells us that the nation



L. G. CROSSLEY.

begins with the home, and that healthy houses make a happy people.

One would naturally expect, therefore, if these things were truly believed in, to find an almost feverish haste on the part of the Government, which these spokesmen represent, to provide those healthy houses which would do so much to create a happy race. But, alas! it has to be confessed that accomplishment falls far short of promise. From various parts of the country local authorities complain of delay on the part of the Ministry of Health when schemes are submitted for approval.

For some years the Local Government Board, and now the Ministry of Health, have been talking about ways and means, and devising schemes for grappling with the housing problem. Nearly three years ago Lord Downham (then Mr. Hayes Fisher, President of the L.G.B.) agreed that there was immediate need of 300,000 new houses to meet the shortage at that time. Dr. Addison, the present Minister of Health, has stated that 500,000 houses are required, and that 300,000 ought to be erected within two years—that is, before July, 1921. As it is, a year has gone by since the armistice was arranged, and there is not 1 per cent of 300,000 houses in course of building as I write. In only a few isolated cases has even a start been made

in actual building; and in far too many districts no definite plans are yet conceived.

I propose in the present article to deal with the progress that has been made by the Government and those responsible for the provision of decent dwellings for the people. In doing so I need not enter into an extended discussion on the housing problem, or of the causes which have brought it about. We are all familiar with the state of affairs, and the Government is not less so than the rest of us.

#### THE NEW ACT.

On May 27th the Housing and Town Planning Bill (1919) passed its third reading in the House of Commons, went through the Upper House, was finally passed on July 31st. and later received the Royal Assent. The Act amends in many particulars the Housing of the Working Classes Acts of 1890, 1900, 1903, and the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, respectively. Its outstanding feature is the absolute obligation it places upon local authorities to provide houses where the need is found to be imperative. The local authority must have submitted an outline scheme within three months of the passing of the Act, *i.e.*, by October 31st, 1919. If a local authority declines to build, or is unduly dilatory in fulfilling its responsibilities in this matter, the county council may undertake the work at the expense of the local authority. Further, in the event of both the county council and the local authorities failing in their duty, the Ministry of Health may step in, do the necessary work, debiting the local authorities concerned with their quota of the cost under the Act. In addition to house building, the Act also provides for the development of town-planning schemes on a wider basis than did the Act of 1909. Also, in conjunction with the Acquisition of Land Act (1919), it attempts to make the procuring of land for housing and town-planning purposes a less cumbersome and a cheaper process than hitherto.

The Act applies only to England and Wales; separate Acts having been passed for Scotland and Ireland.

#### THE FINANCE OF THE ACT.

The Act primarily establishes a partnership between the State and the municipality or the governing body in any area. It does this by certain financial arrangements, the essence of which is that the State promises to subsidise all approved housing schemes of local authorities up to a point which shall leave the product of a 1d. in the £ local rate only to be provided by the municipality to meet any deficit incurred in carrying out the schemes. In order to avoid delay in the starting of house building, the settlement of the actual amount of the State subsidy is deferred until after the houses have been built and let, though payments may be made on account on provisional estimates of expenditure and income. When the houses have been



built and let, the amount of the subsidy to be paid thereafter during a transitional period ending March 30th, 1927, will be settled on a basis of a revised balance sheet showing actual expenditure and actual rents. At the end of the transitional period—seven years—the whole position will be reviewed. The estimated annual expenditure and income will be compared, and if, as a result, it appears that the future annual charges to be borne by the local authority are likely to exceed the product of a penny in the £ rate, the annual State subsidy for the remainder of the period of the loan will be finally fixed to cover this excess. It will be open, however, to the Ministry of Health to reduce the amount of the State contribution if there has been any evidence of failure on the part of the local authority to exercise due economy of management or in securing the best rents obtainable. Moreover, the whole cost of the scheme must be met in the first instance by the local authority, either out of accumulated funds or by means of loans raised in the open money market, if possible; or, failing that, by loans granted from the Local Loans Fund at rates fixed by the Treasury to correspond with the full current market rate of interest.

The foregoing are the broad lines along which the financing of the housing schemes of local authorities are to run. And a somewhat similar course is followed in the case of public utility societies, to which I shall refer later.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND PROCEDURE.

If there is wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, and this wisdom is usefully applied, there should be a minimum of error in carrying out the new Housing Act. For the past four or five years there have been deliberating all sorts of commissions and advisory committees, composed of architects, builders, contractors, building material manufacturers, trades and labour councils, and women interested in housing. Designs, plans, materials, and the provision of the necessary labour for completing proposed housing schemes have all been discussed almost threadbare. With the idea of expediting procedure under the Act, the country has been divided into eleven areas (including the Metropolitan police district), to each of which is attached a Housing Commissioner empowered to advise and consult with promoters of housing schemes. But even with this decentralisation the procedure to be adopted is involved. Briefly, the method is as follows:—

- (1) Application for approval of site and for sanction to any necessary loan;
- (2) Application for approval of lay-out and for sanction to loan;
- (3) Application for approval of house plans;
- (4) Application for sanction to a loan for the erection of the houses;

- (5) Application for the approval of provisionally accepted tenders;
- (6) Submission of a statement of estimated receipts and expenditure.

When tenders have been approved, building can be proceeded with; and the Ministry of Health has agreed, so as to hasten matters, that in cases where house plans have been approved, building may commence as soon as the tender has been provisionally accepted, though not yet finally approved by the Commissioner or the Ministry.

#### UTILITY SOCIETY AND PRIVATELY PROMOTED SCHEMES.

In addition to municipalities, it is competent for private builders and public utility societies to receive financial assistance from State funds under certain safeguards. And, as a matter of fact, several schemes promoted by utility societies have been approved. The official definition of a utility society is a co-operative society formed for the erection of working-class houses; is not a company, but is incorporated under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts with limited liability, and limits its rate of interest and dividends to 6 per cent. Such a society may receive State assistance to the extent of a loan, repayable over a period of 50 years, of 75 per cent of the original capital cost of the approved scheme, and an annual subsidy of 30 per cent of the loan charges, also for a period of 50 years, if required, on the whole of the capital borrowed for the scheme. The society must give security of tenure to its tenants, and also give them a share in the management of the society. The co-operative societies throughout the country practically comply with the whole of these conditions. One of the most important of these schemes is that of the Swanpool Garden Suburb Limited, which has secured a site of 350 acres upon which it is proposed to build 3,000 houses.

There has also recently been an approach of the Ministry of Health to enlist the services of those private speculative builders who have land and estates partially developed. On October 24th a conference was held between representatives of private builders and the Ministry, as a result of which a committee was formed to formulate definite proposals. On this committee—which is comprised of seven members—there is a majority representative of the National Federation of House Builders, including the secretary, Mr. Norman Mc.Kellan. of that body. These gentlemen again met the Ministry of Health on Tuesday, November 4th. The general scheme proposed is that house builders should proceed on somewhat pre-war lines, but that the local authority should purchase the houses when completed on terms satisfactory to the private builders.

The following is a statement of housing schemes of local authorities and public utility societies submitted to and approved by the Ministry of Health up to October 25th, 1919:—

	Sites.		Lay-outs.	Houses.		Tenders.
	No. of Schemes.	Area in Acres.	No. of Schemes.	No. of Schemes.	No. of Houses.	No. of Houses.
Schemes Submitted ..	5,460	47,250	1,206	756	41,023	10,132
„ Approved ...	1,950	21,850	618	480	27,486	8,054

At the rate of 10 houses per acre—which is the Government's general recommendation—about 274,860 houses are provided for in the above schemes, whereas tenders for only 8,054 houses have actually been approved, and of these a poor proportion are not even started.

#### ACTUAL COST OF BUILDING.

When calculations were being made some three or four years ago, it was estimated that the cost of house building would be at least double the pre-war cost. Tenders which are being received show that this estimate is a long way behind the actual cost. And a few examples of tenders which have been accepted and approved will illustrate this. The following are all for State-aided housing schemes:—

	Number of Houses.	Total Cost.	Cost per House.
		£	£
Sheffield.....	263	180,276	685
„ .....	206	119,875	581
„ .....	184	140,327	708
Middlesbrough.....	106	85,260	804
Derby .....	430	338,755	787
Swansea.....	150	120,900	806
Manchester.....	138	121,992	884
Leeds.....	27	25,592	950
„ .....	10	8,422	842
„ .....	10	8,733	873
Chesterfield .....	26	21,143	814
Birkenhead .....	48	36,303	756
„ .....	44	39,000	886
„ .....	30	28,860	962
„ .....	20	19,260	963
Carlisle .....	24	23,660	986
Holywell .....	30	25,240	841
„ .....	22	17,512	796
Ipswich.....	10	6,478	647
„ .....	15	11,785	785
„ .....	16	12,688	793
Brixham .....	16	10,704	669
Yeovil .....	44	32,629	741
Cambridge.....	16	6,640	415
Shotton .....	52	29,624	570
Halifax .....	62	62,106	1,000

The above are a few taken at random from a list of recent tenders which I have been able to compile. They represent a total of 1,999 houses costing £1,523,667, or an average of over £761 per house. This is exclusive of the cost of land. Commenting on these high costs and the variations in price for similar types of houses, Major Wood, Housing Commissioner for Derbyshire area, said recently there was no justification for the big variations. He instanced that the B class of house, suggested by the Government, was being built in Lincolnshire at £455 per house; the same type of house cost £800 at Clay Cross, £750 at Derby, and in other districts about £600. He declared that most of the higher priced tenders were sent in by the big contractors, who could undertake to build as many as 200 houses, whereas the small builder of 20 to 30 houses seemed able to quote lower figures. Lord Downham, in the House of Lords recently, referred to a batch of tenders received by the London County Council, which worked out as follows: Six-roomed cottages (*i.e.*, three bedrooms, living-room, scullery, bathroom), £856; five rooms, £843; four rooms, £785; and three rooms, £745 per cottage. To make comparison with the present and the pre-war costs, two examples may be taken from the above list. In the case of Manchester it is £884 now against £245, and at Swansea £806 present cost as against £250 pre-war per house. For tenders of 5,824 houses over the country the aggregate cost amounts to £4,090,096, or £704 per house. So that for half a million houses

A SUM OF OVER £350,000,000

must be found.

And this is apart from the cost of the land which has had to be purchased for building purposes. How this works out is shown by a table recently issued by the Ministry of Health. Summarised, the figures are as follows:—

In 35 County Boroughs.....	£212 per acre.
In 44 other Boroughs and Urban Districts of over 20,000 population.....	190 ..
In 127 Boroughs and Urban Districts of under 20,000 population .....	180 ..
In 58 Rural Districts .....	119 ..

For the whole 164 local authorities the average price of the land has worked out at £188 per acre, which is, after all, less than £20 per house. The Government has frequently had to step in and review both tenders for building and offers for building-sites. In the case of builders' tenders a saving of about £200,000 has already been made by a modification and omission of details in plans. In regard to land purchases, the Government Valuation Department has frequently been brought in where a dispute as to price has arisen; and in 840 such cases, where the total sum asked was £1,366,749, the employment of district valuers effected a saving of £329,897.

This enormous increase in the cost of house building is due, of

course, to the enhanced value—to a great extent artificially enhanced—of materials and higher wages for labour.

The Government has purchased big stocks of various kinds of building materials during the past year or two, including some millions of pounds worth of timber, bricks, and slates, the quantities of the two latter being 800,000,000 bricks and 20,000,000 slates. And there is not the slightest doubt that the private traders and manufacturers whose stocks and output have been taken over by the Government have been handsomely dealt with as regards price. The same applies to the contractors whose tenders for building have been accepted. The letting of the work to private contractors instead of employing direct labour has had the inevitable result of forcing up the cost. Sir Auckland Geddes, speaking on the subject of profiteering a short time ago, gave an example of the kind of thing that is happening in the building trade. It referred to an estimate that had been given for bringing certain old cottages up to a modern standard. The estimate was £3,500, but when carefully examined it was found that the price ought certainly not to have been more than £2,500. A well-known municipal engineer, commenting on a similar instance, said he asked for tenders for a small job; these ranged from £245 to £269. Considering this too high, he had the work executed by his council's own workmen, and the work was well done at a cost of £118; and he declares that were the housing schemes carried out by municipalities, with direct labour receiving standard rates of wages, a saving of at least 25 per cent would result. The Halifax Housing Committee, being faced with tenders from contractors averaging over £1,000 per house for 62 houses, have asked permission of the Ministry of Health to carry out the work through the Borough Engineer by direct labour; by which method it is anticipated there will be a saving of at least £200 per house. At the time of writing this sanction had not been received.

#### THE CLASS OF HOUSE TO BE BUILT.

And now let us see what class of house it is proposed to build under the State-aided housing scheme. Let me say at once that it is evidently the desire of the Government that only the best materials shall be used in all the houses built with State funds. The Ministry of Health Housing Department has issued a standard specification for cottages, giving details of the class of work and the quality of the materials to be put in the houses. Every stage, from the excavations to the painter, is dealt with. And if the instructions therein laid down are carried out to the letter, or even to a close approximation, the result should be a well-finished dwelling. There is really no comparison between a house built, say, in 1913 with those proposed to be built under the Housing Act of 1919: that is so far as materials are concerned. Discussing this point a day or two ago with one of the best builders and contractors in Lancashire, he

informed me that—to take only one item—the woodwork specified to be put in the new dwellings was equal to the best that was put in pre-war houses of rentals of £50 or £60 a year. There is, however, a disposition on the part of the Ministry to allow deviation from the instructions; and unless carefully watched this may lead to scamped work.

Chief criticism is centred on the designs and plans issued as a guide to promoters of housing schemes, and which appear in a manual published early this year by the then Local Government Board. There are two main classes of cottages described: class A and class B. The first, it is stated, should contain living-room, scullery, larder, fuel store, w.c., bath in separate chamber, and three bedrooms. The following are given as the minimum of the sizes of rooms recommended:

Living-room .....	180 square feet.
Scullery.....	80 „
Larder.....	12 to 16 „
Coal Store.....	15 „
First Bedroom .....	150 „
Second Bedroom .....	100 „
Third Bedroom.....	65 „

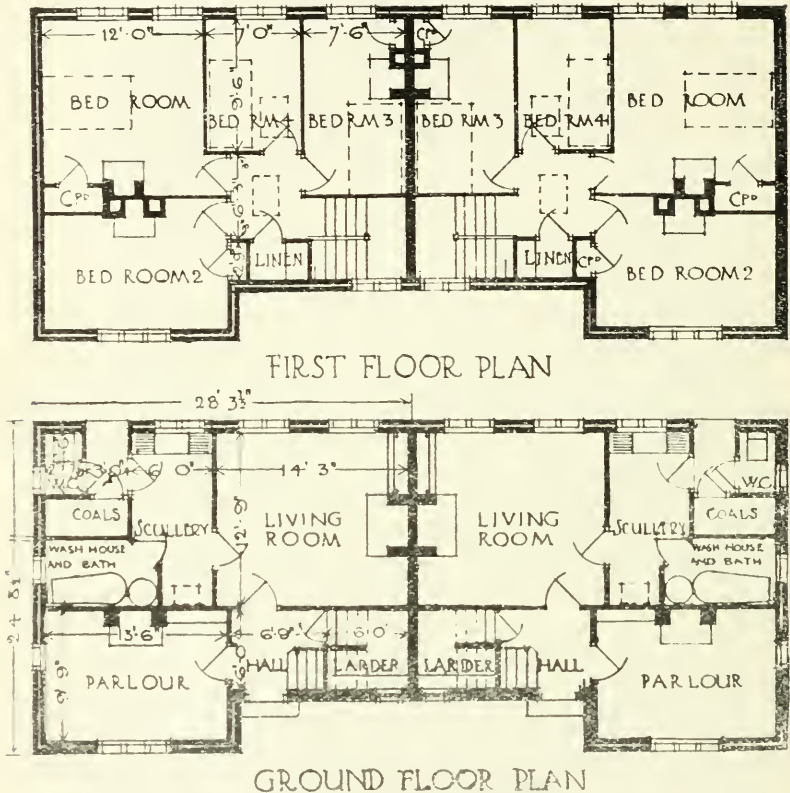
Class B is similar, but with the addition of a parlour of not less than 120 square feet.

With the manual is issued about a dozen specimen plans and designs. Four of these are of class A, and in each case the bathroom is shown as in the scullery on the ground floor; and in the case of class B types, of which there are also four plans, two of these also show the bath in the scullery. Space does not permit of my examining these plans in detail. There are several points which can be discussed, but this omission to place the bath in a separate room adjoining the sleeping-rooms is a grave defect, and is, moreover, an indication, to my mind, that the designers and architects who were engaged on this work have a badly conceived idea of the view which the working classes of the country take of the bathroom. These houses, it should be remembered, are specially designed for housing the working classes; and the plans would seem to indicate that a bath is looked upon as a receptacle for coal and old lumber. But that joke is stale. The mother of a working-class family looks upon a bathroom upstairs as a necessary adjunct to the bedrooms, not to the scullery. Reproduced are two designs of the B type of house showing the situation of the bath in the scullery in one case, and on the first floor in the other. Readers will probably find other defects on a close study of the plans.

#### CAUSES OF SLOW PROGRESS IN HOUSE BUILDING.

That the present rate of progress with house building is anything but satisfactory, most people will agree. And I may, perhaps, briefly indicate some of the causes for this. First of all, there has been a

reluctance on the part of the local authorities to proceed with schemes owing to the enormous cost and a fear that a penny rate will not be sufficient to cover the ultimate local liability. There are quite a number of schemes hanging fire on this account alone. There is a further difficulty in raising a large enough loan to embark on housing schemes because of the much larger sum of money that is required compared with pre-war standards.

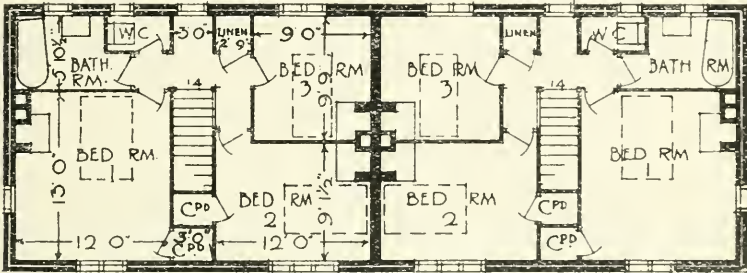


PAIR OF CLASS B1 URBAN (NORTHERLY ASPECT).  
Cubic contents per house, 13,983 feet. Bath in Scullery.

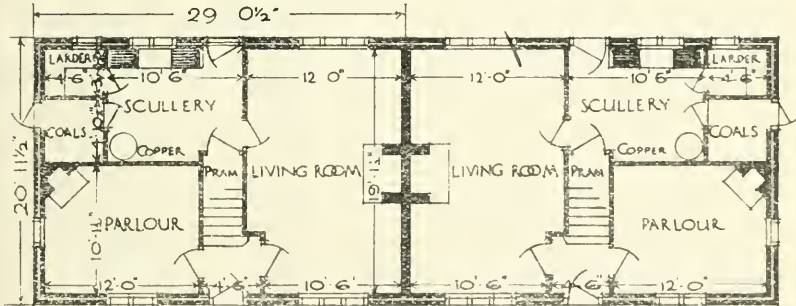
But even when a local authority does move it is very often hampered in its project by the procedure of applying for approval of sites, lay-outs, plans, and tenders. This is illustrated by the fact that though site applications sufficient for nearly 300,000 houses have been approved, actual tenders approved account for only just over 8,000 houses. By this rate of progression over 60 years would elapse before the half-million houses that are urgently needed could be

erected. Case after case has come to light of red tape and circumlocutory office methods, and departmental delay, holding up housing schemes in different localities. The publicity that has been given to these instances, however, has had the effect of causing the Ministry of Health to modify some of its procedure, and we are likely to have a speeding up in the spring of 1920.

There is also a shortage of labour in the building trade generally, and this has had a retarding effect, though not to anything like the extent that the apologists for delay try to make out. In any case



FIRST FLOOR PLAN



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

PAIR OF CLASS B URBAN (SOUTHERLY ASPECT).  
Cubic contents per house, 12,934 feet. Bath on first floor.

labour is engaged on other building work—luxury building, one might almost term it—which could well be suspended and the labour transferred to the erection of houses so urgently required.

The greatest cause for the slow progress is the apathy and lack of enthusiasm, both on the part of the local authority and the Government. They have been talking on the subject for years; and, had they been in earnest, plans could have been ready on November 11th, 1918, and house building been entered upon with the materials and men then available. Had that been done we should



have had the first hundred thousand up by this time. The Premier ought to put some of his visions into practical effect. Meantime, it is one of the chief duties of co-operators to push this question of housing into the forefront of local and imperial politics. It is work for the Co-operative Party to do. It is national, not sectional; and while co-operative societies might consider the advisability of taking advantage of the terms offered by the Government to public utility societies, effort should not be slackened in keeping the solution of the housing problem one of the main planks in the national policy of the country, so that slums shall scar the world no more.

## THE GROWTH OF JOINT-STOCK ENTERPRISE.

### Companies and Capital.

**A**LURID light is shed on the capitalistic developments of late years by the latest figures given in the *Stock Exchange Year Book* of 1919 in respect to joint-stock enterprises, the total number of companies actually existing and the aggregate capital paid up in respect of them at the respective dates being as follows:—

	No. of Companies Existing.	Total Amount of Paid-up Capital.
April 30, 1918 .....	66,456	£ 2,730,594,008
„ 1917 .....	66,131	2,737,733,134
„ 1916 .....	66,094	2,716,989,129
„ 1915 .....	65,986	2,657,466,964
„ 1914 .....	64,692	2,531,947,661
„ 1913 .....	60,754	2,425,740,857
„ 1912 .....	56,352	2,335,203,841
„ 1911 .....	53,707	2,222,293,974
„ 1910 .....	51,787	2,178,619,734
„ 1909 .....	46,474	2,163,132,789

Thus the figures show an increase of paid-up capital, between 1913 and 1917, amounting to £574,600,345, or an average annual increment of £63,844,482.

The fact of an accelerated increase in the war period as compared with the pre-war years is particularly significant. Thus, as between 1909 and 1913 (a four years' period), we find the total aggregate increase of paid-up capital amounting to £262,608,068; whereas, comparing the figures for 1913-17 (the following four years' period), we find an aggregate increase of paid-up capital amounting to £311,992,277, or an average yearly increase of £77,998,069 for four war years, as compared with an average annual of £65,652,017 for the preceding four years of peace.

## THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

COMPARATIVE figures help to bring home to us the accelerated pace of the industrial labour movement in the present century. Thus from 1900 to 1917 trade union membership advanced from 1,971,923 to 5,287,522, the increase by 3,315,599, or by 168 per cent, in the course of seventeen years revealing the eclipse of the whole of last century's growth represented by a membership scarcely reaching two millions.

Comparative figures also show that the creation of new records has been a distinguishing feature of the present century. Thus, in 1892 the Board of Trade recorded an ascertained trade union membership of 1,502,358, and it was not till fourteen years later (*i.e.*, in 1906) that the collective membership sealed two millions. But in 1911 (*i.e.*, five years later still) the three million mark was reached; in 1915 (*i.e.*, four years later) the membership topped four millions; and in 1917 (*i.e.*, three years later) the membership had reached over five millions; and if it should reach six millions in the two following years no one will feel surprised. Meantime it may be noted that the membership of 5,287,522 for 1917 signifies an increase of 19·1 per cent compared with the figure for 1916, and that this percentage increase has been surpassed only twice during the present century, *i.e.*, in 1911 and 1913, when the year's increase figured respectively at 23·4 and 21·5 per cent.

According to official figures the total number of employers' associations and federations was 1,824 in 1917 and 2,849 in 1918. The latest Government figures thus show an increase of 1,025 employers in the course of twelve months.

### Trade Unions.

#### NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP.

[Compiled from Returns supplied by the Trade Unions to the Department of Labour Statistics and to the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies.]

ALL TRADE UNIONS,\* 1899-1917.

Year.	Number at end of Year.	Membership at end of Year.	Year.	Number at end of Year.	Membership at end of Year.
1899.....	1,310	1,860,913	1909 .....	1,199	2,369,067
1900.....	1,302	1,971,923	1910 .....	1,195	2,446,342
1901.....	1,297	1,979,412	1911 .....	1,204	3,018,903
1902.....	1,267	1,966,150	1912 .....	1,149	3,287,884
1903.....	1,255	1,942,030	1913 .....	1,135	3,965,782
1904.....	1,229	1,911,099	1914 .....	—	3,952,861
1905.....	1,228	1,934,211	1915 .....	1,106	4,163,134
1906.....	1,250	2,128,635	1916 .....	1,115	4,437,947
1907.....	1,243	2,425,153	1917 .....	1,133	5,287,522
1908.....	1,218	2,388,727			

\* Exclusive of a few trade unions, generally unimportant, for which particulars are not available, and of a certain number of federations, employers' associations, and trade protection societies which are registered as trade unions.

The following table shows the figures and the increase of organised groups from 1913 to 1917:—

Groups of Trades.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Building .....	247,894	235,884	232,571	229,272	257,286
Mining and Quarrying.....	915,884	862,260	844,102	877,694	949,120
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding.....	543,571	562,092	640,066	695,347	847,202
Textile .....	520,061	499,833	512,290	530,411	627,919
Clothing.....	106,075	102,288	113,925	121,656	149,756
Railway Service .....	326,369	337,082	384,534	424,960	498,263
Other Transport (Land and Water) .....	374,831	366,137	355,833	378,912	404,846
Other Trades.....	431,026	448,052	453,365	484,383	594,174
General Labour .....	330,300	364,581	452,629	509,083	719,579
Employees of Public Authorities .....	169,771	174,652	173,819	186,229	239,317
Total.....	3,965,782	3,952,861	4,163,134	4,437,947	5,287,522

The total increase from 1913 to 1917 amounts to 1,321,740, or 33·3 per cent.

The most marked changes in membership since 1913 have been increases in the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding group (304,000), general labour (389,000), and railway service (172,000).

#### THE FEMININE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

In 1899 the female membership of trade unions in the textile trades amounted to 111,870, and in the non-textile trades to 11,895 only; the total female trade union membership thus figuring at 123,765. The progress during the present century is made manifest by comparing the preceding figures with those for recent years.

#### FEMALE MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS.

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Textile Trades .....	257,281	251,115	269,797	290,000	365,000
Non-textile Trades.....	99,682	104,977	131,122	251,000	409,000
Total.....	356,963	356,092	*400,919	541,000	774,000

\* Later figures make the number 401,994.

The above figures show that the female membership of trade unions has increased in the period 1913-17 by 414,000, or 115 per cent, and in 1917 by 233,000, or 43 per cent.

#### The Trade Unions Congress.

The fifty-first annual Trade Unions Congress of the United Kingdom was held at Glasgow on September 8th and the five following days. The Congress was presided over by the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. G. H. Stuart-Bunning, O.B.E., J.P.

The analysis into groups of trades given below shows the composition of the Congress compared with the corresponding figures for the Congress of 1918:—

Groups of Trades.	1918.			1919.*		
	Number of Organisations.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Members.	Number of Organisations.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Members.
Building .....	10	26	219,916	12	33	276,950
Mining and Quarrying .....	7	186	680,100	7	173	684,300
Engineering .....	13	42	429,982	16	46	489,137
Shipbuilding (including Boilermaking) .....	3	10	120,016	3	10	133,442
Other Metal Trades .....	33	96	238,297	30	80	276,150
Textiles .....	23†	139	421,869	23†	131	474,204
Clothing .....	7	32	168,684	7	34	216,586
Transport (Land and Water) .....	19	94	739,551	19	86	800,938
Agricultural Labourers .....	1	2	36,000	1	2	100,000
Chemical, Gas, and General Labourers .....	10	93	865,270	9	93	1,012,548
Printing, Bookbinding, &c. ....	12	32	104,047	12	32	137,570
Pottery and Glass .....	7	12	24,128	6	12	36,313
Woodworking, Furnishing, &c. ....	10	14	65,104	9	13	86,733
Food and Tobacco .....	4	12	17,050	5	14	43,041
Enginemen .....	6	21	61,252	9	16	66,624
Post Office Employees .....	5	11	110,891	6	12	115,727
Shop Assistants and Clerks .....	3	17	112,000	5	19	150,065
Miscellaneous .....	18	37	86,835	21	41	148,002
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>876</b>	<b>4,501,022</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>847</b>	<b>5,248,330</b>

\* The figures for 1919 are provisional and subject to slight correction.

† In some of the textile, &c., trades not only are amalgamated associations represented as such, but the branch associations of which they consist send separate delegates. These branch associations have not been reckoned as separate organisations.

The number of organisations accounted for in the above statement is 200, but some of these organisations are federations having members of several of their constituent trade unions in attendance at the Congress. Allowing for such cases, members of about 300 trade unions attended as delegates.

## FRANCO-ITALIAN LABOUR AGREEMENT.

The negotiations for the conclusion of a labour treaty between France and Italy have resulted in the signature of an agreement which will be submitted for approval to the Parliaments of the respective countries. The treaty enacts that the workers of either country, when employed in the other, shall be on the same footing as nationals in regard to labour conditions and shall enjoy the same benefits with reference to relief and insurance.

## THE COURSE OF WAGES.

THE figures given below from the Board of Trade are eminently illustrative of the vain struggle of the wage-earner to keep pace with the increasing cost of living. The fact that the total general increase shown in the table as the outcome of 13 years' effort amounts to 11·2 per cent, or less than 1 per cent rise per annum, needs no comment.

### Changes in Rates of Wages.

INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING GENERAL COURSE OF WAGES IN THE  
UNITED KINGDOM, 1880-1913.

WAGES IN 1900=100.

End of Year.	BUILDING TRADES (Mean of 74 Rates).	COAL-MINING (changes in Hewers' Wages).	ENGINEERING (Mean of 36 Rates).	TEXTILE (Cotton Spinners and Weavers and Linen and Jute Operatives).	AGRICULTURE.	Mean of Preceding Groups of Trades.	
						Including Agriculture.	Excluding Agriculture.
1880	85·6	61·5	88·0	89·8	90·7	83·1	81·2
1890	86·7	85·9	92·7	95·1	92·0	90·5	90·1
1900	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
1905	100·0	81·0	100·0	102·7	102·6	97·3	95·9
1910	100·0	89·6	102·0	107·1	104·7	100·7	99·7
1911	100·0	88·8	103·3	107·1	105·5	100·9	99·8
1912	101·1	93·8	104·2	110·7	107·4	103·4	102·5
1913	104·4	100·1	105·0	111·6	111·2	106·5	105·3

The highest average increase of agricultural wages has been in Ireland (17·8 per cent), Scotland coming next with 8½ per cent rise, and England third with an increase of 9 per cent.

The average earnings of railway servants have increased as follows in the period 1899-1913:—In England, from 25s. 9¾d. to 28s. 6d.; in Scotland, from 22s. 10¾d. to 25s. 1½d.; and in Ireland, from 19s. 4½d. per head to 22s.; whilst for the United Kingdom as a whole the average per head has increased from 25s. 3d. to 27s. 11¼d., or an increase of 2s. 8¼d. per week in the course of 14 years.

Changes in wages have been more or less of an artificial character since the war began, and are no indication of normal conditions.

Cotton wages have increased 115 per cent since 1914, and 30 per cent has been added to meet reduced hours from 55½ to 48 per week.

INCREASE OF WAGES IN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

The years 1896-1900, 1906-7, and 1910-15 figured as periods of rising wages, and the years 1901-5 and 1908-9 as those of the fall. The total amount of increase or decrease in weekly rates recorded during each of these periods and in 1916, 1917, and 1918, is shown in the following table:—

Period.	Number of Years Included.	Net Increase or Decrease in Weekly Rates.	
		Increase in Periods of Rising Wages.	Decrease in Periods of Falling Wages.
		£	£
1896-1900 .....	5	437,641	—
1901-5 .....	5	—	228,909
1906-7 .....	2	258,809	—
1908-9 .....	2	—	128,093
1910-15 .....	6	1,058,000	—
1916 .....	1	637,000	—
1917 .....	1	2,307,000	—
1918 .....	1	2,783,000	—

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that the net increase in wages during the above period works out at something over £7,124,448 weekly, so far as the workpeople known to the Board of Trade are concerned. It may further be noted that the later increases have been the greatest recorded for single years during the period in question. These increases for 1915 and onwards are exclusive of changes in the earnings of police and of Government employés, whereas for previous years the figures are inclusive.

The Course of Wages in War Time and After.

The upward trend of wages in war time (forced on by the abnormal increase in the cost of living) is indicated by the figures in the following table, which shows a total increase during 1917-18 and down to the end of October, 1919, amounting to £6,485,600. Add thereto the increase of £677,700 during 1915, and of £637,000 during 1916, and the total increase per week for the five years 1915-19 comes to £7,800,300. In other words, the average increase per person amounted in 1915 to 3s. 9½d., in 1916 to 3s. 6½d., in 1917 to 9s. 2d., in 1918 to 9s. 10d., and in 1919 (down to the end of October) to 6s. 11d.; the total average weekly increase per person for the whole period amounting to £1. 13s. 3d.; whereas the increase in the cost of food

down to November, 1919, amounted to 131 per cent; while, at the same time, the cost of clothing figures at over 200 per cent above pre-war prices.

Group of Trades.	Number of workpeople whose rates of wages were reported as changed in			Net increase in the weekly wages of those affected, as compared with the preceding year.		
	1917	1918.	1919, Jan.-Oct.	1917.	1918.	1919, Jan -Oct.
Building .....	250,000	386,000	229,000	£ 99,800	£ 250,200	£ 109,700
Coal Mining.....	1,000,000	900,000	1,110,000	473,500	411,500	585,700
Iron and Other Mining.	30,000	33,500	48,000	16,400	12,000	25,000
Quarrying .....	21,000	23,000		7,300	8,100	
Pig Iron Manufacture...	35,000	34,500	26,000	20,000	21,500	13,200
Iron and Steel Manu- facture .....	125,000	125,000	106,000	75,000	50,000	70,900
Engineering and Ship- building .....	1,238,000	1,320,000	393,000	822,800	588,000	83,900
Other Metals.....	251,000	396,000	142,000	123,200	161,300	50,200
Textile .....	866,000	815,000	457,000	272,000	468,500	84,600
Clothing.....	260,000	330,000	379,000	58,600	103,000	95,600
Transport .....	200,000	203,000	*257,000	82,000	148,000	*54,300
Printing, Paper, &c. ....	92,000	98,000	136,000	30,800	65,700	34,300
Glass, Brick, Pottery, Chemical, &c. ....	201,000	275,000	115,000	71,400	121,700	25,800
Other Trades .....	310,000	555,000	452,000	100,600	288,500	126,100
Local Authority Services	150,000	160,000	157,000	53,600	85,000	36,300
Total .....	5,029,000	5,654,000	4,007,000	2,307,000	2,783,000	1,395,600

\* Excluding railways.

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND DISEASES.

IN war time as in peace the list of industrial casualties has been an annual feature. For 1918 the Board of Trade figures recorded 3,375 workpeople as having been killed in the course of their employment (as compared with 3,357 in 1917), and for the ten months ended October, 1919, 2,394 as compared with 2,864 for the corresponding period in 1918. The figures are exclusive of accidents among seamen.

### DISEASES OF OCCUPATIONS.

As regards the cases of poisoning and of anthrax reported to the Home Office under the Factory and Workshops Acts, the figures are as follows:—In 1917, 650 cases, including 82 deaths; in 1918, 265 cases, including 30 deaths; and in 1919 up to the end of October, 234 cases, including 34 deaths. To these figures must be added the following cases of lead poisoning among house painters and plumbers which came to the knowledge of the Home Office, viz.: 1917, 57 cases (18 deaths); 1918, 35 cases (20 deaths); and for the ten months ended October, 1919, 28 cases, including 11 deaths.

## UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE manner in which the workers' livelihood is made the sport of the eternal fluctuations in trade (which are the inevitable outcome of the anti-social organisation of industry) receives a pointed demonstration in the trade union statistics of unemployed. But during the war period the percentage of unemployment has been reduced to a minimum: and if this can be done in war time it can also be done in peace time by proper organisation.

### GENERAL PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYED FOR ALL UNIONS INCLUDED IN OFFICIAL RETURNS.

{ 1872 ..... 0.9	{ 1899 ..... 2.0	1916 ..... 0.4
{ 1879 ..... 11.4	{ 1904 ..... 6.0	1917 ..... 0.7
{ 1882 ..... 2.3	1908 ..... 7.8	1918 ..... 0.8
{ 1886 ..... 10.2	1913 ..... 2.1	
{ 1890 ..... 2.1	1914 ..... 3.3	
{ 1893 ..... 7.5	1915 ..... 1.1	

A still more striking object-lesson is furnished by the engineering, shipbuilding, and metal group of trade unions, in which the excessive proportion of unemployment in normal times is shown as follows:—

### AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE ENGINEERING, SHIPBUILDING, AND METAL UNIONS.

{ 1872 ..... 0.9	{ 1890 ..... 2.2	1906 ..... 4.1
{ 1879 ..... 15.3	{ 1893 ..... 11.4	1909 ..... 13.0
{ 1882 ..... 2.3	{ 1899 ..... 2.4	1913 ..... 2.2
{ 1886 ..... 13.5	{ 1904 ..... 8.4	

### Labour Exchanges.

Board of Trade Labour Exchanges were founded for the purpose of finding employment for those out of work. The question is: How far have they answered their purpose? The answer is furnished by the labour statistics, which show that to two-thirds of the applicants the Labour Exchanges have been of no use whatever.

### PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS REGISTERED FOR WHOM WORK WAS FOUND DURING 1911, 1912, AND 1913.

Year.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1911.....	27.5	31.7	46.7	42.9	31.0
1912.....	32.8	32.9	48.2	43.4	34.9
1913.....	30.8	37.9	54.1	47.1	34.9

How far the Labour Exchanges still are from providing a solution of the unemployed problem is shown by the latest figures available at the time this volume goes to press.



The number of applications from workpeople recorded during the five weeks ended October 10th, 1919, was 447,443. These figures comprise workers in professional, commercial, and clerical, as well as in industrial occupations, but exclude casual occupations.

The number of vacancies notified during the period was 161,280, and the number of vacancies filled was 108,836.

## LABOUR DISPUTES.

THE number of trade disputes reported to the Department as causing a stoppage of work in 1918 was 1,252. In the period for which statistics are available this number has only once been exceeded—in 1913, when 1,497 disputes were reported. For the years 1915–17 the numbers were 706, 581, and 688 respectively. The total number of workpeople involved, directly and indirectly, in 1918, was nearly 1,100,000. This number is greater than in any previous year since 1912, when nearly 1,500,000 workpeople, including 1,100,000 coal miners, were involved in disputes. In the three years 1915–17 the average number involved was 533,000.

The following table summarises by trades the figures for 1917 and 1918 respectively:—

Groups of Trades.	1917.			1918.		
	No. of Disputes.	Number of Workpeople involved.	Aggregate Duration in Working Days of all Disputes in progress.	No. of Disputes.	Number of Workpeople involved.	Aggregate Duration in Working Days of all Disputes in progress.
Building.....	53	6,897	85,300	134	56,353	458,500
Mining and Quarrying ...	128	274,145	1,170,800	165	380,238	1,273,800
Engineering .....	94	356,199	2,877,900	132	101,532	462,400
Shipbuilding .....	49	10,091	326,000	168	51,401	377,700
Other Metal .....	38	30,109	165,100	86	67,115	575,000
Textile .....	65	62,887	653,300	67	263,615	1,700,900
Clothing .....	42	13,042	145,800	70	24,025	320,800
Transport .....	40	26,740	188,100	67	58,868	265,000
Other Trades.....	151	46,704	340,100	270	80,132	686,000
Local Authority Services	28	3,613	11,200	93	13,249	117,000
Total .....	688	860,727	5,963,900	1,252	1,096,828	6,237,100

The industries most seriously affected by disputes were coal mining and engineering. Considerable increases both in numbers and in aggregate duration were also recorded in the textile and shipbuilding trades.

## WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT.

---

THE recent report of the Women's Employment Committee (of which Sir John Simon, K.C., and Major Hills, M.P., were successively chairmen) contains some valuable recommendations which show how women during the war era have brought about a speeding up of enlightenment. Briefly stated, the committee recommends that all clerical posts open to men in the Local Government service should be also open to women. For the securing of adequate wages for women workers in general the committee recommends more and better organisation as well as adequate training, and, in the case of unorganised workers, a large extension of Trade Boards. As to hours of labour, the committee recommend the possibility of a 44-hour week and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay. As to welfare work, the committee declare that "it should be the employers' duty to study conditions as he now studies cost of production; and workers should strive for good conditions as they have striven for good wages." All factories employing women in sufficient numbers should have a woman superintendent, and there should be women members on all boards and committees dealing with the interests of women, whether in industry, commerce, or clerical work. As to trade unionism, the committee declare that organisation should be encouraged in every possible way.

With regard to the employment of

married women outside their homes, this should not be encouraged; but there should be a free and efficient medical and midwifery both before and after confinement. Mothers' pensions are also recommended on the lines of the system in operation in the United States, which enables widows and deserted wives to remain at home and care for their children. In the matter of home workers, wages should be regulated by Trade Boards, and Trade Board Officers should have legal right of access to the lists of outworkers kept by local authorities.

Furthermore, the committee recommend that the provisions of the Factory Acts with regard to hours (with amendments suggested) should be applied to shops, and the Factory Department should have the same power to deal with offences against the Truck Act in shops as they have at present in the factories and workshops; and there should be closer co-ordination between the local authorities and the Factory Department with regard to the administration of the law concerning hours of work and sanitary conditions.

From this brief outline it will be seen that the recommendations in full are well worth studying by all interested in the welfare of women. The report is issued at 6d., and, apart from the recommendations, deals with various important aspects of women's employment.

---

## COLLECTIVE LABOUR AGREEMENTS IN FRANCE.

By the insertion of new provisions in the French Labour Code, collective labour agreements have been made legally binding on all concerned. Thus, according to the law of March 25th, 1919, "groups which have legal personality and which are parties to a collective labour agreement can on their own account bring an action for damages against other groups which are also parties to the agreement, or against the members of these groups, or against their own members, or against any person bound by the agreement who shall break the conditions agreed upon. Similarly, persons who are parties to a collective agreement can take action against other persons or other groups bound by the agreement who break the conditions which concern them."

## STATISTICS OF OCCUPATIONS.

ACCORDING to the census of 1911 over four-fifths of the males of ten years and upwards are engaged in some avocation, and close on one-third of the number of females of the same ages.

### PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES.

Of the 18 principal industries or services enumerated females preponderate in six, viz., domestic service, the cotton manufacture, dressmaking, teaching, the wool and worsted manufacture, and drapery, besides being equal to males in number in the tailoring industry. Domestic service occupies in females alone practically as many persons as the railway service, the engineering, machine-making, ironfounding and boilermaking trades, and national government all put together. Taking the principal industries together the number of females constitutes slightly over a third of the total of over nine million persons employed.

### SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES OR SERVICES IN 1911.

Industries or Services.	Net Total in Industry or Service.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Domestic Indoor Service .....	1,302,438	41,765	1,260,673
Agriculture (on Farms, Woods, and Gardens) .....	1,229,555	1,134,714	94,841
Coal-mining .....	971,236	968,051	3,185
Building .....	817,942	814,989	2,953
Cotton Manufacture .....	623,825	250,991	372,834
Local Government (including Police and Poor Law Services) .....	588,951	412,501	176,450
Railway Companies' Service .....	542,969	535,799	7,170
Engineering and Machine-making, Ironfounding and Boilermaking .....	510,226	502,942	7,284
Dressmaking .....	336,955	3,826	333,129
Teaching .....	300,831	89,648	211,183
Inn, Hotel—Service .....	289,056	178,550	110,506
Grocery .....	269,322	210,387	58,935
Tailoring .....	254,828	127,301	127,527
Printing, Bookbinding, and Stationery.....	249,465	161,856	87,609
National Government .....	249,199	215,110	34,089
Wool and Worsted Manufacture .....	233,189	105,552	127,637
Boot, Shoe, &c., Making.....	217,986	172,000	45,986
Drapery .....	204,126	93,171	110,955

N.B.—The fact that the figures of principal industries are net, and those in the occupational tables are gross, explains some discrepancy.

THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF FEMALES.

The ever-increasing industrialisation of females is clearly revealed in the following census figures, which (excluding domestic service) showed in 1911 a preponderance of females in 15 out of 23 occupations, as compared with a preponderance in seven in 1861:—

Occupations.	Proportion of Females per 1,000 Persons Occupied.					
	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911
Agriculture.....	70	59	47	40	33	29
Schoolmasters, Teachers, Professors, Lecturers .....	725	741	727	740	745	727
Photographers .....	66	147	197	234	257	297
Laundry and Washing Service .....	990	987	981	964	957	931
Commercial or Business Clerks .....	5	16	33	72	153	245
Telegraph, Telephone—Service (including Government) .....	82	76	236	291	406	522
Earthenware, China, Porcelain—Manufacture .....	311	354	384	385	392	421
India-rubber Workers, Waterproof Goods Makers .....	206	200	275	391	398	370
Brush, Broom—Makers; Hair, Bristle—Workers .....	321	346	382	389	431	440
Paper Manufacture.....	417	395	444	401	366	312
Stationery, Paper Box, &c.—Makers and Dealers .....	345	380	531	600	643	653
Cotton Manufacture.....	567	598	620	609	628	614
Wool and Worsted Manufacture.....	461	513	561	557	582	571
Silk Manufacture .....	642	676	691	667	702	693
Hemp, Jute, Coco Fibre, Rope, Mat, Canvas, Sailcloth, &c.—Manufacture .....	265	304	374	393	492	530
Hosiery Manufacture .....	468	468	533	629	713	735
Lace Manufacture.....	829	826	743	625	653	630
Carpet, Rug, Felt—Manufacture .....	183	312	362	440	517	544
Drapers, Linon Drapers, Mercers .....	208	257	349	433	504	560
Straw—Plait, Hat, Bonnet Manufacture ...	921	926	903	814	737	666
Glove Makers.....	864	882	854	769	761	731
Boot, Shoe, Slipper, Patton, Clog—Makers and Dealers .....	154	115	160	185	210	226
Tobacco Manufacturers: Tobacconists.....	221	296	435	548	601	596

## PAUPERISM.

THE dimensions of the grand army of paupers in England and Wales may be realised from the following statistics, in which the increase in numbers, and in proportion to the population, was writ large till the establishment of old-age pensions in 1911 abolished the pauper stigma in the case of a section of destitutes.

### Number of Paupers—England and Wales.

MEAN NUMBER\* OF PAUPERS RELIEVED IN ENGLAND AND WALES,  
AND THE RATES PER 1,000 OF THE ESTIMATED POPULATION.

[Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Local Government Board.]

Years ended March.	Paupers of all Classes, except Casual Paupers and Lunatics in County and Borough Asylums, Registered Hospitals, and Licensed Houses.				Total Paupers of all Classes. ‡	
	Indoor.		Outdoor.		Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population.
	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population.	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population.		
1903.....	226,959	6·7	510,594	15·5	817,697	24·8
1904.....	229,035	6·9	516,036	15·5	832,454	25·0
1905.....	239,894	7·1	547,445	16·3	878,514	26·1
1906.....	247,758	7·3	549,796	16·2	891,637	26·2
1907.....	250,544	7·3	542,160	15·8	886,886	25·8
1908.....	255,958	7·4	540,098	15·6	892,972	25·7
1909.....	267,130	7·6	550,878	15·7	916,245	26·1
1910.....	275,075	7·8	539,642	15·2	916,377	25·9
1911.....	275,070†	7·7	507,921†	14·2	886,177†	24·8
1912.....	267,426	7·4	408,106	11·3	780,329	21·6
1913.....	265,410	7·3	411,575	11·3	783,916	21·5
1914.....	254,624	6·9	387,208	16·5	748,019	20·3
1915.....	252,526	6·8	391,915	10·6	752,041	20·3
1916.....	Cannot be stated.					
1917.....						
1918.....						

\* The mean numbers shown in this table for any year are the means of the numbers of paupers relieved on January 1st of that year, and on July 1st preceding.

† A number of paupers, especially outdoor paupers, ceased to be dependent on poor relief in 1911 in consequence of the partial removal of the pauper disqualification for old-age pensioners. The number of persons formerly indoor paupers who became pensioners in January, 1911, was 5,077, while the corresponding number of persons formerly outdoor paupers was 117,338. The total number of indoor paupers over 70 years of age decreased from 57,701 at January 1st, 1910, to 45,747 at January 1st, 1916. The corresponding number of outdoor paupers decreased from 138,223 at January 1st, 1910, to 8,792 at January 1st, 1916.

‡ Paupers who received both indoor and outdoor relief on the same day are not counted twice in the total.

### Cost of Poor Relief—England and Wales.

Meanwhile, the increased cost of poor relief is indicated as follows: In England and Wales (including London) the average cost of the individual pauper was in 1901 £27. 12s. 10d., and in 1913 £32. 12s. 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.; for outdoor paupers the individual cost was in 1901 £6. 13s. 0<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d., and in 1913 £7. 10s. 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.

With regard to pauperism during the war period it is officially stated that, as compared with December, 1915, the total number of paupers (indoor and outdoor) relieved on one day in December, 1916, in 35 selected urban areas in the United Kingdom showed a decrease to the number of 25,997 (or 8·6 per cent); that figures in December, 1917, as compared with the corresponding month in the previous year, showed a reduction to the number of 24,922 persons) or 9·0 per cent); that in December, 1918, there was a further decrease of 18,423 (or 7·3 per cent) as compared with the same month in 1917. For October, 1919, however, the official figures record an increase of 8,436 (or 3·7 per cent) on those of October, 1918.

---

### THE OUT-OF-WORK DONATION SCHEME.

AS officially stated by the Minister of Labour, the total amount paid (up to and including the week ended October 17th) under the out-of-work donation scheme, was approximately £39,000,000. The scheme has been in operation since November 25th, 1918, and the total monthly amounts paid to the end of September, 1919, were approximately as follows:—

	£
December, 1918 .....	761,000
January, 1919 .....	3,070,000
February .....	4,128,000
March .....	4,928,000
April .....	5,604,000
May .....	5,317,000
June .....	3,496,000
July .....	3,629,000
August .....	2,760,000
September .....	2,076,000

---

### THE VICTORY LOAN.

The result of the Victory Loan of 1919 was as follows: Funding Loan, £274,000,000; Victory Bonds, £265,000,000; conversions, £169,000,000; total, £708,000,000. The figures represent the face value of the stock subscribed for. The actual cash received was £450,000,000 (for the Victory Loan) and £9,600,000 for War Savings Certificates during the period of the loan.

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

THE Old-Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908, and in the first two years during which it was in force the total number of pensions was between 600,000 and 700,000. In 1911 the number was largely increased owing to the alteration effected by the Act of 1911, by which poor-law relief is now, generally speaking, only a disqualification during the period during which it is being received. The figures for 1918 and 1919 show a slight diminution in the total of pensioners as compared with the pre-war year.

### NUMBER OF OLD-AGE PENSIONERS.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911.....	613,873	91,805	201,783	907,461
1912.....	642,524	94,319	205,317	942,160
1913.....	668,646	96,239	203,036	967,921
1918.....	676,312	91,583	180,687	948,582
1919 (March) .....	658,818	87,681	173,699	920,198

On March 31st, 1919, the 920,198 persons in receipt of old-age pensions were about 56 per cent of the estimated total septuagenarian population. 322,934 were men, and 597,264 were women.

A Departmental Committee was appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in April, 1919, to inquire into the rates of pensions and qualification. This reported, in November, in favour of the amount of the Old-Age Pension being increased to 10s. a week; the abolition of the means qualification; the abolition of the disqualification caused by receipt of out-door relief, and the abolition of the disqualification following a term of imprisonment, save in the case of habitual inebriates. The Committee have been "irresistibly forced to advocate that the means limit be abolished altogether, and that the old-age pension be given to all citizens at the age of 70." The grant of a ten shilling pension to every person on reaching the age of 70 would involve a total expenditure of £41,000,000 a year.

The amount paid in pensions for the year ended March 31st, 1919, was £11,731,000, with £5,997,000 as additional allowance. An estimate of the cost of lowering the present age limit of 70 years to 65 years shows that 2,692,000 would thus become entitled to the pension, which, at 10s. a week, would entail an expenditure of £70,000,000 per annum.

## THE LIVING WAGE IN AUSTRALIA.

THE determination of the living wage in accordance with the cost of living is an interesting development which has taken place in New South Wales. In New South Wales the State Board of Trade is required by the State Industrial Arbitration Act to make annually a public inquiry into the increase or decrease in the average cost of living with a view to the determination of certain living wages. Now the President of the Board is judge of the Industrial Arbitration Court, and when he delivered the first "living wage" judgment in 1914 in regard to the labourers' wage in Sidney, he laid it down that the "living wage" should be determined by the purchasing power of the sovereign as

calculated regularly by the Commonwealth Statistician. So determined, the "living" or minimum wage of the Sidney labourer was gradually increased from £2. 8s. in 1914 to £3 per week in 1918, *i.e.*, to 10s. per day, or 1s. 3d. per hour. As for adult females in the metropolitan area of Sidney, by a judgment pronounced on December 17th, 1918, the "living wage" to be paid was fixed at 7½d. per hour, or 5s. a day, or 30s. a week. In the declaration this amount was stated to be "the minimum wage which should be provided to cover the cost of living of the adult female worker of the poorest class maintaining herself, but having no other responsibility and living away from home in lodgings."

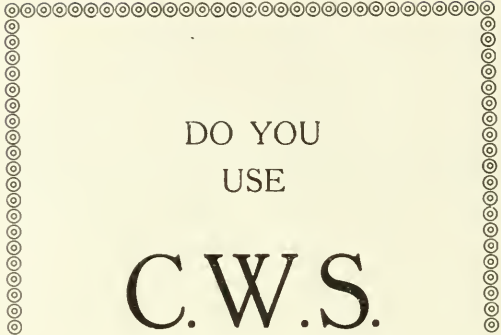
## COLLECTIVE LABOUR AGREEMENTS IN GERMANY.

BY virtue of an ordinance of December 23rd, 1918, collective agreements in Germany may be declared universally binding by these being entered at the request of both parties in the Registry of Agreements kept by the Ministry of Labour. The figures given, moreover, in *Sociale Praxis* of July 24th, 1919, afford evidence of the steady increase of these declarations. "Within the last two months seventy requests for registration have been sent in, and the *Reichsanzeiger* publishes ten further requests for the first week of July. . . . On the workers' side, many trades which had hitherto rejected the policy of collective agreement

are now adopting the system. Among these the associations of commercial and technical salaried employees, which formerly refused to regulate their conditions of employment by this method, now play an important part. Of the ten requests for registration made during the first week of July nine had reference to agreements affecting salaried employees." It is further stated that as regards the majority of declarations the agreements are binding for the whole industry in a particular locality. In a number of cases the industrial agreements are binding for the whole of Germany.

According to an announcement in the *Imparcial*, in October last, the King of Spain has signed a Royal Order fixing the maximum working day at seven hours for miners working underground. The Order comes into force on January 1st, 1920, together with the Royal Decree of April 3rd, 1919, fixing the general working day at eight hours.





DO YOU  
USE

C.W.S.  
PURPLE SEAL



OR  
JUST

Ordinary  
Margarine?

## THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY.

BY FRANK HODGES, SECRETARY, MINERS' FEDERATION  
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

COAL is the material basis of Britain's commercial prosperity. It is vital to our social welfare for many generations to come. Sweeping as these two generalisations are, they cannot be disputed. Imagine England without coal, and one sees at once a pastoral or an agricultural country, an Italy, a Greece, or a Denmark. In such a pass, unless we imported coal, as in the case of Spain, we should probably be still in the era of handicraft or simple manufacture.

For over a thousand years coal has been known to have been worked in this country. Licences to dig coal are known to have been granted in the reign of Henry III. During the past thousand years the production of coal has grown and grown. As more was produced, so industry generally has been accelerated. More coal has produced more iron and steel. More iron and steel have resulted in more machinery. More machinery has meant more coal, and slowly but surely modern



FRANK HODGES.

industry has grown into the wonderful mechanism of the present day. But the supply of coal is not inexhaustible. In the course of generations it may all be exploited. If Mother Nature and human ingenuity have nothing to substitute it in subsequent centuries, the cycle of industrial evolution could be fairly accurately foreseen. On this score, however, we have little cause for uneasiness as to our commercial prosperity. With an estimated quantity still unexploited of 197,000 million tons (H. S. Jevons, 1915) we can safely pass anxiety on the score of available supplies on to posterity.

### THE FALLING OUTPUT.

What is a matter of importance, however, is the fact of falling output, steadily increasing cost of production, and wasteful and unscientific consumption of the coal produced.

The output of coal is still on the decline. The aggregate annual output is falling, and the actual output per person employed is also declining.

The following table shows the increase in aggregate output from 1904 to 1913, and the decline in aggregate output from 1913 to the present day, with an estimate for the year 1920.

PERSONS EMPLOYED AT COAL MINES AND OUTPUT OF COAL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1904 TO 1919, INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Persons Employed.	Output of Coal	
		Tons.	Output of Coal per Person Employed above and below ground. Tons.
1904 .....	833,629 .....	232,411,784 .....	279
1905 .....	843,418 .....	236,111,150 .....	282
1906 .....	867,152 .....	251,050,809 .....	292
1907 .....	925,097 .....	267,812,852 .....	292
1908 .....	972,232 .....	261,512,214 .....	271
1909 .....	997,708 .....	263,758,562 .....	266
1910 .....	1,032,702 .....	264,417,588 .....	257
1911 .....	1,049,897 .....	271,878,124 .....	260
1912 .....	1,072,393 .....	260,398,578 .....	244
<b>1913 .....</b>	<b>1,110,884 .....</b>	<b>287,411,869 .....</b>	<b>259</b>
1914 .....	1,117,000 .....	265,643,000 .....	238
1915 .....	952,000 .....	253,179,000 .....	266
1916 .....	966,000 .....	255,864,000 .....	265
1917 .....	993,000 .....	248,041,000 .....	250
1918 .....	961,000 .....	226,557,000 .....	236
1919 (estimated) .....	1,111,000 .....	230,606,000 .....	214
July, 1919, to July, 1920 (estimated). ...	1,111,000 .....	217,588,000 .....	—

It is these figures that bring the position of the coal-mining industry most vividly before our minds. Thus from 1913 to 1919 the aggregate annual output has fallen by 57 million tons, or, approximately, 20 per cent. If the estimate of the Coal Controller for the year ending July, 1920, be correct, then the output will have fallen by 70 million tons, or, approximately, 24·5 per cent.

On the other hand, the number of men engaged in the industry in 1919 is practically the same as the number employed in 1913. Thus the output per person employed has fallen from 259 tons per annum in 1913 to an estimated 214 tons per annum in 1919, or a reduction in output per person of 13·5 per cent. This state of affairs would not in itself be so calamitous if the need for coal for industry at home and for export abroad were less than before. This is not so. The world is starving for coal, and no other source of energy has as yet threatened its supremacy.

#### THE INCREASED COST.

Falling output, has increased the cost of production. Increased cost has been reflected in increased prices. What cost and what price?

During the five years ended 1913 the average position of profit and price was as follows:—

Pit-head Price per ton. Average of Five Years, 1909 to 1913.	Profits per ton, excluding Royalties. 1909 to 1913.	Annual Average Profits, exclusive of Royalties, 1909 to 1913.
8s. 9d. ....	11½d. ....	£13,000,000
1918. 20s. ....	1918. 3s. 6½d. ....	1918. £39,000,000

The foregoing table shows that whilst price has increased steadily from 1913 to 1918, cost has not been principally responsible, because profits have trebled. This was the position as discovered by the Coal Industry Commission in the early part of its public sittings. Since then an extraordinary change has taken place. The costs have gone up like a rocket, prices have mounted still higher, whilst profits have disappeared altogether.

The sensational White Paper (Cmd. 252) presented to Parliament by Sir Auckland Geddes on July 14th, 1919, purported to show that instead of a profit for the year ending July 15th, 1920, the industry would reveal a loss of £46,600,000. In order to avoid the payment of subsidies out of taxation and revenue to keep the mining industry artificially solvent, the Government proposed to raise the price of coal by an extra 6s. per ton, which, added on to the tonnage which was presumed to be capable of carrying it, viz., upon 161,000,000 tons, would provide an additional aggregate price of £46,600,000. In point of fact it would have yielded £48,300,000, but a million pounds or so never interferes with a Government calculation. What is much more to the point is the fact that the extra 6s. per ton was put on all inland sales on July 21st, 1919.

#### WHAT ARE THE CAUSES OF THE SITUATION?

Thus we witness the growth of an industry from lowly and ancient beginnings to the point at which it becomes the key industry of our country. We see it become highly efficient, measured by productivity and profit. We see it self-supporting and independent, infusing a vitality into all dependent industries, and now we see it weak and tottering, a burden upon industry generally, a feeble competitor in the markets of the world. We witness a reduction in coal exports, which must now exchange for reduced imports, and thus impoverish our country. In short, the coal industry presents the gravest situation in our industrial and national life.

Having stated the position of the industry in the light of the data which are now available to the whole world, we are driven back on the question as to what are the causes of this situation.

- (1) Is it due to declining efficiency in mining technique?
- (2) Is it due to increasing difficulties owing to having to work inferior seams?
- (3) Is it due to lessened effort on the part of the workmen?
- (4) Is it due to the influence of Governmental control in the industry during the past three years?
- (5) Finally, is it due to any growing hostility between owners and workmen which makes continuous and harmonious relations impossible?

To state these questions is to expose the lines of inquiry open to the student who not only seriously desires to understand the problem, but who is also anxious to find a solution. The Coal Industry

Commission examined each of these questions in turn, but they were by no means unanimous as to which factor was of the greatest importance. The tendency of the employers of labour was to blame the workmen and the Government, whilst the other members of the Commission came to the conclusion that individuals were not to blame, but the system and method of production.

#### THE DETERIORATION IN TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT.

Let us examine these questions one by one. Whilst there is no falling off in the technical efficiency in the managerial and commercial staffs (the standard of efficiency, especially of managers, is raised practically every year if examination papers are a safe indication), there is a pronounced falling off in the efficient technical equipment of the mines themselves.

During the war the usual replacements of depreciated machinery, such as winding engines, pumps, haulage engines, &c., have not taken place on anything like the pre-war scale. There have been no renewals of permanent way, rolling stock, or tubs, with the result that both on the colliery surface and underground the productive capacity of the industry has been reduced. In his speech in the House of Commons on July 14th, 1919, Sir Auckland Geddes commented upon this phase of the situation, and said "There is, at present, the greatest possible difficulty in getting forward to the mines the steel rails they require, the tubs they require, the machinery they require."

In the earlier part of his speech he referred to a group of 40 collieries which in pre-war days loaded some 10,000 general user wagons in addition to privately-owned wagons. At these same pits during a recent week it was possible to have present, waiting for loading, only 700 wagons. One needs no further proof on this important phase of the industry. Falling output, to a large extent, is admittedly due to declining efficiency in technical equipment.

#### THE WORKING OF INFERIOR SEAMS.

(2) It is true that in the older districts the easiest and most productive seams of coal have been extensively worked in the generations that are gone. Some have been exhausted and many others are on the point of exhaustion, but the development of newer fields and the introduction of labour-saving machinery have to a large extent counterbalanced the loss of the more productive seams. The tendency, on the whole, is that the production per man employed is influenced by the fact of having to continuously attack the inferior seams before the life of a colliery or a district in a colliery terminates, but this factor would not appreciably reduce output when spread over the whole kingdom.

#### THE LOWERED STANDARD OF PHYSICAL EFFICIENCY.

(3) Is it due to decreased effort on the part of the workmen? Is it due to "ca' canny"? To this the employers would answer a

unanimous "Yes." The workmen, with equal unanimity, would say "No." But that does not get us much further in our quest.

That there are men who could do more and are content to do less is a truism; but they are by no means numerous. If these were universal the reduction in output would be more systematic and the result more pronounced. It has been argued quite plausibly that increases in wages have invariably resulted in decreased effort. Figures have been adduced to show that, year by year, as wages have gone up output has gone down. In certain specific instances it has been proved that a decline in production has followed upon an increase in wages; but this does not prove that the one is the cause of the other. The spur of necessity always keeps the average man at the maximum intensity of labour. The needs of himself, the calls of family, and the maintenance of social status are ever present with the average workman. What is it to him if wages go up if the cost of living goes up in equal proportion? If the average wage of a miner is higher by 100 per cent than before the war, and the cost of living has increased by 110 per cent, will the miner be as well off as before if he "slacks"? On the contrary, is it not obvious that in order to maintain his pre-war standard of living he must work even harder than before? As I shall show later, his falling output is more the result of the spirit pervading his whole relationships with the employer rather than any consciously-directed attempt to keep output down.

The marked decline since 1916 can be traced, to a large extent, to the fact that the single young miners who were physically fit were, for the most part, taken into either the army or the navy. They represented the cream of workmen. The industry was poorer for their absence. The demobilised soldiers who have returned to the industry do not, and can not, restore the balance in its entirety. Even although the actual number of men engaged is as high as in 1913, the pre-war standard of efficiency is not the same.

#### PRIVATE INTERESTS VERSUS PUBLIC CONTROL.

(4) Can it be said to be due to the "dead hand" of the Government in mining? Every critic of Governmental interference in industry answers "Yes." The existence of the Coal Controller and the work of his department have in no way interfered with the actual work of production. For the most part their work has been on administrative and distributive lines. Regulation of price and consumption both for home and foreign purposes, interference in industrial disputes, and the administration of the Coal Prices Limitation Act and the Coal Control Agreement Act represent practically the whole of the activities of the Coal Control. But the effect of the law which takes all excess profits up to 80 per cent, and for the purpose of maintaining pre-war standards of profits for poorly-paying and totally-unremunerative collieries takes another 15 per cent, has been most marked. It has resulted in an attitude of indifference on the part of the owners. Instances have

been brought to my notice of owners working inferior seams and closing up good ones until the great day when emancipation from artificial restriction of price and profit would have come; of lethargy in some cases in making provision for the future development of the industry by the expenditure of capital; of energy in other cases in making provision for future output when the market would be free and control would be gone. Indeed, control has affected the industry prejudicially because the purpose of control was in conflict with private interests. It mattered naught that the purpose and effect were for the public good.

#### THE MOST POTENT FACTOR OF ALL.

(5) Finally, is it due to the relations which exist between employers and workmen? Whilst each of the foregoing factors contributes to a greater or lesser degree to the declining output, the most powerful factor is undoubtedly to be found in the answer to this question.

If the growth of disputes and strikes, large and small, is indicative of a growing antagonism between employers and employed, the mining industry since 1916 shows a remarkable indication.

	Approximate Number of Workpeople involved in Disputes.		Approximate Number of Working Days Lost through all Disputes during the Year.
1916.....	62,000	.....	311,000
1917.....	280,000	.....	1,097,000
1918.....	371,000	.....	1,183,000
1919 (January to March).	488,000	.....	2,097,000

Too much importance cannot be attached to the above table.

These struggles have been, for the most part, over wages and hours and conditions of employment. Their existence proves to some extent that the interests of the parties are in conflict. The antagonism is not of recent growth. The pre-war figures are no better; if anything, they are worse. It is not so much the influence that these strikes have upon output which is important, but the gradual formation of a permanent psychology of antagonism which is being created as a result. There is no co-operation between workmen and employers; no common motive in industry; no conscious attempt to attain the highest efficiency; no elimination of waste; no internal economies. Both sides pursue opposite aims. No industry can survive long under such circumstances. The motive of profit-making is no longer sufficient, as in the old days. The increased experience of the workmen, plus their improved education, has rendered insufficient such a purpose in production. Even the motive of profit-sharing leaves the workman cold. His point of view now is—production for profit is wrong, but as long as it exists we will fight for a larger and larger share of it, even regardless of the amount or kind of work performed. As long as he sees that a margin of profit exists he will struggle to secure it.

The system is creating the psychology of low production. It is ruinous. Low production is bad in itself. Therefore, while many of

the causes of falling production can be removed and the situation improved, this cause can only be removed by making it possible for a newer and higher motive in production, which will animate every worker in the industry, both by hand and brain. It can only be the motive of public service.

#### THE THING THAT MOST MATTERS.

The Majority Recommendations of the Coal Industry Commission and the scheme for the nationalisation of the mines had this fundamental fact in mind when the Commissioners and the miners sought to improve permanently the position of the industry. At the base of the scheme is the desire to provide for the motive of public service; to provide avenues for co-operation between the technical and manual staffs in the joint work of producing at maximum efficiency; to provide for the participation of the workpeople, not merely in the act of physical production, but also in the wider responsibilities of direction and control.

It is not only necessary to have the requisite mechanical equipment for production; it must be vitalised by the will to produce efficiently for the public good.

The machinery of nationalisation may be faulty. At the beginning it would be irksome and cumbersome, but time would speedily make it elastic and adaptable. It is the spirit behind national ownership, with joint control between the State and the workers, which really matters.

#### THE FUTILITY OF TRUSTIFICATION.

But what hope is there for the industry? At the moment of writing, the Government has decided to reject the scheme of the Coal Industry Commission for the nationalisation of the mining industry. In its place it recommends the unification of the industry into separate district trusts. This for the ostensible reason of eliminating the proved prodigality, waste, and inefficiency of unbridled competitive concerns. This for the purpose of improving output.

It is futile. It is the futility born of the inability of capitalistic statesmen to recognise the obvious. The trustification of the industry may effect economies. It should certainly prevent the waste of competitive production, but it will fail inevitably to secure the co-operation and goodwill of the workmen. In so far as it fails to accomplish this it utterly fails. Only the stern resolve of the workers of this country and the help of the friends of the workers can save the industry from inflicting still further hardships on the community.

The industry can be reorganised, made lucrative, and thus make the highest economic contribution to the national well-being, but to accomplish this a new type of statesmen must come into power, who will for the first time understand the aspirations of the working class, and provide adequate channels for their social expression.



Apart from these considerations there is a great attraction which must affect the output during 1920-21. In the Sankey Interim Report Parliament is asked to legislate for a six-hour day in mines in the year 1921 if the economic position of the industry would justify such a reduction in the working day—that is to say, if the output at the end of 1920 can attain the output of 1913, viz., 287,000,000 tons, the six-hour day would come into operation as and from July 13th, 1921. To this Parliament has agreed in the new Mines Bill.

Provided the industry were nationalised there would be this additional reason for making good the output. It may be a selfish reason, but it would be a powerful one. The six-hour day is the ideal working day for the underground workmen. Sound organisation and technique are the pre-requisites. The rest will follow.

The rise of wages in Germany during the last five years is illustrated by the increase of earnings in the coal industry. Thus, comparing the first quarter of 1919 with the second quarter of 1914, we find that the increase for coal-hewers ranges from 133½ per cent in the Aix-la-Chapelle district to 254 per cent in Upper Silesia, while the increase for surface workers ranges from 120½ to 256½ per cent. The lowest earnings by coal hewers (12s. 10d. per shift) is received in the Saarbrück (State) mines, and the highest (18s. 7d.) in the mines on the left bank of the Rhine. In the case of surface workers, the earnings range from 8s. 10d. and 8s. 11d. in Lower Silesia and Aix-la-Chapelle to 13s. in Dortmund, Westphalia.

ESTABLISHED 1889.

# Morris, Wilkinson & Co.

T. MORRIS.  
V. FURMIDGE.  
J. MORRIS.

BASFORD,  
NOTTINGHAM.

Telegrams: "SIRROM," NOTTINGHAM.  
Telephone: 3095 (Two Lines).

The Largest and Most Reliable Firm in the  
Trade for all kinds of . . .

## Wicker & Cane Furniture, Basketware, Perambulators,

&c.

THE C.W.S. ARE AGENTS FOR THE CO-OPERATIVE  
MOVEMENT.

## RAILWAY NATIONALISATION.

BY A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C., CHAIRMAN, RAILWAY  
NATIONALISATION SOCIETY.

**H**OWEVER much people may differ as to the desirability or otherwise of State ownership of industries, there can be no doubt, one would think, in the mind of any reasonable person, that some services, vital to every section of the community, should

be carried on by the community itself and not by a person or persons for private profit. It will be found generally that the few services upon which opinion is unanimous in this respect have to do with the problem of communications. Our roads were once subject to private enterprise, as is evidenced by the many old toll-gates or toll-houses still in existence; similarly a toll had to be paid for crossing most bridges, and still is in some cases. Then, in every country, even the most individualistic, the Post Office is a State institution; and it is doubtful if, even amongst the most inveterate opponents of the community managing its own affairs, there are to

be found in this country one hundred persons who would seriously and publicly advocate the handing over of the British Post Office to a company. Now, I fail to see any argument in favour of the roads and the Post Office being owned and managed by the community that is not applicable to that no-less-important means of communication—the railway.

It is doubtful whether even to-day the average citizen realises how important is the question of transport in every department of life. I will go so far as to say that transport is as important as production, for no one district can possibly be self-sufficing in the matter of food, housing, and clothing; and trade and commerce are nothing less than transporting commodities from where they are produced to those places where they are consumed. If one follows, mentally, the process of the manufacture of an article, it will be realised how potent a factor transport is in deciding the cost of that article. In most cases the raw material has to be brought overseas and then railed to the factory, for all our manufacturing centres are situated inland. Practically every item in the manufacture of the finished article, including the machinery by which it is made, has had to be transported by rail; the traveller who sells it throughout the country has to travel by rail; and the finished article itself has to be despatched by the same means to the store or shop which



A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

ultimately sells it to the consumer; and before it has reached the latter it has probably paid toll to the railways in half a dozen different forms. In so far as this toll or rate is required to cover the cost of transport, in which is included a reasonable return on the genuine capital outlay involved by the construction and operation of the railways, it is a perfectly proper charge; anything above this is in the nature of a tax upon the consumer, with this difference—that, instead of the tax going to the benefit of the whole community, it goes into the pockets of a comparatively small number of persons, namely, the gentlemen who control the railways and the shareholders who own them.

#### PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PUBLIC BURDENS.

By a series of overlapping and unnecessary duplication of services; by the maintenance of dozens of unnecessary receiving offices and a host of unnecessary, highly-paid officials, while the mass of their low-grade workers were overworked and underpaid; by incompetent mismanagement from beginning to end, those in control of the different sections of our railway system were, by this total lack of co-ordination, causing the community to spend many millions a year more on transport than would have been necessary had the railway services been run on modern unified and scientific principles. Walk through any big town, and you will see in one street two or three receiving offices belonging to different railway companies, each having its separate staff and paraphernalia of collecting vans, &c., belonging to it. If the Post Office were run on similar lines, you would have in one street three or four different post offices: one accepting letters, parcels, and telegrams for the North of England; another for the East of England, but overlapping the territory of the first one; another the South-West of England; and another the South-East, the last two again overlapping one another, and possibly one of the others also. You would have four mail vans, instead of one, collecting packages from the same street; four different sets of vanmen, postmen, telegraph messengers, &c.; four different sets of telegraph forms, four sets of stamps, and so on. The amount wasted in this fashion on unnecessary rents alone by the railway companies must be enormous. Fortunately, however, for the community we have a nationalised Post Office.

Does any reader think this far-fetched or exaggerated? If so, let him or her read the extracts from the speeches of chairmen of railway companies given in my *Nationalisation of Railways* (A. & C. Black, 1s. net), in which these gentlemen themselves state that hundreds of thousands of pounds have been wasted on unnecessary capital expenditure and on wasteful and incompetent management in almost every direction; and let him or her read the speech made by Sir Eric Geddes in the House of Commons on March 17th, 1919, a full report of which may be obtained at an expenditure of 3d. by

obtaining from a bookseller the official report of the House of Commons debate for that date (volume 113, No. 28). Sir Eric Geddes, prior to his appointment as Transport Minister, was general manager of the North-Eastern Railway, probably, all round, the most efficiently-managed of the big British railway companies. Who would have thought a few years ago that the whilom manager of one of the great British railways would have said in Parliament:—

We must forgo the luxuries of competition; we must forgo private interest and local interest in the interest of the State.

And again:—

I know of cases—I will not say I have had nothing to do with them myself—where goods for northern markets were deliberately influenced to a southern port in order to get the haul over the railway; and goods for southern markets were deliberately influenced to a northern port—things that were identical in quality and everything else. That kind of thing is going on all over the country. That is a waste of movement. Who pays for that? The community pays . . . the consumer pays, and the transport workers pay because they do not get paid enough. . . . Throughout the country you have got waste movement, unnecessary movement; and if you are going to pay the great bill that is against transportation to-day, you have got to stop that. You can get the goods through to their destination without any undue burden upon the consumer, and the transportation system of the country will be healthy, *which it cannot be to-day.*

The first place has here been given to the question of money saving, for in the difficult years that lie ahead of the nation it is imperative that everything should be done to keep down the cost of living. This has a twofold aspect: every million that it costs to work the railways, which can be saved by co-ordination and elimination of wasteful methods, is a burden upon the consumer, as it is obviously passed on to him in the shape of increased prices for goods; and every million of profit earned by the companies on top of this is equally a burden upon the community, and has to be paid for in the cost of living. If ever there was a service in which it was easy to make a case for its provision *at cost*, it is that of transport; but it would not be fair to expect a *company* to supply a service at cost, seeing that the primary purpose of the company's existence is not to supply that service, but to *make the greatest possible profit out of doing so.* It is obvious, therefore, that the nation cannot expect to have transport at cost unless it eliminates the profit-making incentive by taking over the railway service itself and operating it on the most modern and scientific lines, with the avowed object of supplying every section of the community with transport at cost. Incidentally, it may be remarked that every additional shilling charged for transport is an extra handicap upon our manufacturers and merchants in competing with others in foreign countries.

#### THE BOYCOTTING OF IMPROVEMENTS.

But it is not only the money point of view that is of importance. Transport plays a very large part in the promotion of human

intercourse, in the amenities of life, and in health. A company working solely for profit—and the quickest possible profit at that—so far from asking itself how it can further to the utmost the interest of the community, opposes any great improvement proposed by a rival if it thinks it would thereby lose traffic; and oftentimes deliberately sets up inconvenience to the public, as is shown by the following gem from the speech of the chairman of the Great Northern Railway when he asked the shareholders to agree to a working arrangement with the Great Central:—

You can hardly conceive, in districts so important as these, the disadvantages that exist by two unnecessary and separate train services, not always taking the shortest road, not always making connection at a particular junction so that trains may meet, and very often making the arrangements such that they should not meet. I know, as a matter of fact, that this is the case. I complained one day at Doncaster—and hope the Great Central won't be cross with me about this observation—but I was trying to get to a place called Frodingham. You can only get there by going round at Retford, or going by the Great Central by Doncaster, and I said to the stationmaster, I am afraid, in a tone which was not pleasant: "Why on earth don't you agree with the Great Central and make these trains fit?" "Well, sir," he said, "we have altered ours three times in order to make them fit, and every time we have altered them they have altered theirs." This is the way in which the public is inconvenienced. It is a simple illustration, but it is an effective one.

Comment is superfluous!

Once the community owns and operates the whole railway system of the country, it can be worked with a single eye to the benefit of the community, and many things may be done which do not, of themselves, pay, but are desirable for the benefit of the community. We would not then be continually hearing of fruit, in a season of glut, rotting on the trees whilst our town populations had little or none, because the high railway rates did not make it worth the growers' while to send it to market. And this brings us necessarily to the question of management under the State.

#### THE ADVANTAGES OF STATE OWNERSHIP.

The outcry against State management emanates from the "big interests," and is voiced by a press controlled by them. State management is much less corrupt than ordinary "big business," the difference being that any scandal in connection with a government or municipal concern is quickly brought to light and exposed. If the same fierce searchlight beat upon every big business undertaking, our press could regale the public with some sensational stories—if it chose to do so! Co-operators know what it is for the aims and working of a movement to be distorted by opposing interests, and will not be misled by the tremendous onslaught that has been waged against every form of State undertaking with redoubled efforts since the reports of the Coal Commission. Far be it from my mind to assert that all State undertakings are satisfactory, controlled as they

are by members and nominees of our dominant governing class, which is hostile to the community supplying its own needs without paying handsome tribute to their own class, which also dominates private industry. The greatest State undertaking in this country is the Post Office. The greatest opponent of State undertakings who appeared before the Coal Commission was Lord Gainford, who, as Mr. J. A. Pease, was Postmaster-General, *i.e.*, the head of the greatest State enterprise in the British Empire! It is as though a co-operative society chose as its chairman the biggest grocer in the town who on every occasion attacked the co-operative movement! And yet, so great are the advantages of State ownership of any great service or industry, in that it inevitably leads to unification and co-ordination, and is also subject to public criticism, that even when controlled by an opponent of nationalisation it renders better service than if it were being run merely for the profit of a few. For, mark you, the latter is what *efficiency* really means, and nothing else, when the word is used by an opponent of nationalisation; and if the measure of efficiency is dividends, the opponents of national ownership have won their case. You cannot give the 600,000 railway workers adequate wages and leisure (which means reasonable working hours), the trading and travelling community the cheapest and best possible transport, and at the same time pay high dividends. This idea was well expressed in the Report of the Rural Transport (Scotland) Committee issued in July, 1919, from which the following paragraph is taken:—

The committee, in their report, take the broad view that there is a national duty to provide every community with reasonable, convenient means of communication, and in considering what assistance is possible it would be too narrow a view to look merely for a direct pecuniary return on the capital expended. They press the view that the indirect return is important—that of increased production and better diffusion of wealth. There is in Scotland a well-defined field for the improvement of rural transport.

#### THE QUESTIONS OF PURCHASE AND PRICE.

The two big things that have to be considered in connection with our future nationalised railways are (1) the purchase price to be paid for them, and (2) the form of management. If the price paid is excessive, then the community will suffer for many a year by having to pay more for transport, as the railways will, of course, have to earn sufficient to meet the interest and repayment of the debt that will have to be incurred in order to buy out the shareholders. The number of shareholders has nothing to do with the question of what is a fair price, but shareholders have votes, and as, in connection with the attempts that are being made to organise the shareholders, the statement is often made that they number almost as many as the railway workers, namely, 600,000, it may be well to point out that the same person is often a shareholder in four or five companies. I know several people who hold shares in half-a-dozen different railway

companies, but have never yet met a man who was an engine driver on one company, a signaller with another, and a porter on another ! After eliminating duplicates, the actual number of shareholders in the British railways is 252,000. A word or two may perhaps be devoted to the shareholders, and it is only fair to say that many of these get but a poor return on the amount *they had to pay* for the shares they hold. Some years ago railway stocks stood at high prices, and were a favourite form of investment; but they were woefully mismanaged, the workers were grossly underpaid, and so much out of touch with modern conditions were the railway directors that right up to the outbreak of war they refused officially to recognise the railway trade unions, and had brought their employees up to the pitch of active revolt. On this account railway shares were steadily being depreciated in value, and had there been no war the railways would still have found themselves face to face with their workers, who were determined to secure proper conditions. There is no need here to go into a mass of figures, but after allowing for every single factor, and bearing in mind that the huge Government traffics of the past few years will rapidly tend to disappear, there is no doubt that if the railways were to be restored to the companies after the two years during which they have been entrusted to the Ministry of Transport, the companies would be in a desperate position, as increased working expenses have eaten up all the margin of profit that used to be available for dividends; and it is not likely that in the hard times before us any Parliament would permit (or be allowed by the nation to permit) the companies to increase their charges so as to provide themselves with dividends. That some people expect this, however is shown by the fact that an article in the *Evening Standard* of March 13th, 1919, contained the following:—

If unified command increased the efficiency and reduced working expenses as much as in Sir Eric Geddes' hands it ought to, then two years hence it may be possible to return their properties to the companies in a solvent and greatly-improved condition.

In other words, the State is to put in order the undertakings half ruined by their managements, and then hand them back to those who brought them to their present position !

Railway shareholders can no more expect the nation to make up to them the losses that have been incurred by the mismanagement of the directors who control their undertakings than holders of Consols can expect to have their losses made good by the nation; but no reasonable person has any desire to penalise railway shareholders as such, and the Railway Nationalisation Society, in its *Nationalisation of Railways Bill* (price 1½d. post free of the Railway Nationalisation Society, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, London, W.C.2), puts forward a scheme whereby each railway shareholder shall be bought out on the basis of the mean quotation of his stock during the twelve months which ended six months prior to the introduction of the

Bill, this time margin being set up to prevent manipulation of the quotations. The idea is that the purchase price shall be paid in Government stock bearing interest at the same rate as that of the former existing Government stock, in such fashion that the holder of railway stock would receive as much of the Government stock as he could have bought had he been paid in cash. This method of computation is fair to the stockholder, for it is based upon the recent market price of his stock, which, to some extent, reflects the changed conditions since the outbreak of war, and at the same time it shuts out the lawyers from any say in the allocation of the purchase money. This, it may be added, would, on present Stock Exchange quotations, cost something like £800,000,000.

Interest and a small sinking fund on this would call for forty-four millions per annum, or nine millions less than the 1913 profits of the railway companies. These nine millions represent the superior credit of the State, and although that sum, together with the fifteen or sixteen millions more that should be saved by the economies possible through unification, will not meet the additional cost of working, it will at least result in lessening the extent to which rates and fares will have to be raised by some twenty-five millions.

#### THE QUESTION OF ADMINISTRATION.

There remains the question of administration; and although, as I have already stated, State ownership and operation are better, even under present bureaucratic conditions, than if worked by companies for dividends only, that is no reason why the State system of the future should not be freed as far as possible from the disadvantages which do attach to Government management. This could only be achieved by making the management more democratic. Whether the railways are ultimately nationalised, or revert to company ownership or some mixed form, every student of contemporary labour thought knows that no future system of operation can avoid disaster unless it allows for the representation of the workers in the management, not merely to discuss labour conditions, but actually to take a part in the management. After long discussions with the secretaries of the three great railway unions and representatives of other unions, the Railway Nationalisation Society's Bill provides that the management of the railways should be in the hands of a National Transport Council consisting of the Minister for Transport (including the Post Office), three members appointed respectively by the said Minister, the Board of Trade and the Treasury, and three members appointed by the Minister from a panel of not less than twelve persons nominated annually by the several executive committees of the trade unions, the membership of which is derived from persons engaged in the railway and allied services. The three Labour members of the council should hold office for five, six, and seven years respectively, and should be eligible for reappointment

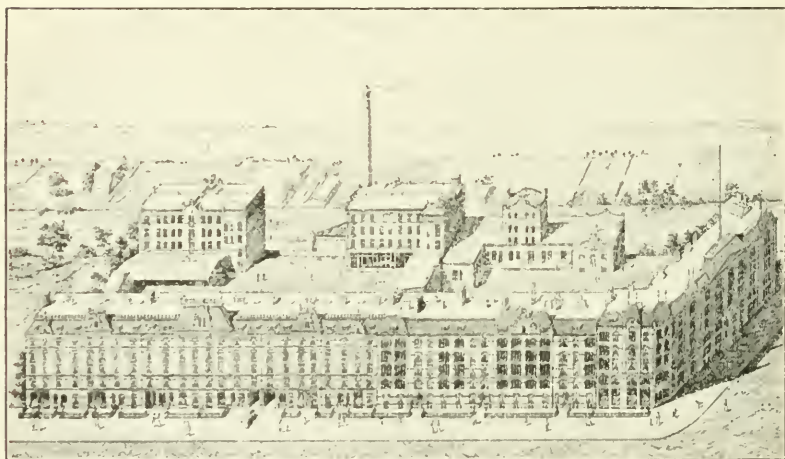


so long as their names remain on the panel. The United Kingdom should be divided into twelve transport districts, in each of which there should be a local Transport Council on which the workers should be represented in similar fashion to the National Transport Council.

The railway service is one that lends itself better than most to an immediate participation in management, as it is rather a straight-forward service than a trading concern; and I look to the railways, together with other branches of the transport service, being the first great service or industry that will, under a Labour Government, show how complete efficiency, measured by service to the community, and not dividends and bonuses to a few, can only be obtained by complete co-operation between the servers and the served.

---

## CO-OPERATION IN HAMBURG.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE HAMBURG "PRODUKTION" SOCIETY'S CENTRAL  
BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENT,  
Comprising Butchery, Bakery, Warehouses, Offices, and Block of Dwellings.

In 1919 the Hamburg "Produktion" Society completed the twentieth year of its existence, and the figures show how it has justified it. The latest report shows a turnover of 47½ million marks, or close on £2,370,000, and a membership of 110,000, which indicates a connection with half the families in Hamburg. The society has 227 shops and 45 blocks of dwellings for members, and carries on production on an extensive scale.

## I.—A GENERAL VIEW OF THE BUDGET FOR 1919-20.

SEVERAL aspects of this matter will be discussed in these pages, but as the Budget disclosed by Mr. A. Chamberlain on April 30th, 1919, was of so extraordinary a character, and left the public finances of the United Kingdom in so precarious a position, to put matters mildly, this first paper will be devoted to an exposition of the true character of that position, based on the figures used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a general view and estimate.

For the year 1918-19 (March) the *expenditure* was £2,579,310,000. To November 11th, 1918, the year had been for seven months a period of active war. Of the total expenditure just mentioned £269,965,000 had been paid in charges on Debt, and payments toward local taxation and certain annuities to members of the Royal Family, to Judges, and others brought up that sum, charged on the "Consolidated Fund," to £281,345,000. The Civil Services figured for £67,988,000, the Revenue departments for £5,532,000, and the Post Office services, together, for £26,396,000. The Army (£15,000), Navy (£17,000), Air Force (£7,000), and Ministry of Munitions (£1,000) were but "token" votes; the expenditure on them, and on much else pertaining to war, really appearing under the head of £2,198,000,000 spent from "Votes of Credit."

The *revenue* from 1918-19 amounted to £889,021,000, of which £784,278,000 came from taxes, and £104,743,000 from non-tax sources, such as the Post Office services, Crown Lands, sundry loans, and miscellaneous. There was, therefore, a large deficit to be added to the National Debt (*vide folio 184*). That being so, it should be added that almost every source of revenue yielded well, a remarkable fact in the fifth year of the war period. Among items of the yield customs and excise appear for £162,220,000, income tax (with super tax) for £291,186,000, and excess profits duty £285,028,000. These figures should be borne in mind when considering the estimate for 1919-20 (*vide sub*).

Here below is that *estimated final balance sheet* for 1919-20:—

### ESTIMATED REVENUE, 1919-20.

	£	£
Customs .....	117,650,000	
Proposed net addition .....	1,350,000	
	<hr/>	119,000,000
Excise .....	80,900,000	
Proposed net addition .....	37,600,000	
	<hr/>	118,500,000
		<hr/>
		237,500,000
		<hr/>
Estate, &c., Duties.....	31,000,000	
Proposed net addition .....	2,500,000	
	<hr/>	33,500,000
Stamps.....		12,000,000
Land Tax .....		600,000
House Duty .....		1,900,000
Income Tax (including Super-Tax) .....		354,000,000
Excess Profits Duty, &c.....		300,000,000
Land Value Duties .....		500,000
		<hr/>
		702,500,000
		<hr/>
TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM TAXES.....		£940,000,000
		<hr/>

	£
Postal Service .....	30,000,000
Telegraph Service .....	4,000,000
Telephone Service .....	7,000,000
	<hr/>
Crown Lands .....	41,000,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans, &c. ....	650,000
Miscellaneous.....	9,750,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM NON-TAX REVENUE.....	209,700,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL REVENUE.....	£1,201,100,000
DEFICIT.....	£233,810,000
	<hr/>
	<u>£1,434,910,000</u>
Borrowings to meet Expenditure chargeable against Capital.....	£3,484,000
ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE, 1919-20.	
CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.	
National Debt Services:	£
Inside the Fixed Debt Charge.....	29,800,000
Outside the Fixed Debt Charge .....	330,200,000
	<hr/>
	360,000,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts, &c. ....	9,763,000
Land Settlement .....	5,000,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services .....	1,832,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES .....	£376,595,000
	<hr/>
SUPPLY SERVICES.	
	£
Army .....	287,000,000
Navy .....	149,200,000
Air Force.....	66,500,000
Civil Services, as in Table IV. ....	£445,804,000
Add—Supplementary Estimates to be presented.....	60,000,000
	<hr/>
	505,804,000
Customs and Excise, and Inland Revenue Departments.....	8,537,000
Post Office Services.....	41,274,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL SUPPLY SERVICES.....	£1,058,315,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL EXPENDITURE.....	£1,434,910,000
	<hr/>
Expenditure chargeable against Capital.....	£3,484,000

That balance sheet requires much treatment if it is to yield real light on the situation. Let it be remembered that the year comprised from April, 1919, to March, 1920, inclusive, is wholly beyond the war period, though still in the very shade of that widespread war. The fact that the contemplated *expenditure* is to amount to only £1,434,910,000, as compared with the actual £2,579,301,000 in 1918-19, is so much to the good, though it will be shown that since then the

amount has been added to very considerably. That reduction from war level is, however, the only pleasing aspect of the balance sheet, which teems with unpleasant and unsatisfactory aspects.

The *outstanding facts* of that estimated balance sheet for 1919-20 are that the *expenditure* was taken at no less than £1,435 millions, but the *revenue* at only £1,201 millions, so that there was an apparent *deficit* of £234 millions! Almost before the ink was dry on that statement this great deficit was increased very seriously, for the following *supplementary estimates* of expenditure have been passed since then:—

1919.

April 1st.	£26,418,000	(Some £26.4 millions for the coal mines deficiency).
June 3rd.	75,134,256	(Civil Services, but £60 millions for <i>loans</i> to Allies and Dominions).
July 11th.	170,000	(Civil Services—contract work for railways).
July 17th.	20,441,058	(Civil Services and Civil Liabilities—military services).

122,163,314

This total, when added to the £234 millions shown above, brings the *apparent deficit* to over £356 millions, less £60 millions for loans. For it should be observed that nothing has been done to get a larger revenue. But even this large deficit leaves the reader with an impression much too favourable. For let us analyse the above balance sheet a little, and begin with the *expenditure* side. We note that the charge for the Debt is growing, and is now £360 millions—and less than the fact at that (*vide folio* 183). The other "Consolidated Fund Services" we may omit this time. When we turn to the *Supply Services* we are brought up sharply by the huge estimates set before us, though the "war is over." The amounts appear so large because the "Vote of Credit" system, used during the war for all manner of war expense, disappears. That system from an accounting and from a control point of view could not be more unsatisfactory, and disappears not a day too soon. An attempt is now made, as in pre-war days, to present estimates of the proposed expenditure for the year, and not a very successful attempt as we have seen, for over £122 millions more were demanded of the House of Commons within the first four months.

As laid before the House of Commons, the estimates for the Army, Navy, and Air Services, respectively, were as follows (comparatively):—

	1919-20.	1918-19.	1917-18.
ARMY—Number of men.	2,500,000 (down to 952,000).	.....	.....
Cost.....	£440,000,000 gross (estimated).	£963,500,000 (estimated).	£803,000,000 (actual).
NAVY—Number of men.	280,000	.....	.....
Cost.....	£149,200,000 net (estimated).	.....	.....
AIR—Number of men...	150,000 (down to 79,570).	.....	.....
Cost .....	£66,500,000 (estimated).	£71,000,000 (estimated).	..... .....

This very imperfect table is so imperfect as to be anything but comparable, and it might be misleading as far as such estimates as those for the Army and the Air Service respectively for 1919-20, for notes are added in each case to show

how certain important items of charge have been shifted to the Army or to the Air Service consequent on the reconstruction of the departments after the armistice. But it will be observed that the estimate (gross) first given for the Army for 1919-20, viz., £440 millions, is a very different figure from the £287 millions requested by vote of Parliament and embodied in the "final balance sheet" of the Budget, given above. To that hangs a tale well known to some Parliamentarians and others. As shown later on, Mr. Chamberlain found it difficult to find a decent face for his balance sheet. He therefore plunged and adopted an old device in a grosser degree. Resources beyond the expenditure for a certain object remaining in the hands of a department are often seized upon by such a department, and the value deducted under the phrase "appropriations in aid" from the estimates for a coming year, so that the House of Commons is besought for a net sum, and not for the total which a department proposes to spend. In this case Mr. Chamberlain had recourse to this system (for it has become systematic by consent of the House), and boldly annexed not only ordinary amounts remaining on various votes in the departments, but large amounts from the £800 millions which he hoped to get during the year from the sale of *surplus war stock*. It will be necessary to recur to this question when reviewing the revenue side of the balance sheet; but though the following figures will not account for and balance the £153 millions by which the £287 millions of the balance sheet differs from the gross estimate for the Army of £440 millions presented in February, 1919, they will go far to account for this important difference, and will also suggest the fact that the expenditure on the Services, this year after the war, are much larger and graver than the heavy sums demanded by vote from the House of Commons. From this Surplus Stock Fund Mr. Chamberlain said he was carrying the following sums to this year's work as "appropriations in aid":—

Ministry of Munitions .....	£140 millions.
Ministry of Shipping .....	50 "
Ministry at the War Office.....	50 "
Ministry at the Admiralty .....	14 "
	<hr/>
	£254 millions.
See below, too (to revenue) .....	200 "
	<hr/>
Total from surplus stock this year.....	£454 millions.

The Munitions Department is disappearing, and the Shipping Department has disappeared, but the point to realise is that the balance sheet of the Budget, which we are considering, would look £454 millions worse (without the £122 millions of added expenditure since the date of the Budget), viz., £254 millions of a reduction on the real cost of the service, and £200 millions taken to revenue under the head of "Miscellaneous."

At this point it will occur to many readers whether these great estimates for current war services (Army, Navy, Air) are an indication of the standard services after the war. Take the lowest for Army and Air Services respectively, viz., 952,000 men for the Army, and 79,000 for the Air! Lord Fisher declares that to maintain anything like our present Navy would be folly from the points of efficiency and waste. Then what would be our duty and what would be wise in view of our obligations to disarm as a leading signatory of the League of Nations? This question should cause our people to think furiously in view of the grave state of things which our financial position discloses. Our balance sheet demands £502 millions for fighting services this year, but we are really spending from £900 to £1,000 millions on these. Our next section will emphasise the conclusion that such expenditure must be cut down. That next section, and the only remaining one to be noticed in this general view on the expenditure side, concerns the £506 millions, say, demanded for the Civil Services, which, it is said, includes £60 millions of supplementary votes to be tabled. Those votes tabled

afterwards, as we have seen, amounted to £122 millions, so that we now know of £568 millions demanded for *Civil Services*.

Here, again, though the costs of the Civil Services for the years before and during the war show a steady and large growth, those for 1919-20 show the effect of transferring to civil ministries charges of a permanent character from the combatant and other war services—the growth from £52.6 millions in 1913-14 to £120.3 millions in 1919-20, together with "unclassified" charges, as they are called now, amounting to no less than £325.5 millions. These two sums bring up the Civil Service estimates for 1919-20 to £445.8 millions, to which we have to add the £122 millions of supplementary estimates (see foregoing). Sixty millions of pounds from that last extra go, we know, as loans, and the notes to the table afford some clue to the destination of the remainder. From other sources we find some information respecting that £325 millions of "unclassified" charges just mentioned, as well as of the great increase in the classified votes. Taking this increase first, we find it traceable to *education*, now £41.2 millions; *Government offices* other than the P.O. and the revenue departments, now £17.3 millions; Road Improvement Fund, £8.2 millions; Old-age Pensions, £17.9 millions; Insurance, £9.9 millions; Ministry of Labour, £3.5 millions. Among the "unclassified" items we find some of the most prominent as follows: Ministry of Pensions, £72.9 millions; Food, £2.7 millions; Shipping, £1.5 million; Ministry of Labour, £30.8 millions; War Graves, £1.4 million; Civil Liabilities (Military), £3.9 millions. Loans to Dominions and Allies, £87.5 millions (to which £60 millions more should be added from a later vote, as we have seen); Railway Agreements, £60 millions; the Bread Subsidy, £50 millions; purchase of Housing Materials (England, Wales, and Scotland), £7 millions, may be mentioned. Space will not permit of a discussion of the policy and method adopted with regard to this expenditure, swollen to figures so far above pre-war costs. That it requires the attention of Parliament in both respects is evident, and particularly does such a scheme of expenditure require early revision, deciding between temporary and permanent burdens upon the taxpayer. Again, the financial position of the nation calls for the pruning of all expenditure save that required by honour and that necessary to maintain national efficiency.

The remaining £49.811 millions for the postal and revenue services go to make up the total *disclosed* expenditure of £1,434.910 millions, to which £62 millions should be added by subsequently presented estimates. The *net deficit* apparent, then, will be about £296 millions.

That brings us to the *revenue* side of the final balance sheet for 1919-20. It has just been shown that, owing to additional estimates of expenditure, the acknowledged anticipated deficit of £233.8 millions should be at least £296 millions. That is according to Mr. Chamberlain's own figures; but the examination of the figures of expected revenue shows that the position is much more serious than the figures would make it appear at first. Most that is new in the making up of the amounts expected from each principal source will be dealt with in a succeeding paper (*vide* folio 185). In this place only the larger aspect of the Chancellor's finance of the Budget is noticed. First of all, writing after the first half of the financial year has expired, it has to be reported that £459 millions of the total of £940 millions expected *from taxes* had been received already, a large proportion for the first, the weakest half of the year—a result, however good, not so remarkable as it appears. The receipts expected from customs, excise, and death duties are shown with the increases severally expected from additions to the taxes, which additions are noticed in another paper. To the end of September, 1919, of the £354 millions expected from income tax £109.5 millions had been received, and of the £300 millions from excess profits duty £129.8 millions had been received. Of the prospect from the postal services it should be noticed that, contrary to pre-war times, the expenditure is anticipated as higher than the revenue from that source. Of the large sum put down under "Miscellaneous," remarks will be made immediately. But to this point, superficially, all seems fair, while in reality the balance sheet is a *simulacrum* covering an abyss of expenditure and debt unprovided for.

Two of the chief items placed to the credit of current revenue are really of the nature of capital resources. Of the £209·7 millions expected from miscellaneous sources £200 millions are to be taken from the proceeds of the sale of surplus stock. Then, in reducing the excess profits duty from 80 to 40 per cent, Mr. Chamberlain added that little revenue from that 40 per cent charge would come to the Treasury during the year, because he anticipated that not less than £300 millions would accrue from *arrears* due from this source, and that £300 millions of arrears he took and placed to the revenue of a year it does not belong to. Now most of those who have studied the financing of the war think that a bolder policy of taxation to meet expenditure should have been adopted throughout, and so much of the inflation of prices and the general stringency from which we suffer avoided. Mr. Chamberlain has failed to face this question, even though the war is over, and the end of 1919-20 will be eighteen months later than the armistice of November 11th, 1918. Instead, he takes £200 millions from surplus stock moneys and £300 millions from arrears of excess profits duty—capital really—and places them in aid of current revenue. That is much the same as declining to provide for the year's expenditure, a desperate course, permissible during war, perhaps, but to be avoided as soon as war is past and gone. But for this stop-gap financing in 1919-20 (sums of £200 millions + £300 millions + £296 millions of apparent deficit)—£796 millions would be unprovided for.

This serious position requires further recapitulation to appreciate how menacing it is. The phrase "to cover" has been used already to describe the position as Mr. Chamberlain has left it, so far. That phrase must be repeated. For instead of leaving a deficit of £234 millions only—a deficit more than the whole of our pre-war Budget—which would be a most serious matter, we find an *acknowledged deficit* of £296 millions, together with an extraordinary treatment of revenue which virtually discloses £500 millions more short of a balance. Let it be understood clearly that the £200 millions from surplus stock, and the £300 millions from arrears of excess profits duty are in the nature of "windfalls," and as revenue cannot be expected to recur, so that there is a hole in the provision for revenue (with the acknowledged deficit) of £796 millions. That £796 millions, too, should be regarded as a minimum. In short, the task of providing for the Budget was avoided, was declined, by Mr. Chamberlain. A definite policy to meet a grave situation was required. We cannot continue to spend, and at a war rate, without providing for payment. As will be shown in the next paper, our National Debt is mounting up still, though the "war is over." If Mr. Chamberlain will not, then some other Chancellor of the Exchequer should, and at an early date, promulgate a plan for dealing with our grave situation. The difficulty in providing revenue alone is a virtual demand for a drastic reduction of expenditure; and for the rest we must, at any cost, recur to taxation which shall cover all our current spending. Those seem to be the two ways open to us, for other suggestions fail, or seem to fail, at the capital point of practicability. If prices are to become normal, creating debt and other methods leading to inflation must be discarded, and approved methods for permanent finance take their place at the earliest moment.

---

## II.—THE NATIONAL DEBT.

---

THE absence of policy and of action is seen also with regard to the National Debt, and that though the matter is in so serious a position as follows:—

Our National Debt is now regarded as having originated in 1672 by the closing of the Exchequer by Charles II., when he owed £1,328,526 to the bankers and merchants of the city. After litigation for 14 years, in 1669 it was enacted that the debt might be payable by payment of half the capital at half of 6 per cent, the interest. But that £664,263 still forms a part of our public debt, though it is merged in the account with the South Sea Stock. The following table will,

then, show the *history of the National Debt*, and prove of interest and use if employed cautiously:—

TABLE A.

	Funded and Unfunded.	Annual Interest.	
	£	£	
End of William III., 1701...	12,552,486	1,219,147	Peace of Utrecht.
„ Anne, 1714.....	36,175,460	3,063,135	
„ George I. 1727.....	52,523,923	2,360,934	
„ George II., 1760....	102,014,018	3,576,275	
George III., 1776.....	131,237,283	4,870,534	Opening of Amer. War.
„ 1793.....	247,874,434	9,711,238	Opening of French Wars
„ 1801.....	517,511,871	19,819,839	Opening of 19th century and Peace of Amiens.
„ 1816.....	845,968,483	32,055,350	Only higher in 1815— close of French Wars.
End of George III., 1820...	834,900,960	31,354,749	
„ George IV., 1830....	784,803,997	28,325,936	
„ William IV., 1837...	787,529,114	29,537,333	
Victoria, 1856-7.....	808,108,722	28,550,000	End of Russian War.
„ 1875-6.....	768,573,664	28,000,000	Fixed for the "Debt Charge."
„ 1888-9.....	697,042,756	26,000,000	Fixed, and Nat. Debt Conversion Act, 1888.
„ 1898-9.....	628,021,572	23,000,000	Fixed in 1899-1900.
Edward VII., 1902-3 .....	770,778,762	27,000,000	Fixed in 1903-4—end of South African War.
George V., 1913-14 .....	649,770,091	23,500,000	Reduced in 1914-15.

And during the great European War the Sinking Fund was suspended altogether. That is a table, it may be repeated, which may be studied and used in connection with our general history with advantage; but it should be cautiously used, as all such tables, for it only shows the statistical position at a date, and the figures for 1816, for instance, will not show the cost of the French Wars; nor will the table that follows show the cost of the European War—only the growth of the National Debt at fixed periods.

TABLE B.—THE NATIONAL DEBT DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR.

Year.	Amount.	Interest.	
	£	£	
1914-15 .....	1,104,967,076	27,499,011	} Sinking Fund suspended
1915-16 .....	2,133,147,644	65,334,323	
1916-17 .....	4,011,445,908	132,625,337	
1917-18 .....	5,871,850,637	195,190,368	
1918-19 .....	7,435,000,000	269,965,000	

And, as we have seen from the final balance sheet of the last Budget, the annual charge for 1919-20 is estimated at £360 millions. The most important fact, probably, respecting that formidable condition of affairs is that, according to the last Budget, we shall be adding to that debt about £276 millions this current year, and the other fact, shown also on pages 177-8, that the Budget makes no adequate provision for the initiation of a reduction, not even sources of taxation to meet the current expenditure. On the contrary, Mr. Chamberlain



claimed that £7,435 millions represented the *gross* debt at the end of March, 1919, and that we possessed national assets in the way of *obligations of our Allies and Dominions* amounting to £1,739 millions, as follows:—

	£		£
Dominions .....	171,000,000	Belgium .....	86,779,000
Russia .....	568,103,000	Serbia.....	18,643,000
France .....	434,490,000	Other Allies .....	47,915,000
Italy .....	412,520,000		

That shows a net *National Debt* at end of March, 1919, of £5,696 millions. But we must add to that £51,716,000 for National War Bonds, £65 millions for War Savings Certificates (maturing), and the apparent deficit on the 1919–20 Budget, which will make the *net debt* at present about £6,088 millions. Nor is that the whole story; but let us not be in doubt regarding much of the assets—loans to Allies, for instance Russia, which at best will not be received for many years. We shall do well also if we disregard the syrens who shriek about indemnities from Germany and other opponents in the recent war. It is clear that for many years we shall feel the full weight of the *gross* National Debt of about £8,000 millions. It should be observed that the Budget provides £360 millions this year for the debt, which at 5 per cent represents £7,200 millions.

The relation of Budget estimates to the situation at a given moment is not clear; for instance, the total debt as given to the “*floating*” debt. But it is worth recording that at the half year, September 30th, 1919, the “floating debt” consisted of “Ways and Means” Temporary Advances for £1,242 millions, and Treasury Bills for £851 millions. That makes the remark used above *re* the total of the debt as given (*viz.*, net debt, £6,088 millions), that it is not the “whole story,” quite safe.

Nor should this brief summary of the indebtedness of our nation close without reference to the issue and circulation of *Treasury Notes*. The official return down to October 1st, 1919, shows that since the first issue in 1914 no less than £1,404,367,664 of these 20s. and 10s. notes and certificates had been issued, and that at that last date there were *outstanding* notes reaching the large amount of £335,021,030. On the contrary, so far as Government (which guarantees the notes) goes, there was against this large issue only £28·5 millions in gold at the Bank of England. It cannot be doubted that we have here one cause of the inflation of prices. The issue of notes adds nothing to wealth, and each note, above the sum backed by deposits, represents an addition to public debt.

This is the place, perhaps, in which, in fairness to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as for other reasons, should be given a suggestion for a normal Budget for future years made by Mr. Chamberlain. He assumed the taxation to be as in the year 1918–19 to March, 1919, and gave the following figures:—

#### MODEL BUDGET FOR FUTURE YEARS.

REVENUE.	£	EXPENDITURE.	£
Customs and Excise.....	198,000,000	Army, Navy, & Air Force	110,000,000
Inland Revenue.....	400,000,000	Civil Services .....	190,000,000
Other Sources .....	54,000,000	Revenue and Post Offices	53,000,000
		Other Expenditure .....	13,000,000
Total.....	£652,000,000	Total.....	£766,000,000

That shows a deficit of £114 millions, which Mr. Chamberlain took as his guide to changes he made in taxation (shown on pages 185–9). This model for future years should be compared with the Budget as presented for 1919–20. For instance, Mr. Chamberlain's estimate for Army, Navy, and Air Force is based on a 40 per cent above the cost of the fighting forces before the war; but every item challenges comment; and, above all, Mr. Chamberlain saw the problem, and left the solution largely, almost wholly, to the future, meanwhile adding substantially to the huge debt.

This brief presentation of the position, the serious position, of the National Debt will emphasise the gravity of the fact that no financial plan of action has been announced so far. We are in debt to the tune of £8,000 millions, are still incurring debt, and so living on our capital.

### III.—CHANGES IN TAXATION FOR THE YEAR 1919–20.

FROM the final balance sheet of the Budget (page 177) it will be seen that for 1919–20 all the revenue expected from the changes made is found under customs, excise, and death duties, and together amounts to £41,450,000 from these sources; but the Table VII. shows not only what the sources of the increased revenue are, but what they may yield in a remoter year, as well as in this portion of a year. In a full year these changes are calculated to bring £850,000 more from customs, £48,100,000 from excise, and £10,000,000 from death duties, with £50,000,000 from excess profits duty—while it shall be imposed—or a total of £108,950,000, which is a little short of the £114 millions more required for Mr. A. Chamberlain's model Budget for the future. Tables marked VI., VII., and VIII. will afford the reader details of the nature and yield of the changes now made, and will be useful for other purposes also, such as an estimate of the system of taxation thus constituted. For important changes touching income tax and the family, in the case of small incomes, however, reference should be made to an article on page 192. The preferential duties (see Table VI.) are also treated in a brief separate article (page 190).

TABLE VI. SHOWING THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN TAXATION.

#### A.—CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

	Existing Duties.			Proposed Duties.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<b>CUSTOMS—Spirits—</b>						
*Brandy, the proof gallon.....	1	10	4	2	10	4
*Rum, the proof gallon .....	1	10	4	2	10	4
*Imitation Rum, the proof gallon .....	1	10	5	2	10	5
*Geneva Rum, the proof gallon.....	1	10	5	2	10	5
*Unenumerated, sweetened, &c., the proof gallon.....	1	11	6½	2	11	6½
"          not sweetened, the proof gallon .....	1	10	5	2	10	5
*Liquers, Cordials, &c., not sweetened, and not shown to be unenumerated, if tested, the proof gallon.....	1	10	5	2	10	5
Liquers, Cordials, &c., in bottle, not to be tested, the liquid gallon .....	2	1	11	3	8	10
*Perfumed Spirits, the liquid gallon .....	2	8	4	4	0	2
*If imported in bottle, extra per gallon.....	0	1	0	0	1	0
Additional duties are charged on immature spirits. The duty on articles containing or made with spirit will be increased in proportion.						
<b>Beer—Mum, Spruce, or Black Beer—</b>						
Of a specific gravity not exceeding 1,215°, for every 36 gallons .....	10	2	0	14	2	0
Of a specific gravity exceeding 1,215°, for every 36 gallons .....	11	16	8	16	10	5
Other sorts at gravity of 1,055°, for every 36 gallons.....	2	10	6	3	10	6
And so in proportion for any difference of gravity.						

## PREFERENCE—

Duties on *foreign spirits* to be increased from September 1st by an additional duty of 2s. 6d. per proof gallon on enumerated spirits and on other spirits in proportion.

Wine, the duties to be modified from September 1st as follows:—

	Empire Wines.	Other.
	Per gall. s. d.	Per gall. s. d.
In cask, not exceeding 30°.....	0 9	1 3
“ “ “ 42°.....	2 0	3 0
In bottle, still, not exceeding 30°.....	1 3	2 3
“ “ “ 42°.....	2 6	4 0
“ sparkling.....	2 6	3 9

Tea .....	} Duties on Empire products to be reduced by one-sixth, from June 1st in the case of tea, and September 1st in the case of other articles
Cocoa .....	
Coffee .....	
Chicory .....	
Sugar .....	
Dried Fruits .....	} Duty on Empire products to be reduced by one-third from September 1st.
Tobacco .....	
Motor Spirit .....	
Cinema Films .....	
Clocks and Watches .....	
Motor Cars and Cycles.....	
Musical Instruments.....	

## EXCISE—

	Existing Duties.	Proposed Duties.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Beer, the standard barrel .....	2 10 0	3 10 0
Spirits, British, the proof gallon .....	1 10 0	2 10 0
(Additional duties are charged on immature spirits).		
Chicory, Sugar, Tobacco. Duties to be reduced correspondingly with the customs duties on similar articles, the produce of the Empire.		

## B.—INLAND REVENUE.

## INCOME TAX.

(1) *Wound and Disability Pensions.*

It is proposed to relieve from liability to income tax, as from April 6th, 1918, wound and disability pensions granted to members of the naval and military forces of the Crown and of the Air Force.

(2) *Gratuities to members of the Naval and Military Forces of the Crown and of the Air Force.*

It is proposed to relieve from liability to income tax, as from the commencement of the present war, gratuities payable on demobilisation and other gratuities of like character granted to members of the naval and military forces of the Crown and of the Air Force.

For allowances from assessment in respect of wife, housekeeper, and children, see special article on page 192.

EXCESS PROFITS DUTY.

It is proposed to renew the charge so as to cover accounting periods ending on or after August 1st, 1919, the date fixed by the last Act, and to reduce the rate from 80 per cent to 40 per cent as from January 1st, 1919.

A corresponding reduction in the rate of excess mineral rights duty is proposed.

DEATH DUTIES.

(1) *Estate Duty: Alteration of Scale.*

It is proposed to increase the rates of estate duty payable in respect of estates exceeding £15,000 in value, as shown in the following scale:—

Principal Value of Estate.		Present Rate.	Proposed Rate.
Exceeding £	Not exceeding £	Per cent.	Per cent.
100	500	1	1
500	1,000	2	2
1,000	5,000	3	3
5,000	10,000	4	4
10,000	15,000	5	5
15,000	20,000	5	6
20,000	25,000	6	7
25,000	30,000	6	8
30,000	40,000	6	9
40,000	50,000	7	10
50,000	60,000	7	11
60,000	70,000	8	12
70,000	90,000	8 and 9	13
90,000	110,000	9 and 10	14
110,000	130,000	10	15
130,000	150,000	10	16
150,000	175,000	11	17
175,000	200,000	11	18
200,000	225,000	12	19
225,000	250,000	12	20
250,000	300,000	13	21
300,000	350,000	14	22
350,000	400,000	15	23
400,000	450,000	16	24
450,000	500,000	16	25
500,000	600,000	17	26
600,000	800,000	18	27
800,000	1,000,000	19	28
1,000,000	1,250,000	20	30
1,250,000	1,500,000	20	32
1,500,000	2,000,000	20	35
2,000,000	.....	20	40

(2) *Interest on outstanding Duties.*

It is proposed to raise the rate of interest on all death duties outstanding from 3 per cent to 5 per cent.

(3) *Death Duties (Killed in War) Act, 1914.*

The provisions of this Act, as extended by subsequent Finance Acts, enable certain reliefs from death duties to be granted in respect of the estates of members of His Majesty's forces dying from wounds inflicted, accident occurring, or disease contracted within twelve months before death whilst on active service

against the enemy in the present war. The reliefs also apply to the case of members of the mercantile marine and fishermen dying in similar circumstances. It is proposed to extend (with retrospective effect) the period of twelve months to three years, and to make the reliefs applicable to the case of deaths occurring as the result of wounds, accident, or disease inflicted, &c., after the termination of the war, either in the course of operations directly arising out of the present war, or in the course of operations rendered hazardous by reason of acts done during the present war. *e.g.*, clearing the seas of mines.

TABLE VII.

SHOWING THE EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN TAXATION.

	Estimate, 1919-20. Increase + or Decrease - .	In a Full Year. Increase + or Decrease - .
	£	£
CUSTOMS—		
Spirits .....	+ 3,850,000	+ 4,150,000
Beer .....	+ 150,000*	+ 250,000*
Tea.....	+ 20,000	+ 20,000
Cocoa and Coffee .....	- 1,800,000*	- 2,300,000*
Sugar .....	- 220,000*	- 350,000*
Tobacco... ..	- 500,000*	- 700,000*
Motor Spirit .....	- 90,000*	- 140,000*
	- 60,000*	- 80,000*
TOTAL CUSTOMS .....	+ 1,350,000	+ 850,000
EXCISE—		
Spirits .....	+ 16,000,000	+ 17,500,000
Beer .....	+ 22,180,000	+ 31,180,000
Tobacco.....	- 10,000*	- 10,000*
Motor Spirit .....	- 70,000	- 70,000
Motor Spirit Licence Duty .....	- 500,000	- 500,000
TOTAL EXCISE.....	+ 37,600,000	+ 48,100,000
TOTAL CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.....	+ 38,950,000	+ 48,950,000
INLAND REVENUE—		
Increased Estate Duties.....	+ 2,500,000	+ 10,000,000
Excess Profits Duty (40 per cent) .....	.....	+ 50,000,000
TOTAL INLAND REVENUE.....	+ 2,500,000	+ 60,000,000
GRAND TOTAL .....	+ 41,450,000	+ 108,950,000

\* Preference.

TABLE VIII., SHOWING UNDER THE SEVERAL HEADS OF DUTY THE ESTIMATED REVENUE FROM CUSTOMS AND EXCISE IN 1919-20, AS COMPARED WITH THE APPROXIMATE RECEIPTS IN 1918-19.

	1918-19. Receipts (Approximate).	1919-20. Estimated Receipts.
<b>CUSTOMS—</b>	£	£
Spirits .....	5,579,000	10,000,000
Beer .....	—	70,000
Wine .....	1,409,000	1,250,000
Tea.....	16,055,000	14,200,000
Cocoa .....	2,483,000	2,200,000
Coffee and Chicory .....	768,000	680,000
Sugar, &c. ....	27,007,000	38,500,000
Dried Fruits .....	281,000	500,000
Tobacco.....	46,227,000	46,850,000
Motor Spirit .....	2,154,000	2,170,000
Cinema Films.....	170,000	200,000
Clocks and Watches .....	664,000	600,000
Motor Cars and Cycles .....	191,000	750,000
Musical Instruments .....	59,000	250,000
Matches .....	321,000	700,000
Table Waters.....	5,000	10,000
Other Items .....	— 593,000	70,000
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS .....</b>	<b>102,780,000</b>	<b>119,000,000</b>
<b>EXCISE—</b>	£	£
Spirits .....	18,683,000	42,000,000
Beer .....	25,421,000	59,930,000
Sugar, &c. ....	1,087,000	1,000,000
Tobacco.....	60,000	50,000
Motor Spirit .....	71,000	—
Entertainments .....	7,513,000	8,000,000
Matches .....	1,707,000	1,700,000
Table Waters.....	1,583,000	1,590,000
Liquor Licences .....	1,258,000	2,000,000
Monopoly Values .....	17,000	20,000
Motor Car and Carriage Licences .....	271,000	750,000
Motor Spirit Licences .....	379,000	—
Other Licences .....	418,000	450,000
Railway Passenger Duty .....	3,000	—
Medicines, Playing Cards, Coffee Mixtures.....	1,009,000	1,000,000
Other Items.....	— 40,000	10,000
<b>TOTAL EXCISE.....</b>	<b>59,440,000</b>	<b>118,500,000</b>
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.....</b>	<b>162,220,000</b>	<b>237,500,000</b>

— Including adjustment to make actual receipts agree with the total amount paid into the Exchequer.

The only remark necessary here on these details of changes in taxation is that their tendency is to increase the quota of revenue from indirect sources. Of £940 millions expected in 1919-20 from taxes some 25½ per cent is expected from indirect imposts. This untoward result is due this time, chiefly, to the increase of the duties on spirits, beer, and wine (see Table VII.).

## IV.—THE "PREFERENCE" DUTIES.

THOUGH Mr. A. Chamberlain failed to face the pressing necessity of reducing expenditure from semi-war level, and so to *balance* his Budget, he found time and determination to impose a number of duties on customs imports—to discharge a pious parental memory. And a reactionary Parliament has sanctioned this project, which is as futile as a revenue getter as it is dangerous politically to the British Commonwealth. As for the *policy* thus adopted, the eighth clause of the Finance Act, 1919, which enacts the preference, says that it is "with a view to conferring a preference in the case of Empire products," and the *articles on which preferential rates* are granted are given in the second schedule of the Act:—

## SECOND SCHEDULE. PREFERENTIAL RATES.

Goods.	Rate of Duty.	
Tea .....	} Five-sixths of the full rate.	
Cocoa .....		
Coffee .....		
Chicory .....		
Currants.....		
Dried Fruits, or Preserved (within the meaning of section 8 of the Finance Act (2), 1915)....		
Sugar.....		
Glucose .....		
Molasses .....		
Saccharine .....		
Motor Spirit .....	} Two-thirds of the full rate.	
Tobacco .....		
Articles chargeable with the new import duties imposed by section 12 of the Finance Act (2), 1915 .....		
Wine—		
Not exceeding 30° of proof spirit .....		60 per cent of the full rate.
Exceeding 30° of proof spirit .....		66½ per cent of the full rate.
Sparkling wine in bottle (additional duty) ..		70 per cent of the full rate.
Still wine in bottle (additional duty) .....		59 per cent of the full rate.
Spirits .....		} Rates equivalent to the full rates as chargeable under this Act up to September 1st, 1919.

The preferential rates have been charged—(a) in the case of tea, on and after the second day of June, 1919; and (b) in the case of any other goods, on and after the first day of September, 1919. (The reader should also consult the tables of changes made in taxation [*vide folio* 185].) Reference should be made also to Table VII. (folio 188), which, by means of an asterisk, gives the addition to revenue in a full year from these preferential duties as £250,000, but *losses* to revenue to the amount of £3,580,000! and that when the Exchequer is in sad need of revenue. Mr. Chamberlain, indeed, in his Budget speech added: "If these results are small (!) it must be remembered that the immediate bulk of Colonial products affected is small, but the results both on the revenue and, as I hope, on the trade will proceed increasingly as the years go on."

These facts are sufficient to establish the futility of the step thus taken, and at such a strained moment, as a revenue getter, even though India is specifically defined as within the "British Empire" for preferential purposes. Why, then, was this done, and done now? Mr. Chamberlain declared that he had peculiar

pleasure in doing this in memory of his father; but the Government is responsible for the Budget. Economically, it is clear from this matter alone, the policy of the Government is protection by instalments; there is growing evidence of this continually; and hence the enactment this year of preferences entailing losses to an insufficient revenue. Politically, however, it is evident that the motive is largely of that character, though it may be pointed out how unfruitful, economically, this policy is until it is developed so as to affect the chief staples of the Dominions, whereas the danger from disputes about a tariff is obvious from the very first. It is seen, however, that from the very first some of the patriots advocating preference will gain at the expense of the general community in the associated countries.

There are several ways in which such a policy as this may be regarded. First of all, as taxation it is invidious and unjust. It will be said at once that we affect "Empire products" only. That is impossible, and it is one of the regretful aspects of this move that it is done just when it is peculiarly important that we should lead the nations to better and closer relations; and this policy and practice leads to a sovereignty of the nations. But as taxation, why should one citizen who buys India tea pay a tax of 10d., while another buying China tea pays 1s. a lb.? A tax so laid is intrinsically unjust. Again, how questionable the economic effect of such a preference! Does the tea-planter in India, whose tea enters Great Britain on a preferential basis, pay more wages to the workers on the plantation? On the other hand, that planter knows that samples coming from China or Java into the British market have 2d. a lb. higher to pay, and he (the planter) will take advantage to "collar" the difference. From another point of view note that the "articles chargeable with the new import duties by section 12 of the Finance Act (2), 1915," of which the above schedule of preferential duties speaks, consist of cinema films, clocks and watches, motor cars and cycles, and musical instruments. No estimate of the effect of this item on revenue is given, but the duty on "Empire products" has been reduced by one-third since September 1st last. As these articles are not important products from the Dominions and India, the provision respecting them borders on the ridiculous. It should be added that the articles in question are subject, since 1915, to 33½ per cent duty, a third of which, as a reduction, will be the preferential rate. Such a provision discovers the motive in an attempt to effect a political object by fiscal means, an illegitimate method, which is also unjust.

But consistency and sound principle are not all that is lost in this hapless attempt to snatch an advantage for certain people. Reference has been made already to the loss of revenue incurred in this way in these burdensome days. But the *working* of these duties, as all such duties, will be an expense and a loss. A declaration of the origin of each consignment will be required on imports. Goods manufactured in the Kingdom or products of the "British Empire" will be accorded the preference. But if goods imported have been manufactured in part only from "Empire goods," what then? It is then necessary to charge in accordance with the quantity of British Empire material used. And already the Board of Trade has found it necessary to declare by order that in the case of sugar, molasses, extracts from sugar, and manufactured tobacco, duty shall be charged according to the proportion of material of British origin which has been used; and another order declares that such goods shall not be deemed to have been manufactured in the British Empire unless at least 25 per cent of their total value is the result of labour within the British Empire. Goods made in part of material from without the Empire must have been, by 5 per cent, the product of labour within the Empire to profit even in part by preference. Again, separate articles in a parcel or shipment will be considered separately in calculating the proportion of British Empire labour in them. The total value of an article for these purposes shall be the cost of that article at the factory, and will include the containers or interior packing.

In imposing these preferential rates it is evident that they were conceived chiefly with regard to *customs* duties on imports, but, as has been seen already,



they involve much inland industry. So we are not surprised that clause 9 of the Finance Act declares that the *excise duties* on tobacco, sugar, molasses, glucose, saccharine, and chicory shall be reduced by one-sixth—to the preferential level. In that way it will be perceived that protection will be given to growers of tobacco and beetroots, &c., in the United Kingdom. This in turn affects the “drawbacks” on the exportation of goods made of material on which only preferential rates have been paid.

These subsidiary clauses help us to realise how a system of which these preferential duties are only one aspect have indirect as well as direct effects. Not only have the lower duties to be paid in this case, with loss to the revenue, but such a system entails much cost and annoyance to those engaged in these industries; expense from warehousing, from delay, from formalities to be observed, the extra labour which is required. Nor can it be overlooked that all this expense of administration falls ultimately upon the consumer of the articles thus subject to these fiscal regulations. Thus the fiscal charge of 1s. a lb. on tea costs the consumer much more, and all these preferences and regulations add their quota to the burden borne by the consumer.

All the circumstances of the imposition of these preferential duties show the movement to be only a stealthy approach to a policy of protection, which experience has shown to be unjust and a hindrance to good business and prosperity.

---

## V.—INCOME TAX AND SMALL INCOMES.

---

AT this juncture it is impossible to ignore this matter, and the Finance Act deals with it prominently (9 and 10, Geo. V., ch. 32, clauses 14 to 28 inclusive). Table VI., B, will show the general changes in the present income-tax law, which else remains much as it was left by the Consolidation Act of 1918. The only exceptions to be noticed here are those made in Committee on the Finance Act which affect incomes deemed to be of a moderate amount, *i.e.*, up to £800. *Further relief will now be granted to an individual who proves that his income does not exceed £800. No income is liable which does not exceed £130, but above that amount £120 is exempted up to £400, £100 up to £600, and up to £700 the exemption is £70. The relief now given is an extension in respect of the family where the income does not exceed £800, and has the following important features:—*

- (a) £50 reduced assessment in respect of wife, or female relative, or housekeeper.
- (b) Children up to *over 16, provided they are at school*, may be allowed for, the first in respect of £40, and any others in respect of £25 each. Any doubt respecting the children being at school shall be resolved by the Education Department.

To show what exemption this relief permits of we may take an oligible man who has three children. Then exemptions will be thus:—

$$£120 + £50 + £40 + £25 \times 2 = £260;$$

and equally obvious is it that where there was but one child the exemptions would cover only £210, or without children £170 only. It should be recollected that these exemptions are granted in addition to deductions for insurance, &c., &c.

To ignore the fact that this relief has been granted because of the demand that all incomes up to £250 should be free from income tax is impossible, and it is equally plain that the demand has not been met in full. It may be said, however, that the result should ultimately prove a better alternative. For the truth is that the demand arose from the reduction of the *general exemption* from £160 to £130, so bringing many liable to income tax. And that objection to

income tax as a tax is only a prejudice and a mistake. Looked at abstractly, no class in the community should be stauncher supporters of an income tax than the wage-earners, if only because they know how much they pay in such a tax. They do not know how much they pay in taxes on commodities. As things stand, there was, and is, a grievance arising from pressure on small means. But now that the principle of allowing a deduction on the assessment on account of wife and children has been conceded we find ourselves in a position to consider the other problem.

Let it be recognised that no man now can be made to pay income tax on £250 or less if he has a wife and three children, for the exemptions previously shown are in operation. Some few, whose exemptions will not amount to much, will still pay income tax on a small amount. Take the case of a worker with wife and one child. His exemptions come to £210, and so he will pay income tax on £40—or less, for he may deduct insurance, &c., &c., from the total, say, of £250 a year in wages. Is such a person, seeking further relief, well advised in demanding the abolition of his income tax? He is not. He will do better for himself and for the whole community in demanding the abolition of taxes on food or other commodities. First, he knows what he pays in income tax; he does not know how much he pays in the price of taxed commodities. Secondly, the abolition of indirect taxes would give him more relief. To act otherwise, to demand the abolition of the small amount of income tax payable by the average wage-earner, is to work into the hands of those who would profit from our troubles arising out of the war, and get taxes placed on all sorts of imported articles, to be paid chiefly by labour—the majority. Take also the instance just given, where income tax will be payable on £40 only. Even if we take the rate at 1s. 6d. in the £ the sum payable would be £3 a year only. Before the war, the ordinary worker, consuming a little tobacco and drink, as well as other taxed consumables, contributed from 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d. a week to the revenue. Recently it has been calculated that a small wage-earning family thus contributes about 5s. 6d. a week. Taking the highest of the old rates, 2s. 6d., or the lowest of the present rates, 5s. 6d. a week, we get a contribution of £6. 10s., or of £14. 6s. from commodities, as against the possible £3 to £4 now from income tax. Both on general grounds of justice, collection, &c., and on grounds of individual relief it is quite demonstrable that the wage-earner should work rather for the abolition of taxes on commodities. He is much more heavily stricken by the taxes which he and his wife, quite unknowingly, pay in their weekly bills at the store than by any conceivable amount which he might have to pay in income tax, which latter, too, is an equitable tax, payable according to his means. Every man, too, should be made conscious of his burden. That wage-earners should decide aright in this matter is of much importance at this juncture. We shall be subject to high taxation for a long season. War has left us a heavy burden. It is therefore important that our burdens should be laid in justice, and the burden suited to him who carries. But if our societies, unions, committees, and other representatives, give their support to wrong principles the consequences will be inevitable. To support indirect taxes on commodities by demanding, first of all, that no wage-earner shall pay income tax is to act on wrong principles, whether that is intended or not. In every way justice to the weak is served by the abolition of indirect taxation, and not by crying for the removal of a little income tax. It is time that this matter were reconsidered, for the danger of the moment is that advantage should be taken once more, as has always been the case after a war, to crowd on a lot of duties on commodities, which duties, for the most part, will be paid by the majority of the population, viz., the wage-earning classes. Effort should be concentrated on the reduction of taxation on goods, and not on the abolition of income tax on small incomes, especially now that wife and children are allowed for.

## THE AMENDED BUDGET, 1919-20.

ON October 29th Mr. Chamberlain, and on October 30th, 1919, Mr. Lloyd George were engaged, not unsuccessfully at the moment, in quieting the House of Commons and the country regarding the financial position and prospects. This time both these responsible Ministers, to the surprise of all, spoke cheerfully and even triumphantly of those prospects, though the cynic afterwards would say that all were prospects and none realities. The House accorded the Government a strong vote of confidence. Does a review of the facts confirm such a vote?

The figures for the original Budget, 1919-20, have been given already (pages 177-8), and only a summary of the facts contained in papers laid on the table of the House on October 27th (Cd. 376, 377, and 378) can be given in this place. That summary will be based on the figures of the first two papers, the third being a sort of diagrammatic apology made by the War Office for the increase of cost referred to below.

The result of the reconsideration of the Budget (after six months of the financial year had passed) was expressed as follows:—

	Deficit.
Original Budget .....	£250,000,000
As now estimated .....	473,645,000
More or less .....	+ 223,645,000

A deficit of £250 millions, increased to £473 millions as we get further from war, does not suggest pleasant thoughts. Space will not permit a notice of all the figures on which this result is estimated. The REVENUE is now given as *less* by £32.4 millions than in the April Budget—now at £1,168.6 millions. The revenue *from taxes*, however, is down for *more*—£963.5 for £940 millions. That is because Customs and Excise are expected to yield £38 millions *more*, and Stamps and other inland duties £5 millions *more*, while the £300 millions from excess profits is now taken at £280 millions. The revenue from *non-taxes*, however, shows £2 millions *more* from the Post Office, £11½

millions from sundry loans, but not less than £59.7 millions *less* from miscellaneous. It is suggested, respecting the last item, that the Ministries of Munitions, Shipping, Sugar, and Wheat, and the Board of Trade have failed to return sums in their hands amounting to £65 millions.

On the EXPENDITURE side no less than £191.2 millions *more* are demanded. A remarkable fact in this connection is that the *Service for Debt* is taken at £15 millions *less*, whereas elsewhere that debt is now taken at £8,075 millions, or £390 millions *more*! The Army appears for £118 millions *more*, the Navy for £10.8 millions, but the Air Force for £9 millions *less*. Civil Services (including war pensions) appear for £96.2 millions *more*, making £602 millions for Civil Services. The revenue departments for *more* by £6.4 millions, and we have £16.2 millions taken for contingencies *omitted*. As was said, the result of this resettlement (!) is an increase of expenditure by £191.2 millions, bringing the estimated total to £1,642,295,000, or *about* £4½ millions a day, in a year which will end (March, 1920) some 18 months after the armistice. There is nothing of the triumphant in that. For the Navy, Revenue, and Civil Service departments the increases are largely due, so it is said, to increased pay. Of the £118 millions *more* for the Army, £58 millions are attributed to the non-receipt of the full sum expected from "appropriations-in-aid" (see below). The *naïve* reason given for the reduction in the charge for the debt is the postponement of interest on Allied loan by the United States Government. That is in line, to be sure, with the Government going on meantime incurring more debt.

A list of objects is given to account for the £96.2 millions added to the Civil Service charges, of which some items may be mentioned, such as war pensions, £32 millions; loans to Allies, £32 millions (added to £60

millions already moved); foreign export credit (repayable), £12 millions; war bonus, £3 millions; coal-mines deficiency (additional), £6.4 millions; training ex-service men, £5 millions; police grants, £5½ millions; strike expenses, £3½ millions; herring purchases (repayable), £3 millions; grants for civil liabilities, £2.4 millions; extension of out-of-work donation to November 24th, £1½ millions; Welsh Church grant, £1 million; and miscellaneous works and Ministry of Health, £3¼ millions. Out of that total of £118.2 millions, *savings* of £22 millions are expected to bring the addition down to £96.2 millions. Let the reader turn to the earlier version of the Budget and see how this great charge of £602 millions for "Civil Services" was already charged with vast sums as subsidies for loans, for bread, railways, coal-mines, war pensions, old-age pensions, out-of-work donations, as well as swollen amounts for education, health, agriculture, police, &c. The war subsidies are due for reconsideration, and some of them for withdrawal—or should be so.

The most curious feature of these papers is the estimate added for a "normal" year; it is almost comic, for Mr. Chamberlain added that next year, 1920-21, would not be a "normal" year. However, that "normal" is to be a year of a revenue of £806 millions and an expenditure of £808 millions. Before we can laugh at a permanent deficit of £2 millions, we are told that, somehow or other, the Budget would be made to balance. In this estimate the debt is to get £360 millions, the Army, Navy, and Air Forces £135 millions, and the Civil Services (including £120 millions for war pensions) £246.6 millions. The sum allotted to debt seems too little, and the £135 millions to the forces much too high, for why should we have forces of the size of pre-war days (costing twice as much) when we shall, it is to be hoped, be leaders in the League of Nations? As for the sum allotted to the debt charge, it is shown once more that the Government is counting for the reduction of the gross total of £8,075 millions, on the £1,740 millions due by Allied

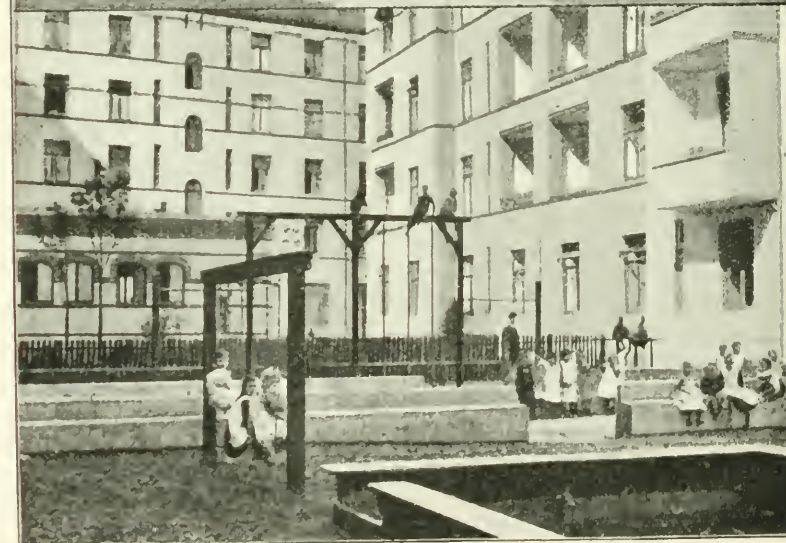
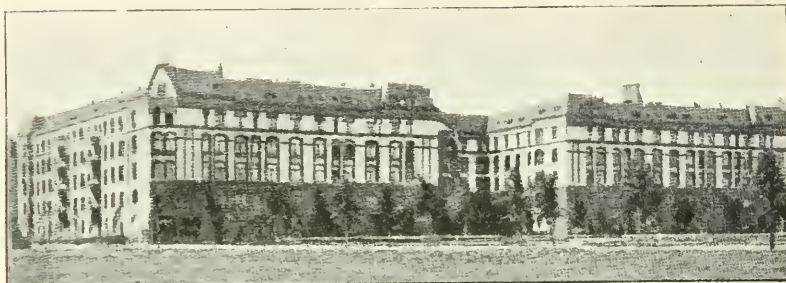
Governments to us, say, of March, 1920; but, again, like the "indemnity" from the Germans, all this is contingent, and no one expects these loans to be repaid for some years, and in one or two cases they will not be repaid probably.

That last consideration goes to the heart of the vice of such budgeting as this: it is all waiting on the chapter of accidents. It is even wanting in a full disclosure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not call attention to the fact that of the money from the sale of war stock, on which he depends so largely to fill up the gaps in his revenue—still leaving a deficit of £473 millions—he had taken £254 millions, before submitting the estimates to the House, for Munitions, War Office, and other departments. So that the total expenditure is, at least, £1,642 millions *plus* £254 millions. Then he does remind us in his "normal" Budget that he assumes he will get £50 millions from excess profits duty "or its substitute." That reminds us, therefore, that the deficit, £473 millions, and £50 millions from excess profits duty, and, say, £300 millions now got from war surplus sales, are wholly unprovided for on the revenue side! Not a single proposal was made in papers or speeches respecting taxation to meet this vast expenditure, and we are not out of war risks for expense yet.

Only a little reflection is necessary to convince a candid person that a statement which meets a vast expenditure only by a pious hope that windfalls may come somehow, without imposing or giving notice of taxation to meet expenditure, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. Two things are necessary without equivocation—the earliest establishment of a normal and actual Budget, and the cessation of debt-making by taxing to meet expenditure endorsed by the Commons. Mr. Lloyd George spoke on October 30th of people who were destroying the credit of our kingdom. Happily, it cannot be destroyed easily; but a continual putting off of taxing, while spending continues, accounts more than anything else for our low credit, say, on the New York market.

# GENERAL VIEW OF CO-OPERATIVE DWELLING-BLOCKS

(BUILT IN 1905-6) BELONGING TO THE HAMBURG "PRODUKTION" SOCIETY.



VIEW OF THE CHILDREN'S RECREATION GROUND.

THE  
ROBINSON SYSTEM  
OF FLOUR MILLING

has been adopted by the  
Principal and most Up-to-  
date Milling Concerns in  
the United Kingdom, the  
Colonies, and Allied Countries

---

ALL THE MACHINES ARE  
OF BRITISH MANUFACTURE,  
MADE AT THE RAILWAY  
WORKS, ROCHDALE.

---

We are the Patentees of the  
machinery employed in the  
**Cyclo-Pneumatic Wheat  
Cleaning System.**

---

**Thos. Robinson & Son Ltd.**

ROCHDALE, ENGLAND.

## CIVILISATION AND SUBJECT RACES.

BY GEORGE LANSBURY, EDITOR OF THE "DAILY HERALD."

Nation with nation, land with land,  
Inarmed shall live as comrades free:  
In every heart and brain shall throb  
The pulse of one fraternity.

ALL of us are grateful to Mr. Wilson for his splendid service in putting before the world the great idea of a "League of Nations." Like many more of us, he has failed to bring his ideal to real life, and a league of peoples has yet to be formed. Mr.



GEORGE LANSBURY.

Wilson failed because the world was not ready. We may think, had we been in his place, we could have done better or could not have done worse, but what we need to bear in mind is the simple literal truth that the men who made the "Paris Peace" represented all that was vocal in France and Britain; that unless some settlement had been made all Europe would have just fallen back into chaos and ruin. It is by no means certain that the danger is even yet passed. I am not inclined to apologise for the President, but realising the tremendous obstacles yet to be overcome before the true spirit of international brotherhood and goodwill prevails, I am not surprised he has left Europe a defeated man, but defeated only for

a moment. He represented the truth by which alone mankind can save itself from future destruction, and that truth is the right of every nation, great or small, to order its own destiny; that the rights of each nation are only bounded by the rights of all; that no people are fit to govern other people, and all nations have their own forms and methods of social, political, and religious development.

### THE TREATMENT OF SUBJECT PEOPLES.

If ever the nations of the world are to live together in peace, we must first of all understand what we mean by equal rights and equal duties. Do we consider it to be right that Great Britain should impose her "Kultur" on what are called the subject races of India, Egypt, Africa, and Asia? Is it claimed that Britain has the right to occupy tens of thousands of square miles of territory occupied by millions of human beings without any regard to their wishes or desires? Fraternity means friendliness, comradeship, and love. Have the white people of the world ever shown true fraternity in their dealings with subject peoples? Some few of our race have been true comrades. The splendid

services rendered to the peoples of Africa by Livingstone and Moffat, Colenso and his daughter; the equally fine work done for the slaves in America by Lloyd Garrison and Abraham Lincoln, and at home by Wilberforce and the Buxtons, proves this; these, however are but a handful. The European colonising people should answer the simple question: "Do we colonise, pour out our blood and treasure, to benefit native races or for our own profit?" There is but one answer: our civilisation has failed to civilise because it is itself the negation of true civilisation. It is founded, and always has been founded, on money-making and exploitation. Within the borders of the British dominions there is both class and race distinction. In India no Indian can belong to a European club; no Indian may travel in the same carriage as the white man; no Indian can run a newspaper without permission of a British officer, who is able to impose a substantial fine in the form of a money deposit for good behaviour on all who desire to educate their fellows by means of the press; no Indian other than those chosen by the British are allowed to share Executive power. In Africa a Kaffir may not walk on the same pavement with a white. Other tribes have been plundered of their rich lands, and driven to live on reservations the land of which is so bad it will not produce the necessary means of life. This has been done in order to drive the African negro to work in mine and factory, on railways and other works for the profit of exploiting whites.

In places like Egypt and the Soudan the original owners of the soil are kept in subjection, held down by means of armed force, and all share in the management and control of their lives is denied them. The British claim the right, which overwhelming force in the shape of guns gives us, to force our mode of life upon them. In Persia we impudently maintain our pre-war position, though all danger to India from either Germany or Russia is at an end.

#### THE RULE OF BRUTE FORCE.

These are all scrappy statements which I have no doubt will be challenged, but no challenging will get over the broad central truth that, chief of the white races, Britain maintains by force a right to dominate and control more than half the human race. What makes our position worse is that we claim God on our side in thus spreading our power and domination over the earth. I am proud of being English. I love England, and think there is no spot on earth like it. It is this simple truth which makes me know that Indians, Egyptians, and other Eastern people, to say nothing of our Irish brothers and sisters, have the same feeling about their country, and makes me also believe that nature intended them to live their lives in their own way. Were I an Indian, as I am an Englishman, I should say to the missionary "Go home and clean up your own country before you come telling us how to live," and I should also say "Before you tell me of the Prince of Peace, of the love of Jesus for all men, please



convert your own people, and ask them to leave us alone and cease from trying to enslave and degrade us." A very talented, educated negro, with whom I was lunching one day, told me he had no faith in white people, that our religion was a fraud, as the one and only thing we relied on was brute force. He hoped very soon that Japan and India, the negroes of America and Africa, would unite, and then woe betide the white races who had claimed and still claimed to be superiors, and as superiors dominate and control their so-called inferiors. As I listened to my friend I think I understood a little of what an intelligent Indian feels when ordered out of a train by a white, or what a Kaffir feels when ordered off the sidewalk in Johannesburg, or what a coloured man feels when his sister is outraged by a white man without any opportunity of redress, or what his friends feel when a coloured man is lynched for a similar offence against a white woman. I tried hard to show my friend that thousands of people in England were not in agreement with the doctrine of domination, that we did believe in equality, and were not at all in love with the doctrine and practice of the gospel of might.

Christians and moralists need to get clear views on this subject. We must give up teaching our coloured friends how to arm, how to drill, how to use merciless brute force for our own ends. Unless we do this the future of humanity is black indeed, for it is certain as night follows day that the lessons of force and violence learned on our behalf will be used, and rightly used, against us. The whole world is drifting, no one knows whither. If Christians believe in their creed they must alter this state of things, and secure that all peoples are taught the futility of force and violence, and the solemn truth that mankind is one family, that all war is civil war, and all killing is fratricide and murder.

#### A STRANGE SORT OF "KULTUR."

This problem of our relationship with other nations is all bound up with our personal relationship with one another. The best internationalist is the best nationalist, as the true individualist is the real socialist. Many friends of mine, good people, seem to me to look upon people with a different coloured skin from themselves as inferiors; there is real antipathy between people born each side of the Equator. Kipling tells us East and West can never meet. I am not sure what it was he intended us to understand by these words. One thing is clear: Great Britain, representing the West, has been mighty proud and glad to have on her side hundreds of thousands of Indians and other Eastern people during the war against Germany. It is a strange sort of religion and morality which calls upon what are styled ignorant, uncivilised peoples to fight and suffer for the intelligent and cultured, and it is also a strange sort of culture which calls in aid these people in times of trouble and then refuses them equal rights of citizenship, and also claims the privilege in peace time of using the labour power of these same people and the natural resources of their lands for the

sole purpose of creating wealth for the service of those who claim to be superior. It is surely obvious to all that if the white races are possessed of a religion and a moral code superior to that of Buddha, Confucius, and the other religions as taught in the East, then it must be a religion which will prove its worth in the life, conduct, and actions of its adherents. As things are now managed, white civilisation stands condemned by its works. Go where we will in the world and we shall find the white man exploiting and holding down the coloured, instead of showing the beauties and glories of our faith. We hide our light under a bushel, and exert influence and dominance by the power of guns, instead of by the grace of God and the power of love. There is nowhere in the world where the failure of Christendom is so marked as it is in the dealings of those who profess and call themselves Christians with the subject races of the world. Think of the failure of us all during the days preceding the great war, when scarcely a day passed without the flag of Britain being carried to war in one corner of the globe or another.

#### A NEW SPIRIT REQUIRED.

If ever the nations of the world are to live "inarmed as comrades free" there must be a complete change in our dealings with other races. The white races will have to understand that the mere fact that they are white gives them no sort of right to dominate and exploit their fellows. I take no account of the claim which is made that whites are superior in intelligence to blacks; this may or may not be, but it is evident that up till now the fullest expression of superiority is in the matter of scientific brute force. The white man has learned how to kill and destroy rather more effectively than the black. This only shows superiority in one direction, and that I place in the category of tooth and claw, for I see nothing more civilised in mutilating one's enemies by means of poison gas or bombs than there is in clubbing one's enemy with a club or clawing him to death by means of teeth and nails. No; war is war, murder is murder, torture and mutilation are all one and the same thing; there is nothing civilised, nothing Christian in getting one's own way by brute force, and until this is understood and acted upon empires will rise and decay, for each civilised era will carry within itself the seed of its own destruction. Any of us whose business took us to Central London during the days of the war must have been struck by the fact that our streets were filled with crowds of men of all races, of all creeds and nations; sometimes it seemed to me like a vision of Rome in the days of her decadence, when she called in successively the tribes and races on the borders of her empire to assist in maintaining her place and power in the world. These races and tribes joined later with the so-called barbarians in destroying the last remnants of the power and glory of Rome. Often the thought came, will Britain follow the same pathway to destruction? We most certainly shall do so unless we have learned

the simple lesson that righteousness alone exalteth a nation; that power built on fraud, self-interest, and violence is certain to bring its own destruction.

#### THE AWAKENING OF COLOURED RACES.

The spirit of fraternity is the spirit of love, and if only we could understand that the negro in America and Africa, the yellow and brown peoples of Korea, Japan, India, and Asia are in the sight of God our equals, and have an equal right to life, what a different world it would be for us all. I am writing these lines during the days when, in Chicago, race riots are the order of the day: one part of the city is like a "Ghetto" set apart for the blacks as if they were an unclean, unholy race. Years ago the ancestors of these people were kidnapped from Africa and enslaved in America, and to-day America is reaping, and will reap a thousandfold in trouble and sorrow for all the crimes committed in that land which is called the "home of the brave and free," and which in its constitution proclaims the equality of all men and their right to self-government. The men who founded the American Republic thought of freedom and liberty as applicable to men of their own race. They left out of account the Red Indians, took no stock of African negroes, and, incidentally, also excluded women from all political rights. These latter have now won their way to freedom; the negro has yet to find either equality or fraternity in the Republic of the West; whilst the dwindling aboriginals, the Red Indians, are located on reservations shut off from contact with the whites, and each year are dwindling to a lesser population. It has been stated that the riots in Chicago started because a negro boy strayed along the lake shore into a portion reserved for the whites, and, being stoned by the civilised whites, his friends stoned back. Whether this is so or not, race riots come about because of race antipathy and hatred. All over the world this is blazing up simply because the negro from Africa, Indians from India, Senegalese from Senegal, Chinese from China, Egyptians from Egypt, have been conscripted or cajoled to volunteer to fight or work in the war for liberty, and now they are back home they desire to be treated as ordinary human beings. In addition they have learned, in the hard, bitter school of experience, that we Christians do not love one another; that our religion is one which is limited to self interests, which allows us in the name of our Saviour to starve and destroy our fellow Christians and employ for our assistance hundreds of thousands of those we call heathen. I often wonder what those Christians who really believe in the doctrine of hell and eternal torment think, these days. I feel strongly about this question of subject races, because it seems to me to be the rock on which all empires and kingdoms have been broken, and because I firmly believe it is the international rock on which Western civilisation and the League of Nations will be destroyed unless we alter our methods and our relationship one with another.

NOT CONQUEST, BUT RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Let us all, then, look at the question simply as one of religion, and in doing so keep in mind our Lord's words and attitude: To Him there was neither Jew nor Greek, and His command was "Go ye out into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and His gospel is not a gospel of domination, not a gospel of self-sufficiency and pharisaical superiority. His message was one for the healing, not of a nation, but of all nations. It is righteousness alone which exalteth a nation. We must give up dreams of conquest and empire, and, instead, must be willing to go out into the world and by our lives demonstrate our faith that the gospel according to Christ is the only gospel by which mankind can be saved. Those we call heathen—that is, those who have never heard of Jesus—will believe in our message when we are able to prove that we believe in our creed; when our faith is seen in our works, and our works show forth the glory of God. I sometimes wish it were possible to get all humanity together in one place, and proclaim to them the eternal truth that race and creed, mountain barriers, seas and rivers, are not real dividing lines between nations; that our real divisions come because we do not accept the truth that there is in all of us the spirit of love striving with the spirit of selfishness; that the thing we call religion is a matter of the spirit, and they who would serve God must serve Him in spirit and in truth, and serving Him we must understand involves serving our fellow men and women. If we desire a union of nations we must realise each in our own hearts that the herald of the new day will be found when "In every heart and brain shall throb the pulse of one fraternity."

---

FRENCH FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

---

ACCORDING to the *Labour Gazette* the French Labour Ministry, by a decree dated November 5th, 1918, has amended the basis upon which State grants to mutual benefit societies (including miners' benefit societies) are to receive grants from the State as follows: 25 per cent of the total superannuation benefits paid by each society, the total State subsidy not to exceed nine francs per member and 20,000 francs per society; 25 per cent of expenditure on special maternity benefits and for the protection of infants; 12 per cent of the expenses incurred either in the form of sick pay

to members and their families or in organising preventive and public health measures; 6 per cent of the total outlay upon funeral benefits, and grants to families of deceased members; and finally 4 per cent of the expenditure upon technical training, vocational instruction, employment registries, and unemployment assistance. The total amount of the State contribution in respect of expenses upon the above-named benefits (other than superannuation) is not to exceed nine francs per member and 30,000 francs per society.

## BRITISH SHIPPING IN PEACE AND WAR.

### HOW NATIONALISATION SAVED THE NATION.

By SIR LEO CHIOZZA-MONEY

*Late Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping and Chairman of the Tonnage Priority Committee and of the National Maritime Board.*

THE most extraordinary thing about the war was that where we considered ourselves safest we nearly came to grief. Sea-power very nearly proved to be the heel of Achilles. We began the war by sweeping the German flag from the ocean, and yet, after two years, we were threatened with the cutting of our sea communications. I doubt whether the narrowness of the escape is yet fully realised by many. Let me remind the reader, then, that two months after the Germans declared their sink-at-sight blockade in February, 1917, the enemy sunk 875,000 gross tons of British, Allied, and neutral ships in a single month. In April, 1917, the losses were:—



SIR LEO CHIOZZA-MONEY.

Britain .....	550,000 tons.
Allies .....	134,000 „
Neutrals.....	189,000 „

If that rate of loss had continued the Allies would have been deprived of their connections, and Britain would have been starved into surrender. It was long after that date before the worst fears were removed. Indeed, in the year 1917 Britain alone lost 3,750,000 gross tons; and Britain, our Allies, and neutral countries together lost 6,200,000 tons.

How was it that after these enormous losses we were able to secure food for our people and the materials of munitions of war ?

#### WHAT AVERTED DISASTER.

*The answer to this question is that it was the nationalisation of the use of shipping which averted disaster in these grave circumstances. The Admiralty did its best, and our sailors grappled with the insidious attack with their accustomed daring, but all the courage and skill of our sailors would have been thrown away if shipping had been controlled in 1917 to no better purpose than in 1916.*

It may be remembered that on December 19th, 1916, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George, then newly appointed Prime Minister,

told Parliament what he proposed to do in the matter of shipping. This is what he said:—

It (shipping) was never so vital to the life of the nation as it is at the present moment—during the war. It is the jugular vein, which, if severed, would destroy the life of the nation, and the Government felt the time had come for taking over more complete control of all the ships of this country and placing them in practically the same position as are the railways of the country at the present moment; so that during the war shipping will be nationalised in the real sense of the term. The prodigious profits which were made out of freights were contributing in no small measure to the high cost of commodities, and I always found not only that, but that they were making it difficult for us in our task with labour. Whenever I met organised labour under any conditions where I would persuade them to give up privileges, I always had hurled at me phrases about the undue and extravagant profits of shipping. This is intolerable in war time, when so many are making so great sacrifices for the State. Sir Joseph Maclay, one of the ablest shipowners in the United Kingdom, has undertaken to direct this great enterprise with one sole object—the service of the country. He is now conferring with the Admiralty and the very able Shipping Control Committee, over which Lord Curzon presided, and I hope I shall be in a position to inform the House of the plans and projects he recommends should be taken not merely for the more effective nationalisation of the ships which we have already on the register, but the speedy construction of more.

#### HALF MEASURES.

It should be remembered that the war had then been waged for two years and four months, and that we were apparently as far from victory as ever. Shipping losses had already been considerable, although the sink-at-sight policy had not yet been decided on by the Germans. Freights had been very high, and a continual source of complaint. Mr. Runciman at the Board of Trade had allowed the great liner trades to continue in their accustomed business. A large proportion of tramp ships had been requisitioned by the Admiralty to carry Government supplies, and arbitration freight rates (familarly known as “Blue Book rates”) had been arranged for such carriage. But when I took office as Parliamentary Secretary to the Shipping Controller, I found, to my astonishment, *in January, 1917, that only one-half of our ships had yet been requisitioned, and that the other half was earning extravagantly high freights in trades which by no means coincided with the best interests of the country.*

I also found that the net profits of British shipowners between August 4th, 1914, and January, 1917, were well over £300,000,000.

#### REORGANISATION AND RESULTS.

These facts were promptly brought to the attention of the War Cabinet, which at once decided that all British ships were to be requisitioned and used in the national interest.

This led to the reorganisation, by the Shipping Controller, of the whole of the cargo liner trade, and it made, of course, an enormous difference to the profits of British shipowners. As, also, the greater part of British imports came to be controlled by the British Government,

British consumers came to enjoy cost freights for practically the whole of our imports.

The fact that all British ships were thus requisitioned, or NATIONALISED AS TO USE, made it possible to take the great step which may be said to have saved our supplies in the war in the face of the submarine campaign.

In May, 1917, the Atlantic concentration of shipping was decided upon and carried into effect.

The theory was that as we were allied with the United States, and as the North American continent could supply so much that we required, it was possible, by concentrating ships in the North Atlantic, to secure far more imports than by using them in any other way. Moreover, the Atlantic concentration lent itself to the purposes of the convoy system, which was inaugurated by the Admiralty about the same time.

The result was that, in effect, we multiplied our tonnage. A ship taken out of the Australasian trade and put into the North American trade carried three times as much for us.

In the House of Commons on January 29th, 1918, I was able to inform Parliament of the extraordinary success of the North Atlantic convoys. I then said that the system had been so successful that, taking all the homeward-bound ocean convoys since the inception of the system in the middle of 1917, 14,180,041 gross registered tons of shipping, with a dead-weight capacity of 20,145,400 tons, had been convoyed to England and France with a loss, expressed in gross tons, of 1.44 per cent, or, expressed in dead-weight capacity, of 1.57 per cent. And those figures included losses which had been occasioned by ships being sunk through the dispersal of convoys by bad weather.

So great, indeed, was the triumph of the Atlantic concentration that the amount of cargo imported into this country in 1917, IN BRITISH VESSELS, was almost exactly the same as in 1916, although in the year 1917 the British tonnage available was 20 per cent less than in 1916.

Thus the nationalisation of the use of shipping had been a very great success, but it should be observed that it was not the kind of success which might have been achieved by a complete nationalisation of British shipping from the beginning. When Mr. Lloyd George's Government took office the nation had already paid in shipping profits the price of the entire British Mercantile Marine again and again, and it was destined to pay very much more.

On January 26th, 1917, I submitted to the War Cabinet a memorandum urging that the British Mercantile Marine should be nationalised by buying out all the ships—lock, stock, and barrel. If this had been done even then it would have been a magnificent bargain for the United Kingdom, and I often wonder if the members of the War Cabinet which turned down my scheme have reflected upon the

unnecessary millions which have since been paid away for nothing, or less than nothing.

#### THE NATION'S LOSS—THE SHIPOWNERS' GAIN.

Take, for example, the compensation paid for ships sunk. It will be understood that owing to the excessive earnings of shipping and the higher cost of construction, ship values rose enormously during the war. When a fully-requisitioned ship was sunk, the Government (under the Blue Book terms) bearing the war risk, compensation was paid to the owner. The compensation had to be paid, not at the original value, or the original value less depreciation, but at the war value.

On February 17th, 1919, Mr. William Thorne, M.P., asked how much had been paid by the Government out of public funds to shipowners in compensation for ships sunk by the enemy between August 4th, 1914, and the date of the armistice; what was estimated to have been the original cost to the shipowners of these ships; and whether any taxation had been levied on the sums paid to shipowners in this way in excess of the original cost.

He received the following reply through Colonel Leslie Wilson, my successor as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping: "I assume that the Hon. Member refers to British ships lost while under Government requisition, and at direct Government risk, and does not include vessels insured in the Government War Risks Associations. The amount paid was £104,031,271, and the first cost to owners was £51,116,806. In addition, £1,358,825 was paid in respect of twenty-five ships whose first cost is not known. There are also a few cases not yet settled. So far as I am aware, no taxation is levied on these sums, which represent capital, not income, and are required to replace the vessels. Building costs are now from two to three times what they were before the war."

It is a fact that every fully-requisitioned ship sunk by the enemy yielded a fortune to its owner. What was a loss to the nation was a gain to the shipowner.

#### THE MANNING OF THE MERCANTILE MARINE.

If the nation had had the foresight and enterprise to buy out the Mercantile Marine at the beginning of the war it would have saved hundreds of millions. If, more wisely still, it had established a National Mercantile Marine, manned by well-paid, well-fed, and well-clothed officers and men, we should not have lost as many ships. As I pointed out to the Government in January, 1917, it is very necessary to refer to the manning of the British Mercantile Marine as it existed at the outbreak of war. For a number of reasons the profession of seaman is not a very popular one. In spite of the enormous growth in the British Mercantile Marine, the number of British white persons employed in 1912 was just under 209,000,



whereas it was over 183,000 as long ago as 1872. In the same time the number of foreign white persons employed had risen from about 20,000 to nearly 31,000, while the number of Lascars and Asiatics had risen from a number which cannot be stated, but was comparatively small, to 47,000. In 1886, when the first record of Lascars and Asiatics was made, the number was 16,673. These figures were not consistent with the greatest degree of safety for the Mercantile Marine in time of war. In the new conditions of sea warfare which we had to face it was deplorable that such a condition of manning should obtain.

Happily, we may be able to avoid war in the future. However that may be, it remains true that we suffered enormously in the war, and not in our pockets alone, through the private ownership of our ships.

And, as I pointed out to the Coal Commission, the private managers of the British Mercantile Marine signally failed to rise to the national emergency which existed through the enemy attack on our shipping. "With the enemy submarines in action, it was abundantly necessary to use ships to the best advantage, and to get stocks of foods and materials from the nearest markets. But private enterprise did not respond to the war necessity. We did not find our shipowners forming, as they might have formed, a central committee to take cargo liners out of their regular trades and to run them where they were most wanted. Indeed, there were fine ships owned by British shipowners not coming near the United Kingdom at all. It remained for the Ministry of Shipping to make the necessary organisation, so that ships were taken out of far trades and put into near trades, so that British ships which did not touch our shores were compelled to make British ports."

#### PANDERING TO THE PROFITEERS.

Unfortunately, the British Government utterly failed to read aright the lesson of the war in relation to shipping. As soon as the armistice was arrived at the Government declared its intention of setting free our shipowners and our shipbuilders to do what they liked at the earliest possible moment. The result was promptly seen.

As I have explained, while the war lasted the British Government made itself responsible for most of our imports, buying up supplies in bulk, and saving the nation enormously higher prices by doing so. These Government supplies were carried by the requisitioned ships at cost. The Government's decision to set free the importers and to set free the ships soon changed the situation. Rapidly the Government cargoes decreased and the private cargoes increased. The diminishing Government cargoes continued to enjoy the "Blue Book rates" of freight, but the rapidly increasing private cargoes were, of course, charged at commercial rates—very much higher than the cost freights of the Ministry of Shipping. Thus, if we take a familiar illustration,

the North Atlantic provisions freight: as long as bacon was a Government cargo it was carried for the Ministry of Food by the Ministry of Shipping at cost; just before decontrol the official rate was only 42s. 6d. As soon as bacon became decontrolled, and therefore a private cargo and privately imported, it was charged by the North Atlantic shipping ring the commercial freight rate of 93s. 4d.

This was followed, in the summer of 1919, by Mr. Austen Chamberlain's revision of the Excess Profits Duty. He announced the reduction of the duty from 80 per cent to 40 per cent. When it is remembered that the shipowners enjoyed, under the Excess Profits Duty, an exceptionally high datum line because they made unusually high profits in the two years immediately preceding the war, it will be understood that Mr. Chamberlain's alteration in the rate of duty makes it possible for them this year to retain by far the greater part of their very excessive profits—*profits which are really war gains although the war is over.*

What a contrast is presented by the case of Australia. Australia possesses a State line of steamships, the profits of which paid for them in the war. So that as a result of the war, the Australian Government possesses a fine fleet of ships bought for nothing, and they are now wisely adding to them. The mother country, on the other hand, preferred to pay the price of ships over and over again in excessive profits, with nothing to show at the end of the war except a continued liability to provide more excessive profits.

It remains for a Labour Government to follow the example of Australia, and to make it impossible for such follies and losses to occur again. The seafarers' profession is a great and honourable one, and it is a shocking thing that British maritime supremacy when the war broke out provided no more than a meagre pittance of about £4. 10s. a month for an A.B. or fireman. It is true that the National Maritime Board, established by the Shipping Controller, made many improvements in pay and conditions, but much still remains to be done which can only be accomplished with the nation in possession of its ships, and the sailormen brought into intimate connection with the governance of their great industry.

## SHIPPING BOOM IN HOLLAND.

Figures given in *Commercial Holland* reveal the boom in the Dutch shipping trade in the first year of peace. The big leap upward is shown by a comparison of some of the leading shipping shares before the signing of peace with those recorded in the middle of July:—

	June 25th.	Mid-July.		June 25th.	Mid-July.
Holland-America Line.....	387	470	Van Nievelt, Goudriaan & Co.'s	515	528
Java-China-Japan Line .....	331	372	Steamship Company .....	277	325
Royal Dutch Lloyd .....	182	227	Rotterdam Lloyd .....	355	380
Royal Dutch Steamboat Co.	238	270	Steamship Company "De Maas"	311	349
Royal Packet Company .....	261	290	Steamship Company "Nederland"		

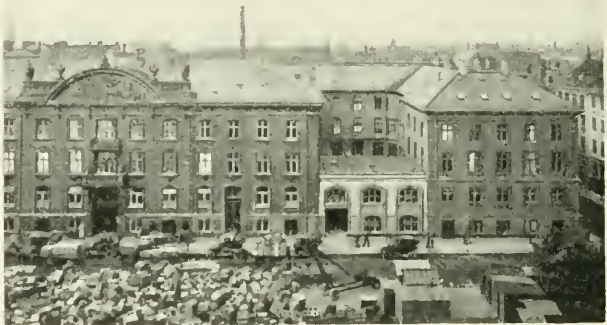
# C.W.S. IN DENMARK



SQUARE,  
SHOWING  
STATUE  
OF  
BISHOP  
ABSALON

BLOCK OF  
BUILDINGS  
CONTAINING  
THE OFFICE  
OF THE  
C.W.S.

C.W.S. OCCUPY  
THE LOW  
BUILDINGS  
DIVIDING THE  
TWO BLOCKS



BUSY VIEW  
FROM  
WINDOW  
OF  
C.W.S.  
OFFICES

COPENHAGEN VIEWS.

C.W.S. OFFICE,  
ST. ANNAPLADS 24.

## THE CAPITALIST ADVANCE SINCE THE WAR.

By W. H. BROWN.

WHEN in the early days of November the Bank of England and the Treasury raised the bank-rate from the point at which it had stood from 1917 to 6 per cent, it was evident that the serious financial position of the country was, at length, recognised by the Government. For since the armistice the floodgates of joint-stock speculation had been wide open; the Victory Loan had not attracted more than a tithe of the available wealth; the financiers were gleefully preparing company doses for the public; the new capitalistic interests hovering about the textile industry were laying up stores of future trouble and profit; and the spirit of get-rich-quickly was accelerating its pace into the counsels of men.

During the war the men who organised the munitions of war and who controlled the necessaries of life made money; in the first year of the peace the underwriters and those who float companies caught the tide of prosperity. Necessarily their capacity to do well had a foundation in the success of the existing concerns, and a comparison of a few typical companies in important industries, before the war, on the eve of the armistice, and a year later is an excellent introduction to a review of the operations of British capital in the nation's trying years:—

	Quotation, July 27th, 1914.	Quotation, Oct. 31st, 1918.	Quotation, Nov. 6th, 1919.
Allsopp's Ordinary (£100) .....	£10	£52	£110
Watney Combe Deferred (£100) .....	£31	£105	£190
Bengal Iron .....	£2 $\frac{3}{4}$	£5 $\frac{7}{8}$	£11 $\frac{7}{8}$
Brown (John) and Co.....	25s. 6d.	39s. 6d.	32s. 6d.
Cammell Laird (£1) .....	£4	£6 $\frac{1}{4}$	22s. 6d.
Cargo Fleet .....	7s. 6d.	27s.	28s.
Bleachers Ordinary.....	18s.	21s.	34s. 3d.
Bradford Dyers .....	22s. 6d.	40s. 6d.	50s. 9d.
Calico Printers.....	8s. 9d.	16s. 3d.	24s.
Courtaulds.....	£2 $\frac{5}{16}$	£7 $\frac{15}{16}$	£11 $\frac{13}{16}$
English Sewing Cotton .....	36s. 9d.	£3 $\frac{1}{2}$	£4 $\frac{11}{16}$
Fine Spinners.....	32s. 6d.	40s. 6d.	78s. 9d.
British and Argentine Meat .....	7s. 6d.	25s. 3d.	26s. 6d.
British Oil and Cake Mills .....	14s. 3d.	35s. 9d.	48s.
Bryant and May .....	£1 $\frac{5}{12}$	£2 $\frac{11}{12}$	£1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Dunlop Rubber .....	£2 $\frac{3}{16}$	£4 $\frac{11}{16}$	£10
Eastman's .....	11s. 9d.	15s. 3d.	20s. 6d.
Lipton's .....	17s. 6d.	27s. 3d.	31s. 9d.
Maypole Dairy Deferred .....	19s. 9d.	19s. 9d.	20s. 6d.
Nelson Bros. ....	18s. 9d.	27s. 6d.	£2 $\frac{1}{16}$

These representative securities suggest that the supply of food, drink, and clothing have given the capitalist his greatest opportunity of making profit—for the prices of shares are governed mainly by their profit-taking possibilities even more than capital appreciation. This latter feature has entered into finance as almost a dominant note during 1919, and has been used as a device to disguise the real earnings of many companies. The savings in reserves and the allocations to cover likely charges have been thrown to the shareholders with a prodigality almost suggestive of the old maxim as to ill-gotten gains. In this way the capital of many companies has been increased to levels never regarded as likely until the war came and disturbed the world's outlook.

The continued expansion of the profits of the great combinations of capital has been greatly assisted by the halving of the excess profits duty. That proves, more than many speeches, the close association between political and commercial action. As I showed in the review of British capital in the last war year, in the 1919 YEAR BOOK, the imposition of the 80 per cent duty on excess profits was a chief contributory factor to high prices. High wages had to follow to enable the producer to secure for himself, as a consumer, the things he had made. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer reduced the duty to 40 per cent a fall in prices should have automatically followed—according to the view of those unfamiliar with the ways of financiers. The inflated values that had been created in a period of scarcity had to be maintained; they took advantage of the State concession of one-half the duty, keeping the extra profits and forgetting the consumer altogether. From that basis promoters of companies have been able to secure millions of pounds of subscriptions to ordinary shares, and have been equally successful with issues of preference shares at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  and 8 per cent interest—several points above pre-war standards. The effect of this is seen in the changed quotations of preference and ordinary share capital, notable examples being as follows:—

	Quotation, July, 1914.	Quotation, Nov. 7th, 1919.
British American Tobacco—5 per cent Preference.....	27s. 6d.	16s. 6d.
"    "    "    Ordinary .....	£4 $\frac{1}{8}$	£6 $\frac{9}{16}$
Dunlop Rubber—6 per cent Preference .....	20s.	19s. 6d.
"    "    "    Ordinary .....	£2 $\frac{3}{16}$	£10
Van Den Berghs—6 per cent Preference .....	21s. 9d.	17s. 6d.
"    "    "    Ordinary.....	53s. 3d.	70s.
Vickers—5 per cent Preference .....	21s.	16s.
"    "    "    Ordinary .....	35s. 3d.	33s. 3d.
Coats, J. and P.—6 per cent Preference (£10).....	£14 $\frac{1}{2}$	£10 $\frac{1}{2}$
"    "    "    Ordinary.....	£7 $\frac{1}{2}$	£10

These are fully representative of the tendency to take risks and avoid the lower interest-bearing shares which, however, retain their preferential position so far as the capital realisation in the event of liquidation is concerned.

The removal of some Treasury restrictions enabled the flotation of many new companies in the first half of 1919, and although the shadow of the Victory Loan tended to delay their issue in the latter part of June, new capital in the first part of the year was found for trading and manufacturing companies to the extent of over ten millions, for half of which Messrs. Lever Bros. (soap), Jurgens (margarine), Rowntree and Co. (chocolate), Lyons and Co. (catering), and the British Motor Trading Corporation (motor accessories) were responsible. Motor companies, altogether, raised capital of more than four millions; banks and insurance offices of £11,519,900, and hotels, theatres, and entertainments £2,349,700. These features have been emphasised in the course of financial history during the second half of the year. Alongside these accumulations of joint-stock capital must be set the issue of £2,500,000 of Development Bonds by the C.W.S. in the spring of the year—an operation likely to be repeated in 1920 on a wider basis, that should give opportunity for a real effort to bring into co-operative service some of the resources that are now forced outside.

In reviewing the policy of the joint-stock firms engaged in the distribution of foodstuffs and other daily necessities, we must not ignore the way in which they are entering into manufacturing operations and, latterly, into the field of production. Originally, most of these concerns served, as retailers, to link the manufacturer or even the middleman with the consumer. Now they go direct to the sources of the supply of raw materials, saving the intermediate profits to the advantage of—well, their advancing dividends during recent years tell the story in figures that are vouched for by the auditors and reach the shareholders in a tangible form. Although the net profits of the Maypole Dairy Company Ltd. for the year ended December 28th, 1918, were only £703,200, as compared with £736,400 in the previous year, the firm's record may be regarded as typical of the developments occurring with that class of company. During the war years it was able to open many new shops, and to spend money on factories and enterprises in various parts of the world to increase the supply of raw materials and the production of margarine. Moreover, the Maypole Company has an interest in a copra plantation, and, through one of its subsidiary companies, has sixty stores along the River Gambia from which calico and other materials are sold to the natives who, in return, supply ground-nuts, which are taken to the company's warehouses on the river and thence shipped to the crushing and refining mills.

The dividend record of the Maypole, which has recently raised its capital to £3,000,000 by the creation of 16,000,000 deferred ordinary

shares of 2s., has been on the high level. It has paid 20 per cent on the preferred shares since 1905, while only once since 1910 has it fallen below 100 per cent on the deferred shares. In 1916 it fell to 50 per cent, but rose to 225 in 1917 and 87½ per cent for the last financial year. This reduction is less apparent when account is taken of the increase of capital by the bonus issue of £185,000 shares in 1917 and the carrying forward of £43,000 into the accounts for 1919.

There have been interesting extensions of the original intentions of the United Dairies Ltd., which raised its capital from £940,000 to £2,331,489, and paid, in one year, over a million and a quarter for new businesses. Its fresh milk trade is mainly in and about the Metropolis, but the branches of the concern include engineering work and the production of table delicacies and provisions, the combined sales of the various departments averaging a million sterling every month. Considerable importance in the provision business attaches to the operations of Lovell and Christmas Ltd. (with which is incorporated George Wall and Co.), which has large interests in the English Margarine Works Ltd., and several investments in other undertakings that feed the firm with supplies. A dividend on the ordinary shares at the rate of 14 per cent per annum was declared for the half year ended June 30th, 1919, making 10 per cent for the year. Spillers and Bakers Ltd., the flour millers, have several other interests, and during the year which ended in February last developed the British Oak Insurance Company—one of its subsidiary businesses—on fresh lines, and converted it into a public company with a capital issue of £1,000,000, one-fourth of which is paid up. During the last quarter of a century J. Lyons and Co. Ltd. have revolutionised the catering business of the country, more especially in the West End of London, and, incidentally, have done something to promote temperance in allaying the thirst of the people. The capital has just been raised to £3,500,000 by the creation of a million 7 per cent preference shares. Not only does the company possess restaurants throughout the provinces, but it runs Horniman's, Black and Green's, and Lyons' teas, and has recently acquired a thirty-acre site at Greenford (Middlesex) upon which to erect food factories to relieve the present pressure at Cadby Hall, Kensington. The company has 15,000 employees, and playing fields of 70 acres at Sudbury Hill are being placed at the disposal of those in the London area—a war memorial to those with the firm who fell in battle. Such developments have been possible after making profits of over a quarter of a million in the last year. Lipton Ltd. had a divisible profit of £242,468, and paid a dividend for the year of 12½ per cent. The stocks were valued at £1,340,572, and in addition to nearly 1,000 branches at home, the firm has developed retail businesses in India, Egypt, Australia, and New Zealand, and opened branches in Jerusalem and Jaffa—developments that should suggest to the co-operators of the world something akin, on

international lines, to the national society idea propounded by the late J. C. Gray for this country.

Amalgamation of manufacturing interests, the consolidation of their financial resources, and the reduction of the competition which previously kept prices at a normal level, has been a dominant note of the period following the armistice. A quartet of firms—Maguire, Miller and Co. (Liverpool) Ltd.; Maguire, Miller and Co. (Leeds) Ltd.; Paterson and Co. Ltd., of Dublin; and J. Palmer and Son Ltd., of London—have been joined as Maguire, Paterson, and Palmer Ltd., a private company with a capital of £500,000. Messrs. Vickers Ltd. are financially interested and have representation on the directorate, while they have commenced the manufacture of match-making machinery at Erith, evidently to equip the match factory to be erected on a 45 acre site at Liverpool. Another firm associated with the enterprise is Messrs. Tillotson and Son, cardboard box manufacturers, of Bolton—thus making the new combination a thoroughly comprehensive one for match-making.

In another line of business, Radiation Ltd., with a nominal capital of £2,750,000, is an amalgamation of well-known gas stove makers—John Wright and Eagle Range Ltd., the Richmond Gas Stove and Meter Co. Ltd., and the Davis Gas Stove Ltd. Equally important is the tube combine, Tube Investments Ltd., which is backed by Babcock and Wilcox, and with its capital of £1,000,000 has been able to fuse Tubes, Credenda Conduits, Simplex Conduits, and Accles and Pollock. There are two other tube combines, with an aggregate paid-up capital of about three millions, viz., Stewarts and Lloyds and the Scottish Tube Company, the latter being an amalgamation of eight firms, supplemented by the association of Stewarts and Lloyds.

Vickers Ltd. are turning from munitions of war to such simple instruments of domestic employment as sewing machines. That is not all. By absorbing the Metropolitan Carriage, Wagon, and Finance Company with its commitments in connection with the British Westinghouse Company, the Metropolitan Electric Light and Power Company, to say nothing of an arrangement with the General Electric Company, the concern has become one of the mighty industrial giants of the country. Its capital is £26,500,000—an amount four millions beyond the total funds accumulated by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. since its inception in 1864. Such a comparison should be usefully inciting to the trade unions in the engineering industry whose funds are still banked with the joint-stock banks that derive most of their prestige and power from association with these growing federations of capital.

One of the reasons often assigned for these great amalgamations is the economy possible in matters of management. The reality of such is apparent in such a case as that of the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers (1900) and the British Portland Cement



Manufacturers, which are now working closely together under an arrangement by which eighteen directors have retired, while the managing directors have been reduced from seventeen to seven. £10,000 a year was formerly paid in fees to directors and trustees alone, and this, with the saving of managing directors' salaries, should materially help the concern to win the appreciation of the shareholders. Whether those who are anxious as to the economical building of houses for the people will be equally appreciative of this union of interests is a point for the future to determine.

Amalgamations of old industrial firms have been a notable feature of the year. It commenced with the combination of a trio of London concerns famous as makers of pickles, marmalade, and sauces; the first obtaining a controlling interest in the others, the aggregate capital being over a million pounds. Later, two manufacturers of boot polishes on the east coast combined; then a working arrangement among the three leading makers of cocoa and chocolates was arrived at, while other federations are in progress in other directions.

A remarkable feature of the war years was the recovery of the great drapery stores from the meagre place they held in the favour of investors before the war. This has continued, and although the issue of most of their reports in the spring precludes a full review for 1919, at the moment the amounts carried forward last spring, the interim dividends since, and the roseate view presented by the establishments themselves, indicate that the year has been a good one. Some of the great London houses are invading the provinces. Harrods have absorbed Kendal, Milne and Co., of Manchester; Selfridge is preparing for an Oxford Street conquest of Liverpool, and these and other companies are taking control of many drapery businesses in the provincial towns. The multiple shop principle, so long obtaining in the supply of groceries and provisions, tobacco, and catering, has now become recognised in the drapery trade. The great London emporia are apparently exhausting their resident clientele; for their premises have grown beyond the increased population, and they find it well to enlarge their buying capacity and their circle of possible customers. Probably the next step will be the acquisition of a few works and mills from which to supply their many shops, or making working arrangements to secure control of some of the sources of supply. Such considerations as these, and the continued spending of money by the people, lead to the view that the dry goods stores which are a big factor in the American financial world will become equally obtrusive on the English Stock Exchange. The experience of the first peace year leads that way. Of particular interest to those responsible for the organisation of co-operative business are the stocks carried by the various companies. As a rule these have practically doubled in value; co-operative societies will be able to gauge the capital now required to successfully compete with these attractive and successful concerns.

WELL-KNOWN LONDON COMPANIES.	PROFITS.		DIVIDENDS.		STOCKS.	
	1918.	1914.	1918.	1914.	1918.	1914.
	£	£	%	%	£	£
Baker, Charles, & Co...	62,895	20,864	12½	2½	210,245	163,965
Barker, John, & Co. ...	133,272	106,565	11	10	491,609	220,751
Bon Marché .....	33,482	25,818	20	16	83,043	46,220
Evans, D. H., & Co.....	94,465	44,029	15	12½	155,917	126,111
Gorringe, Fredk., & Co.	57,810	35,446	9	5	107,360	91,400
Harrods' Stores .....	352,041	309,226	17½	26	1,068,162	639,362
Hope Bros. ....	64,352	27,261	10	4	274,827	193,664
Jays Ltd. ....	38,854	21,674	6	2½	97,104	79,952
Jones & Higgins.....	33,697	20,097	14½	10	113,917	53,218
Liberty & Co. ....	99,047	30,272	20	10	287,902	175,848
Maple & Co. ....	403,000	73,402	15	10	1,984,000	1,460,936
Roberts' Stores, J. R....	20,884	5,809	7½	2½	48,003	33,758
Robinson, Peter .....	92,864	63,844	15	12	188,184	173,453
Selfridge & Co. ....	322,825	134,791	7	5	424,207	217,613
Swan & Edgar .....	35,931	6,996	15	10	167,644	71,865
Wallis, Thomas, & Co.	58,761	20,659	13	6	173,556	94,530
Whiteley, Wm., & Co.	191,562	95,545	8	5	416,137	262,891

The market in home rails is the solitary important one that has not got back to the pre-war level of prices. Neither have the quotations for English gas companies, very substantial falls having occurred in such representative companies as the South Suburban, the Newcastle, Wolverhampton, and Brighton companies, as well as the Gas Light and Coke Company. In most cases the decline in the quotations has been to about a half of what they were in July, 1914, and follows naturally from the increased cost of coal, labour, and plant and supplies generally. The rates charged to the consumer are restricted—fortunately for the consumer—by Act of Parliament, and Parliament will doubtless be asked to allow a raising of rates, in order to restore the favour with which gas companies were regarded for so many years by the investor who put his money into sound industrial concerns whose progress he could follow without fear or difficulty. The position with regard to railway stocks is here set out in tabular form:—

	Quotation, July, 1914.	Quotation, Nov. 12th, 1918.	Quotation, Nov. 7th, 1919.
Great Eastern.....	42½	40½	35½
Great Western .....	108½	91½	85
Hull and Barnsley .....	51	56	50½
L. & N.-W.....	121	98	87
Midland, Deferred .....	63	61½	54½
North-Eastern .....	115½	101½	91½

So much for what were once thought to be the stabilised industries of the country. Shadows of big events are inclined over railway, colliery, and mineral and engineering concerns. The leaders of joint-stock finance are growing rich from textiles and food supplies, and seeking the concentration of capital in fewer hands. Thus the banks continue their amalgamations despite the report of the Government's committee, and the insurance offices are fusing their interests in truly American fashion. But even more formidable has been the flotation of new concerns. One hundred and sixty insurance companies have been registered since 1914, and during 1919 forty-two, with a capital of over £6,000,000, were brought before the public, less than a score being responsible for five-sixths of that amount. In addition seventeen existing companies have appealed for £6,000,000 of capital, and it has been subscribed many times over. Such stupendous resources testify to the financial attractiveness of insurance—made profitable in a great degree by the proneness of ordinary people associated with trade unions, friendly societies, clubs, co-operative societies, and the like to effect insurances on houses and homes, and assurances on lives, with concerns that have little in keeping with their own aspirations towards mutual confidence and trust. Until there is a decided trend of these democratic forces towards keeping all their insurances within their own movement, the outside capitalistic concerns will swell visibly each year.

And the lesson of all this. Capital is enriching itself from the requirements of the consumer. Is it not time the consumer recognised the comprehensive character of his duty to himself?—to keep his banking, his insurance, his purchasing, and his influence, within the co-operative movement which he has organised for mutual banking, insurance, trading, and betterment. When such a recognition becomes universal, joint-stockism, based on rewards to capital rather than to consumers and producers, will cease to be the mighty force it has proved these last few years.

## DUTCH COLONIAL BANKS.

Evidence of the lucrative character of the business conducted by the Dutch colonial banks (which finance the plantation industry in the Dutch-East Indies) is afforded by the following comparative figures showing, in the case of various banks, the increase of capital between the end of 1913 and the middle of September, 1919, and the increase of dividends between 1913 and 1918:—

	Capital in Fl.		Dividends per cent.	
	1913.	1919.	1913.	1918.
Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij.....	15,000,000	80,000,000	9½	14
Nederlandsch-Indische Handelsbank.....	17,107,900	35,000,000	12	17
Nederlandsch-Indische Escompto Mij.....	10,500,000	25,000,000	8½	10
Koloniale Bank.....	11,000,000	13,750,000	6½	7
Internationale Credieten Handelsvereniging " Rotterdam ".....	7,500,000	10,000,000	11½	17
Unie Bank voor Nederland en Koloniën.....	—	7,000,000	—	7

**FOR RENOVATING STORES**



**MANUFACTURED** BY **THE C.W.S**

At WEIR STREET  
ROCHDALE

**Paints, Colours, Varnishes,  
Distempers, Water Paints,  
ENAMELS, &c.**

**P**URITY of tone.

**A**BSOLUTE: perfection in grinding.

**I**NDISPENSABLE for finest work.

**N**ATURE'S tints.

**T**RUE economy.

**S**TRONG in body and staining strength.

*Used by all Painting, Wheelwright, and Works Departments.*

**HOUSEHOLD SPECIALITIES.**—Liquid Paints, Quick-drying Varnish Paints, Enamels, Brunswick Black, Varnishes, Water Paints, Dry Distempers, Gold Paint, Silver Paint, &c., all packed in attractive handy packages for retail sale, and command a ready sale.

*The finest qualities at lowest prices are the products of  
C.W.S. Rochdale Paint Works.*

**C.W.S**

## THE SOCIALISATION OF THE COAL INDUSTRY IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

THE following particulars given by the *Labour Gazette* are of special interest at the present time:—

### IN GERMANY.

A law providing for the socialisation of the coal industry in Germany came into force in March last. Under this law it is provided that the industry shall be administered by a National Council for the Coal Industry. The council is composed of representatives of the employers, of the salaried staffs, and of the manual workers, together with representatives of the dealers, the consumers, and coal-mining experts. The various coal-mining areas are to be organised by district associations, which are to be combined under a central association. The associations are to control the production, consumption at mines, and sale of coal, under the supervision of the National Council. The fixation and regulation of prices are to be supervised by the Government. The National Council is to be assisted by a council of experts, composed of representatives of workers and employers, of coal-consuming industries, co-operative societies, urban and rural coal consumers, commercial employers and employees, and experts on coal-mining, &c. Two other advisory committees are to be formed, of which one is to assist the National Council with regard to the utilisation of fuel, and the other is to advise as to the socio-political aspect of the industry.

The first set of regulations\* under the law are now in draft, and are designed mainly to control the socialisation of the marketing of coal. The various syndicates into which coal-owners were compulsorily formed by law in 1915, and others yet to be formed, are to be combined into a National Coal Federation which will carry out the decisions of the National Council. The supervisory council of the federation will include three members nominated by the manual

workers, one nominated by the salaried staffs, and one nominated by the consumers. In addition, a representative of the manual workers is to be a member of the executive committee of the federation. The syndicates of the various mining districts, along with the Gas-Coke Syndicate for the whole country, will be subordinate to the Coal Federation. The syndicates themselves are also to admit delegates from the manual workers and salaried staffs on their supervisory councils and executive committees, on which bodies there will also be a representative of the State. Finally, so-called "fuel offices" are to be created in order to ensure consideration of the wishes and suggestions of the consumers. Great importance is attached to publicity in the fixing of the coal prices. The communes are to have the right to fix retail prices of coal, so that the amount of profit secured by the merchants may at all times be verifiable. By the reduction of this profit to the absolute minimum, the gradual elimination of superfluous middlemen is sought to be attained. Co-operative societies of consumers are to receive the same terms of delivery as the coal merchants.

### IN AUSTRIA.

The *Neue Freie Presse* of June 6th publishes the texts of the measures drafted for giving effect to the Act of March 14th, 1919, regarding the preparations for socialisation and the Act relating to procedure in the expropriation of industrial concerns. The industries dealt with in the draft are those of (1) Coal, and (2) Electricity.

1. COAL.—Under the Act of March 14th, 1919, the State is empowered to expropriate coal-mining concerns which do not exclusively subservise local demands or the requirements of a single undertaking of which they are components. Royalties will be paid for twenty years as indemnification for mining rights, and an indemnity

\* *Vorwärts*, June 17th, 1919.

will also be paid for surface plant and buildings. The royalty is to vary with the calorific value of the marketable coal obtained. Where new plant is required to get the coal, the royalty is to be reduced to one-third. The rights and liabilities of expropriated concerns will be taken over by the German-Austrian Coal-mining Corporation, a socialised institution to be organised for the purpose. The corporation will be administered by a committee of 23 members: representing the State (5), the provinces (5), the board of management (1), works managers (2), the works council (5), the Coal Trading Corporation—*vide infra*—(3), the financial institution issuing the corporation's bonds (1), and the Federation of Austrian Manufacturers (1). Capital is to be advanced by the State and the provinces, and repaid by fixed instalments. Net profits are to be divided as follows: 10 per cent to reserve fund, 10 per cent for extensions and exploration, 20 per cent to the salaried staff and workers, 60 per cent to the State and the provinces.

The marketing of coal is reserved to another specially-created organisation, the German-Austrian Coal Trading Corporation, whose functions of distribution will include the control of prices (including retail prices) and of export and import. Any coal not placed at the disposal of the corporation (at an equitable price) may be commandeered, without compensation, by the Ministry of Commerce. The administrative committee is to consist of 22 members (at first nominated by the State and thereafter elected). These will appoint a president from outside their own number, and two vice-presidents. The members of the committee will represent the State (7, including 2 experts), the provinces (4), the municipality of Vienna (1), the board of management (1), the works committee (2), the Coal-mining Corporation—*vide supra*—(2), the Federation of Austrian Manufacturers (2), agricultural federations (1), other consumers (2). The board of management will consist of the president of the corporation and three others, not members of the administrative com-

mittee, but persons devoting their energies exclusively to the work of the corporation. These will be appointed by the administrative committee. Initial capital will be advanced by the Treasury, and repaid in fixed instalments. Net profits will be distributed as follows: 20 per cent to general reserve, 13½ per cent to the works council for the benefit of the staff and workpeople, 66½ per cent to the State, which may use it as a special reserve fund.

2. ELECTRICITY.—It is proposed to establish in each province a socialised Provincial Electricity Institution to supply electrical power and develop new sources of such power. The province, the State, the provincial capital, a federation of the remaining communes, the workers and staff, the board of management, the financial houses issuing the bonds, leading statutory organisations of consumers, and engineering experts are to be represented on the administrative committee, which may also include representatives of private electricity works and of their managers. This committee will elect an executive and a board of management. The provincial institutions will combine to form a federation for German Austria. The federation will assist in procuring funds, drafting schemes and regulations, regulating prices with a view to their equalisation, and constructing long-distance lines. It will be administered by a committee similar to those described above, and will appoint an executive and a board of management. Uniformity will be further secured by the establishment of a "Water Power and Electric Supply Office" directly subordinate to the Cabinet. No further concessions will be granted to private firms or persons for the generation or sale of electric current, or for the utilisation to these ends of water power; but sanctions may be given to private persons or bodies to construct electrical works to supply electricity for their own consumption. Existing private installations may be extended to enable them to render sufficient supplies which they already partially afford. Private electricity

works, however, are liable to be socialised in pursuance of an Act for the commandeering of industrial concerns. A register of such installations is to be compiled and published. Six months' notice must be given of any proposal to socialise any of these undertakings. Undertakings not on the register or not socialised within three years may not be socialised till fifteen years have elapsed. Compensation will be determined by the value of the outlay and average of the net profits for the preceding seven years (excluding the highest figure and the

lowest, and multiplying the average of the remainder by  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ). The compensation to be paid will be the mean of the "outlay value" and the "going-concern value." The provincial institutions and the federation are to be held responsible for the utmost efficiency and co-ordination of their operations. In fixing scales of charges the economic need of the consumer is to be the primary consideration, but care must be taken to provide a minimum sum for the payment of interest and the repayment of advances by instalments.

---

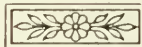
## SOCIALISATION OF BOOT AND SHOE INDUSTRY IN AUSTRIA.

ACCORDING to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of September 21st, 1919, the Austrian Government decided on the preceding day to establish a socialised undertaking under the name of the "Associated Shoe and Leather Factories" (*Vereinigte Leder- und Schuhfabriken*). This puts into practice, for the first time, the law concerning socialised undertakings, passed by the National Assembly on July 29th, and is described as the first practical step towards the socialisation of an important branch of industry.

The new concern will be formed jointly by the State, the Co-operative Wholesale Society as representative of urban consumers, and the Wholesale Purchase Society of the Agricultural Trading Association representing rural consumers. The State will hand over to the new undertaking the leather works at Brunn, and the boot and shoe factory at Mittendorf, which were State-owned during the war, and a factory building in Vienna to which the plant from the Mittendorf factory will be removed. The Wholesale Purchase Company and the Agricultural Trading Association will furnish the capital for the undertaking.

The enterprise will be managed by a Board composed of three State representatives (one from the Ministry of Finance and two from the Ministry of Trade and Commerce); three members each from the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Agricultural Trading Association; four representatives of the manual workers and salaried employees, of whom three will be chosen by the Works Committees and one by the Trade Union of Workers in the boot and shoe industry; and one member of the business management, which will be appointed by the Board. The establishment will therefore be directed entirely by representatives of the State, the consumers and the workers; no capitalist will take any part in the control.

The net profits of the undertaking will be allotted as follows: one quarter to the manual workers and salaried employees, one quarter to the State, and one quarter each to the two Co-operative Associations. The workers' share will be handed over to the Works Committee which will decide independently as to the manner of its disposal.—*The Labour Gazette*.



## THE COAL COMMISSION'S REPORTS.

THE proceedings of the Coal Commission of 1919 riveted universal attention, and this for the reason that the march of events had brought it home to the nation that here was a matter in which the public welfare was directly involved. Practically speaking, the proceedings assumed the character of a State trial of private enterprise in the coal industry, and the final condemnation of the institution as one which ought not to be allowed any longer to encumber the earth. As the sensational feature of the first proceedings was the overwhelming evidence of profiteering combined with chaos, wastefulness, and costliness all along the line, and all of which the working producer and the consumer have to bear the brunt, so the great feature of the second proceedings was the verdict on behalf of nationalisation—a verdict constituting a landmark in the annals of the industrial system.

### THE FIRST REPORT.

The First Commission opened on March 4th, 1919, and presented its findings on the 20th, thus having despatched its labours in the record time of sixteen days. Briefly stated, Mr. Justice Sankey's report\* (signed by Mr. Arthur Balfour, Sir Arthur Duckham, and Sir Thomas Royden, Bart.) recommended a reduction of miners' underground working hours from eight to seven from July 16th, 1919, and from seven to six from July 13th, 1921; the hours of surface workers to be 46½ per week, exclusive of meal times, and to come into operation on July 16th, 1919. For colliery workers whose wages have been determined by sliding scales, an increase of 2s. per shift a day was recommended; and an increase of half that amount in the case of workers under sixteen years of age; the wages increase signifying a total addition of £30,000,000 per annum to the earnings of colliery workers. It was considered that these recommendations could be carried out without raising the price of coal to the consumer. The following paragraphs, set in bold type, have also a special interest:—

IX. Even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalisation or a method of unification by national purchase, and or by joint control.

XV. We are prepared, however, to report now that it is in the interests of the country that the colliery worker shall in the future have an effective voice in the direction of the mine. For a generation the colliery worker has been educated socially and technically. The result is a great national asset. Why not use it?

XXII. It is a matter for careful consideration whether a 1d. per ton should not be at once collected on coal raised and applied to improve the housing and amenities of each particular colliery district. A 1d. per ton on our present output means about £1,000,000 a year.

The Sankey recommendations with regard to wages and hours (which were at once accepted by the Government and ultimately by the miners organisations) represented the middle course, as was seen by comparison with the two other reports issued respectively by representatives of the employers and miners interests, the former† (signed by R. W. Cooper, J. T. Forgie, and Evan Williams) proclaiming that an increase of wages to the extent of 1s. 6d. per day for colliery workers of sixteen and upwards, and 9d. for persons under that age, coupled with a reduction of underworking hours from 8 to 7 and the establishment of an eight-hour day for all surface workers, was the very utmost that the industry could bear; whereas the other‡ report (signed by R. Smillie, Frank Hodges, Herbert Smith, Sir Leo Chiozza-Money, R. H. Tawney, and Sidney Webb) declared that the miners' demand for a 30 per cent increase on earnings, and for a maximum underground workday of six hours, was fully justified, as well as the claim for a more efficient organisation of the industry: the signatories

\*Cmd. 84. †Cmd. 86. ‡Cmd. 85.



declaring that "in the interests of the consumers as much as in that of the miners, nationalisation ought to be, in principle, at once determined on." The signatories declare that there is no reason why the miner should suffer in wages in order to keep up a system carried on by 1,500 financially distinct enterprises, involving a great waste of resources, and entailing on the total cost of railway carriage alone a loss of 20 per cent. Furthermore, the distributive system of coal is shown to be equally as uneconomical as the productive and transport systems thereof, and its costliness is emphasised by a comparison drawn between the coal trade, with its fourfold system of middlemen, and the co-operative movement which conducts its coal business at from 2s. to 5s. per ton less. As to the gains of the coal industrialists, the signatories draw attention to the fact that during the four years, 1915-18, the coal-mining industry (including the associated coke-ovens) produced, in the aggregate, to the colliery proprietors and the Exchequer, after paying royalties and ten per cent interest on all the capital employed, nearly eighty millions sterling; and that the excess profits for 1919 alone are similarly estimated, after paying ten per cent on all capital, at not less than twenty-eight millions sterling.

#### THE REPORT FOR NATIONALISATION.

The 22nd of June saw the second findings of the Commission made known to the public after a searching investigation, in which the interrogation of various royalty-owning peers formed a piquant feature. On this occasion Mr. Justice Sankey's report\* which bore the stamp of a judicial as well as of a majority verdict (signed, as it was, by the chairman and the six representatives on the miners' side) constituted another bombshell for the coal-mining magnates whose representatives prognosticated disaster in a report\* of their own; while another member (Sir Arthur Duckham), being unable to agree with anybody, had a report\* all to himself.

In sum, Mr. Justice Sankey's report recommends (1) the immediate acquisition of coal royalties for the State; (2) the immediate acceptance of the principle of State ownership of the coal mines, and their acquisition for the State three years after the date of the report, during which the coal control should continue, and (3) the immediate setting up of a new coal mines administration on the lines drafted out. "A fair and just compensation" both to royalty owners and colliery owners, forms a recommendation attached to the rest.

#### SUGGESTED ADMINISTRATION.

The reasons set forth for the acquisition of mining royalties, and the expropriation of nearly 4,000 royalty owners, constitute an overwhelming case for State ownership, but as these reasons alone would take up all our space we pass on to the scheme for suggested administration, which constitutes a striking feature of the report, and aims at the avoidance of bureaucratic affliction by means of an administrative system, beginning with local advisory councils for the colliery officials, district councils entrusted with the charge of the fourteen colliery areas of Great Britain, and a national council above these as an advisory agent for the Minister of Mines standing at the apex of the whole system.

It is suggested that the local mining councils shall each consist of ten members, of whom the colliery manager, under-manager, and commercial manager, shall be *ex officio*; while the colliery workers should have the right to elect four representatives by ballot, and the district council the other three. The members of the council to hold office for two years, and their function to meet fortnightly and to advise the manager on all questions concerning the health and safety of the mine; and in case of the manager rejecting advice, the question to be referred to the district mining council for settlement. The district mining councils to consist of fourteen members: four to be elected by ballot by the workers, and eight others by the national mining council, four of them to represent

\*Cmd. 210.

consumers, two the technical side of the industry, and two others the commercial side: the Minister of Mines to have the appointment of the chairman and vice-chairman, and all members to be paid a salary and to hold office for three years. The importance of the district mining council may be realised from the fact of its bearing the main executive responsibility for taking measures to secure the health and safety of the workmen and the production of coal, and, in addition to looking after the entire district coal extraction, the regulation of output, and opening out of new mines, shall also control prices and see to the basis of wage assessments and the coal distribution; and in fixing the pithead price under State ownership a fair and just wage for the workers shall be the first thing provided for.

As for the national mining council, it is suggested that each district mining council shall elect thereto one member for every five million tons of output, and that the members shall be elected for three years and be entitled to their travelling expenses, and shall meet at least three times per year; their duties for the rest of the time to be delegated to a standing committee of eighteen—six to represent the workers, six the consumers, and six the technical and commercial side of the industry.

In addition to all this, special provisions are suggested to secure safety, health, and research, both by the establishment of a section for the carrying out of departmental research work in the subjects of safety, health, economics, and mining, and by the appointment of local inspectors (charged with the superintendence of the health and convalescence of colliery workers) in addition to an increase of the divisional inspectors, whose duty it is to see to the safety of the mines under the present system.

One special output is reserved for the Minister of Mines, and that is the quarterly output of statistics concerning administrative results, and matters it is essential that the nation should know.

#### MINERS' REPRESENTATIVES REPORT.

In addition to signing Mr. Justice Sankey's report, the miners' representatives, by way of addendum,\* proceed to emphasise certain points, viz., the necessity for a fuller representation of the workers on the district and national councils; the possibility that certain provisions, as per paragraphs, may be used to impose upon the workers by law a particular form of contract without their consent; the advisability of the State requiring all coke and by-product plant attached to collieries as part of the system. It is also declared that, pending the acquisition of the mines by the State, any payments to the coalowners should not be computed upon a tonnage basis, whilst as regards the depression of output from the miners it is affirmed that no evidence has been produced to show that the responsibility lies with the men, whose demand for a full inquiry is reinforced by the signatories, who also proclaim the importance of an adequate supply of wagons, tubs, and materials at collieries forthwith. Finally, three of the signatories (R. Smillie, F. Hodges, and Herbert Smith) regret the proposal for compensation to royalty owners, with the proviso that small royalty owners might receive compensation allowances, so that there might be no deprivation of their means of livelihood.

\*Cmd. 120.

---

In Japan the working time for boys under fifteen and for girls and women have been reduced by law from fourteen hours to twelve from September 1st, 1918. The law was passed in 1911 and promulgated in 1916, but it was provided that in the weaving and knitting industries the working hours might be extended up to fourteen hours for another two years. Before the two years expired the employers pressed for the maintenance of the fourteen-hour day for small boys and female operatives for another three years, and for the hours for the following term of ten years they desired to be fixed at thirteen per day. To this demand, however, the Government refused to accede.

## REPORTS ON NATIONAL EXPENDITURE, 1919.

THE first report\* from the Select Committee on National Expenditure, issued in June, 1919, constituted a further exposure of the waste and muddlement for which Government departments have become a byword.

Take the muddlement, to begin with, as revealed in connection with the Department of Agriculture, the Ministries of Food, Labour, Reconstruction and National Service, and the Irish Office. "Prior to April 1st, 1919, transport charges do not appear to have been debited to the various departments. Each department sent goods, and officials travelled, without the cost of such services appearing in the vote," the charges being provided out of railway funds and forming part of the charge against the Exchequer in respect of the railway guarantee, the result being that it was exceedingly difficult to ascertain what each department was actually spending in the matter of transport and travelling.

Furthermore, "after the Treasury have sanctioned the vote for a department they do not appear to exercise any control over the expenditure of that department. Each department has an accounting officer, who is appointed by the department with the approval of the Treasury. He is, however, the servant of the department, who can dismiss him. He reports to the heads of the department, and if they do not accept his recommendations he has no appeal."

With regard to the disposal of surplus stores, also, the committee had a difficulty in ascertaining what was done with the proceeds of the sales, but ultimately discovered that the suppositions of various witnesses were completely wide of the mark, and that the moneys received "are used as appropriations in and by certain departments, for the most part by the Ministry of Munitions," and the committee consider that "these sums should be paid into a suspense account, which should only be dealt with by

the Treasury." And, moreover, the committee "regret that no steps have been taken to set up an estimates committee, as recommended in the ninth report of the committee of 1918."

### THE AIR MINISTRY EXPOSED.

With regard to extravagance and waste, the committee furnishes some striking particulars. The Air Ministry officials, for example, are shown to have used no fewer than forty-eight motor-cars, thirty-three of the officials having one each for their own use; the other fifteen cars being pooled for the use of the staff generally, and all this at an expenditure figuring out at the rate of £129,740 per annum.

One of the officials who has a car allotted to him informed the sub-committee that his duties were almost wholly at the Hotel Cecil, varied by occasional visits to the War Office and the Treasury. Asked for what he used the car, he said it fetched him from his house in London in the morning, took him out to lunch, and took him home again in the evening.

No wonder that the committee recommended "that the provision of cars for the use of Ministers, officers, and officials be discontinued."

The motor-car affair, however, is merely a fleabite compared with the aeroplane scandal. It is here that the committee really enable us to realise to what Olympian heights of absurdity the official mind can soar.

When the armistice was signed on November 11th, 1918, the Air Ministry had 25,000 aeroplanes on order, and it was so obvious that there was no further necessity for them that even the Air Ministry could not overlook the point; but, none the less, it continued to accept delivery until Christmas, just to relieve the Ministry of Munitions and contractors from the strain of a stoppage.

Accordingly, machines which were not wanted were taken from contractors, and as national factories were also to be kept going it was necessary to find work for the people there, with the result that machines, taken from contractors to keep the people there employed, were sent to the national factories to be destroyed to keep the people there employed.

And this, as we have said, was continued down to Christmas following the armistice, when at last other counsels prevailed and steps were taken to cancel contracts.

THE SECOND REPORT.

The second report,† issued in July, 1919, deals with the Wheat Commission, whose current accounting work is declared to be proceeding satisfactorily and whose accounts are "kept up to date." On the other hand, the committee point out the wastefulness of the wholesale distribution of bread, and refer to the co-operative system by way of contrast.

There is no doubt that there is a wasteful expenditure in delivery of bread from the wholesale bakeries. The cost varies from 1s. 10d. to 9s. 3d. and in a few cases 12s. and 13s. per sack of flour. If it were possible to regulate the

† 112.

delivery of the bread from bakeries to those areas to which it could be most economically distributed, very large savings would result.

In some cases co-operative societies have been selling bread below the maximum price, 8½d. against 9d.; these societies sell the greater proportion of their bread across the counter and so avoid the cost of delivery to their customers.

Finally, the committee strongly recommend the reconsideration of the scheme for the restriction of the bread subsidy, and declare that "the scheme would confine the subsidy to flour used for bread baking and reduce it by two-sevenths, viz., by £1,200,000 per month. It would involve the establishment of decentralised accounting machinery, the registration of home bakers with flour retailers, and the increase of the retail price of flour from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 10d. per stone."

THE GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

THAT the elections of January 19th, 1919, permanently set the seal of public approval on the revolution in Germany, is conclusively shown by the composition of the new National Assembly elected by adult suffrage (both sexes), and on the basis of proportional representation. The elections resulted as follows:—

	Representatives.	
Majority Socialists .....	166	}
Independent Socialists.....	22	
German Democratic Party .....	75	
Christian People's Party .....	93	
German National Party .....	37	
German People's Party .....	23	
Miscellaneous Representatives .....	5	

It may be explained that under some of the above appellations old parties appear in a new guise. Thus the Democratic Party is the Progressive People's Party (or pre-war Radical Party) under a new name. The pre-war Central Party, representing the Catholics, now emerges under the name of the Christian People's Party, while the two reactionary parties, representative of junkerdom on the one hand and of the plutocracy on the other (otherwise the Conservative-cum-Imperialists and the National Liberals) now call themselves the National People's Party, and the People's Party respectively—terms to which the election results have served to give an ironical flavour; for whereas the two parties combined in pre-war days could command a hundred seats, sixty now is all they can muster; whereas the radicals have increased their strength from forty-five members to seventy-five, and the socialists altogether have increased their number from 110 to 188, their numbers now constituting 44.6 per cent of the National Assembly as compared with 28 per cent of the Reichstag, which was their proportion before the Revolution took place.

Taking the Socialists and Democrats (or Radicals) together, their combined voting power figures at 62½ per cent of the National Assembly, while the two reactionist parties, as we have seen, have been reduced to insignificance under an electoral system by which parties are now represented in proportion to the votes cast at the ballot box, whereas the old system was designedly established and maintained to secure an over-representation for the squirearchical and plutocratic parties, and the under-representation of the democratic groups.

# C.W.S. in Agriculture

PRIZE  
WINNERS  
ON A  
C.W.S.  
FARM.



C.W.S.  
CATTLE.

VIEW  
OF  
COMPTON  
BASSETT.



## WATER-POWER RESOURCES.

### COMMITTEE'S INTERIM REPORT.

IN view of the soaring cost of coal fuel, the water-power resources of the British Isles have acquired an importance undreamt of since the advent of steam. What these resources are in their entirety we are likely to learn in due course, when the surveys and investigations at present in progress have reached the stage of completion. Meantime, the interim report\* of the Water-power Resources Committee (appointed in June, 1918, by the Board of Trade with the concurrence of the Ministry of Reconstruction), issued on February 10th, 1919, furnishes us with evidence indicative of the huge resources of energy remaining unutilised, and of the amplitude of the water power that is running to waste.

#### THE WATER-POWER RESOURCES OF SCOTLAND.

Thus the interim report dealing merely with a portion of Scotland shows that nine water-power schemes outlined are capable of generating a continuous supply of 183,500 electrical h.p., corresponding to an output of 1,200 million Board of Trade units per annum: equivalent to over a fourth of the quantity generated in 1917-18 by the whole of the steam-power stations in Great Britain, *i.e.*, public undertakings for electricity supply and for electric railways and tramways (but not private power plants) which generated 4,628 million Board of Trade units. And as all the public utility undertakings in the way of steam-power plants generated some 537 million Board of Trade units of electricity, it will be seen that the nine water-power schemes, if fully developed, would supply more than double the whole output for power traction and lighting purposes that Scotland now possesses. And, along with this, attention may be called to the saving of coal. Now, upon the basis of the present *average* practice at coal-fired power stations the nine potential water powers would represent the equivalent of 1·85 million tons of coal per annum; or, say, the equivalent of a fourth of the amount consumed by public steam-power stations for the generation of electricity in England (*i.e.*, 7·16 millions of coal), and the equivalent of more than double the 806,000 tons of coal consumed by all the public utility steam-power stations in Scotland. Thus by doubling her electrical supply Scotland could save so much coal and *vice versa*. Or, to put it another way, Scotland, by means of a portion of her water, could supply the chief cities of Scotland with all the public electricity they now use, and there would be as much again available for the establishment of industries.

In consequence of the modern developments in long-distance electrical transmission, it would be entirely practicable to transmit the electrical energy developed at these water-power stations to industrial centres in Scotland; for example, to Glasgow, the Clyde Valley, Edinburgh and district, Aberdeen, and Dundee. Allowing for losses in transmission and transformation, the nine schemes in question could deliver at least 1,000 million Board of Trade units per annum within a radius of supply of from eighty to eighty-five miles.

As an alternative outlet for a part of this large amount of power, industries dependent upon considerable blocks of cheap power—for example, the manufacture of carbide, or calcium cyanide, or other electro-chemical or metallurgical processes—could be established close to those of the water-power stations, which would be conveniently situated as regards railway and water transport.

#### THE NINE SCHEMES.

The nine schemes in question comprise: (1) Lochs Laggan and Treig; (2) Lochs Ericht, Laidou, Rannoek, and Tummel; (3) Lochs Quoich and Loyne; (4) Lochs Clunie and Moriston; (5) Loch Monar; (6) Lower Farrar; (7) Lochs Affric and Mullardoch; (8) Kilmoraek Falls; and (9) Loch Awe and Loch Nant, the nine schemes being estimated to give a total continuous power of 183,500 electrical h.p. at a total capital cost of £7,075,000, and at an average capital

\* Cmd. 79.

cost of £38·5 per effective electric h.p. developed at the water stations; while the approximate estimate of 7,500 men required on the sites the first year, and over 18,500 the third, is indicative of the scope afforded for the employment of labour.

As to the cheapness—

The committee estimates that if the above schemes were fully developed and fully utilised, the average cost of the electric energy generated, inclusive of all running expenses and capital charges, should not exceed 0·15 of a penny per unit at the water-power stations. . . . The committee further estimates that the energy could be delivered into the industrial districts of Scotland at a cost which would be considerably lower than the present cost of electricity. The effects upon the districts would be markedly beneficial, smoke and dirt would be reduced, and a large quantity of coal would be saved or set free.

Moreover, the committee unanimously declares those potential water powers to be national assets, and proclaims the expropriation of any property rights (by purchase) that stand in the way of the utilisation of the water powers to be necessary in the interests of the nation. As for the development of these schemes, the committee make the recommendation that they should either be carried out by the State, or leased to public or commercial undertakings for a sufficient number of years to enable the lessees to redeem the capital expenditure by means of a small annual sinking fund which will not add unduly to the cost of the available power.

Further schemes under consideration for the utilisation of water power comprise North Wales, the Lake District, and localities in Devon and Cornwall and elsewhere, in addition to which a scheme for the utilisation of the tides of the River Severn has been put forward.

#### THE USUAL OBSTACLES.

In short, the utilisation of national water power constitutes a field of such promise as to call for the sweeping aside of all obstacles now barring the way. And of these obstacles two stand as chief:—

There are two outstanding factors which have been prominent in arresting the wider development of water-power schemes on a large scale in this country. First, the costly, protracted, and inefficient system of obtaining the necessary authority by means of a Private Bill; and, second, the multiplicity of interests to be reconciled.

Hence the necessity of acquiring the water powers of the country in their entirety for the State, and the supersession of all interests by that of the nation, which should rank above all.

---

## MARSEILLES CONSTRUCTIVE SCHEME.

---

The port of Marseilles, whose enlargement by means of works in the Rhone—Marseilles Canal was planned in 1913 at a cost of Fr.71,000,000—is, according to the latest decisions, to be improved and extended beyond the limits originally proposed. Owing to this enlarged scheme and also in consequence of the general increase in the cost of living, much higher costs have become necessary. The sum of Fr.150,000,000 has even been mentioned. This large sum is to be

expended on the works in the Rhone—Marseilles Canal (estimated at Fr.100,000,000), on deepening and widening the Artes—Marseilles Canal (Fr.24,000,000), and on widening the Bouc Harbour (Fr.26,000,000). It may also be remembered that in addition to the above undertakings it is proposed to build a free port for Switzerland within the area of the port of Marseilles.—*The Economic Review.*

## THE "PROFITEERING" COMMITTEE AND THE "PROFITEERING" ACT OF 1919.

THE "Profiteering" Committee, otherwise the Select Committee appointed to inquire how far the prevailing high prices of articles of general consumption are due to profiteering, had perhaps the shortest career of any investigation committee in British history. On August 5th it commenced proceedings, and on August 6th it found itself side-tracked by the fact that the Government was about to introduce a Bill into Parliament straight away for the purpose of checking profiteering, the result being that the Committee adjourned *sine die* after hearing this surprising announcement made by Sir Auckland Geddes (President of the Board of Trade), who had been called as a witness. The general impression that the Government had decided to forestall the Committee's possible recommendations, for purposes which can easily be guessed, was strengthened by the Bill brought into Parliament, which proved to be the latest thing in half measures, and as such was received with considerable derision, but after the Bill had been criticised to pieces it passed the second reading by 251 votes to eight, the critics of the Bill hoping to secure its improvement in committee. How little ground there was for optimism, however, was shown by results.

### THE PROFITEERING ACT.

The Profiteering Act, which became law on August 19th, imposes on the Board of Trade the duty of setting things in motion, and empowers it to make orders applying the Act to articles, or classes of articles, which it deems to be in public use. Under the auspices of the Board three grades of tribunals, or committees, are to be set up: (1) A central committee, (2) local committees, (3) and county appeal committees. The functions of the local committees (appointed by local authorities in accordance with the Board of Trade regulations) are to investigate complaints of profiteering preferred against local retailers, and to determine what they consider a fair profit and a fair price, any excess beyond which the accused retailer can be ordered to repay to the complainant customer. Provided no profiteering is proved, of course, the case will be dismissed. When extortion is proved, the local committee can declare for a prosecution.

In case it is considered that the local committee has failed to do justice, there is the right of appeal to the county tribunal, composed of suitable persons appointed by the Board of Trade, in accordance with suggestions emanating from meetings of representative persons convened by chairmen of county councils.

As to the central committee, its duty is to make investigations with regard to charges of wholesale profiteering brought before it, and to institute proceedings in proven cases if it thinks fit. The task of investigating the cost of production in order to find out what constitutes a fair profit and a fair price devolves on sub-committees.



## THE RULE OF THE TRUST.

---

THE working out of the capitalistic system has led to the form of co-operative capitalistic combination against the consumer which is familiarly known as the trust, and it covers a number of different forms of unified working. The capitalistic system has largely ceased to be competitive, and all the arguments of the individualist economists as to the value of competition in the public interest have gone by the board. To such a length, indeed, has combination amongst capitalists been carried that the Committee on Trusts appointed by Dr. Addison, as Minister of Reconstruction, in February, 1918, presented to Dr. Addison's successor, Sir Auckland Geddes (later President of the Board of Trade) on April 24th, 1919, a unanimous report in which they stated that:

We find that there is at the present time in every important branch of industry in the United Kingdom an increasing tendency to the formation of trade associations and combinations, having for their purpose the restriction of competition and the control of prices.

Many of the organisations which have been brought to our notice have been created in the last few years, and by far the greater part of them appear to have come into existence since the end of the nineteenth century. For reasons which we shall presently discuss there has been a great increase in the creation of trade associations during the period of the war.

### FIVE HUNDRED COMBINES.

The Committee published in their report an exceedingly valuable practical study of the facts of the case written by Mr. John Hilton, the secretary, in which he showed that there existed in the United Kingdom at the end of the war over 500 capitalistic associations "all exerting a substantial influence on the course of industry and prices."

These various associations are able in many cases to exert such decisive powers as to be able effectively to control markets and to reduce to a fiction the operation of the law of supply and demand. Under their sway the old conception of the free market, in which price is determined by the free play of buyers and sellers, altogether disappears. The buyer—the consumer—is at the mercy of the capitalist producer or the merchant "ring." The trust, or combination, has become a State within the State which orders a department of the national affairs, and which can dictate terms not only to the public but to any new capitalists who contemplate entering the trade.

The many trade combinations, while exceedingly variable in constitution, fall generally into two classes:

The first consists of actual combinations of capitalist producers, who form a single unit which seeks to be the sole producer of a particular commodity.

The second consists of associations, or price rings, which do not economically amalgamate the units of the industries with which they

are concerned, but which, while remaining separate organisations, arrive at agreements as to production, markets, and prices.

#### THE SEWING-COTTON MONOPOLY.

The first form of consolidation is a natural consequence of the working out of economic production, and its operations may be well illustrated by the typical case of sewing cotton, which has created a group of millionaires. In May, 1919, there was recorded the death of Lord Glentanar, who left an estate valued at over £4,300,000. Lord Glentanar was one of the Coats family, who formed the great combination known as J. and P. Coats Limited. His death revealed the fifth and by far the largest fortune left by members of this particular family, the total of the five estates being nearly £12,000,000.

The history of Messrs. J. and P. Coats Ltd., as recorded by Mr. H. W. McCrosty in his *Trust Movement in British Industry*, shows that it was formed in 1890 with a purchase price of £5,750,000. In 1895-6 it bought up Kerr and Co. (Paisley), Clarke and Co. (Paisley), James Chadwick and Co. (Bolton), and Jonas Brook and Co. (Meltham). By these purchases the company came to possess sixteen sewing-cotton factories, including works in Canada, the United States, and Russia, sixty branch houses, and 150 depots. Its monopolistic operations were so successful that in the twelve months ended June, 1918, it realised a profit of £3,171,000 after paying excess profits duty.

The thread firms not included in J. and P. Coats Ltd. were amalgamated in the English Sewing-Cotton Company, which was afterwards taken in hand by Messrs. J. and P. Coats, the whole business having a single selling agency. Theoretically every consumer of sewing cotton in the United Kingdom, large and small, buys thread at a single shop, and the price is a monopoly price.

*So, for practical purposes, we have a Sewing-Thread Department of State managed by a single agency.* If there is evil in bureauracy, this is bureauracy. How often we hear of the perils of officials when a productive State Department is talked of. It is forgotten that we already have the officials, and that those officials are not responsible to Parliament but responsible to a group of private shareholders. The humour of the thing is accentuated by the fact that the head of such a State within a State can obtain a peerage if he wants it, and thus add legislative power to the private powers which he exercises as a trust capitalist.

There are many other cases in which these consolidations of capital have taken place in such fashion as to put in a few hands the production of all-important articles. As the report on trusts referred to says: "The production of chemicals in this country is almost wholly in the hands of two great consolidations. In the electric industries there is an association of businesses of a different nature with a total capital of £33,000,000. In soap, tobacco, wallpapers, salt, cement, and in the textile trades there are powerful combinations or consolidations of one

or other kind which are in a position effectively to control output and prices."

#### THE WALLPAPER TRUST.

The case of wallpaper is of great value as showing the possibilities of trade combinations. The Wallpaper Manufacturers Limited is a trust which is very heavily weighted with capital, and yet contrives to pay a 10 per cent dividend upon that capital because of its control of price. Here is an account of the combine written by a person in the trade, and sent to me a few years before the war began:

The wallpaper combine was formed some ten years ago for the purpose of controlling the price of the manufacturers and dealers. It consisted of about 99 per cent of the wallpaper manufacturers in England at that time; the few remaining out made working arrangements with the combine. All dealers were bound by an agreement not to buy any wallpaper from any outside firm for the term of eight years. They had to sign the agreement in order to obtain supplies.

The nature of the agreement which such a trust can make with distributors may be illustrated by the following circular issued by this combine:—

The Wallpaper Manufacturers Ltd.,  
125, High Holborn, London, W.C.  
October 17th, 1906.

GENTLEMEN,

In view of the fact that certain manufacturers are pressing for orders, permit us respectfully to remind you that by the terms of your agreement with this company you have engaged not to "stock nor cut up patterns, nor issue in your pattern books, nor sell for stock any paper-hangings or any raised materials other than those manufactured by the company."

We have reason to believe that some of our customers, either from negligence or under the advice of interested parties, have been induced to commit small breaches of clause 18 of the agreement.

In those cases which have come to our knowledge we have, in bringing the matter to our customers' notice, obtained from them formal recognition of their obligations and a promise to comply with them in the future, and we have instructed our solicitors to commence proceedings and enforce the payment of damages against any of those who commit breaches of the agreement.

In 1906 the *Daily Mail* published this circular under the heading "Threat to House Decorators," with the following comment:—

Some idea of the tyranny exercised by trusts can be seen by the following circular (the one above quoted), which we have received in numbers. It is issued by the Wallpapers Trust to sellers of wallpapers throughout the United Kingdom. . . . The circular is not pleasant reading for English people. It is not agreeable to think that the once independent British tradesman could calmly submit to threats of this description. . . .

It will be seen from this circular how difficult it becomes for a new capitalist to enter a trustified trade. It requires a great deal of courage and a great deal of capital to face a modern trade combination, and we need not be surprised if the attempt is rarely made.

#### THE TOBACCO TRUST.

The enormous profits which may be reaped by judicious capitalist combination may be further illustrated by the case of the

British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd. This trust had an extraordinary general meeting on May 20th, 1919, when the chairman (a Coalition Member of Parliament) was able to boast that the net profits of the company had increased from £148,541 in the first year of its existence to £3,140,174 in the sixteenth year, viz., the last completed year up to September 30th, 1918. Curiously, this was almost exactly the same amount of profit made by Messrs. J. and P. Coats Ltd. in the same period. The handsome results enabled the directors to announce that they hoped to maintain a dividend of 30 per cent on the ordinary shares, free of income tax, so that these fortunate people hope to have their capital returned to them every three years or so.

At this particular meeting Lord St. Davids made an interesting reference to the then prospective issue of 2,131,733 shares to the ordinary shareholders in June, 1919, in the proportion of one new share for every three existing ordinary shares. He remarked:

I have been told—but I hope it is not true—that there are one or two shareholders who rather disapprove of the proposal to let the directors have these shares at £2 per share. They say it is a “plum” for the directors. So it is; but think of the “plum” we are getting ourselves. As nearly as I can reckon, the shares which are being allotted to the shareholders at £1 per share are a bonus to the shareholders of something like 10 millions sterling. Is not that a pretty tidy “plum” for us to divide? And when I am getting a share of a “plum” like that I do not grudge the directors getting a share of it too.

The distribution of reserve profits as shares instead of as dividends is of especial importance, because it is a means of evading super tax. The payer of super tax has not to return such shares as profits. It is only necessary, therefore, for limited liability companies to put large sums of profit to reserve, and to distribute the reserve every few years as shares, for the super-tax payer who receives such shares to evade payment of what is due to the State. This is an avoidance of super tax which a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer would very quickly put right, and it would make a very great difference to the super-tax returns.

#### CONSOLIDATION AND ORGANISATION.

Let us not forget what is good in capital combinations. As the Labour members of the Trust Committee said in their special addendum to the Report to the Ministry of Reconstruction: *We have to recognise that association and combination in production and distribution are steps in the greater efficiency, the increased economy, and the better organisation of industry.*”

As industrial science advanced it became more and more advisable for the size of productive units to be increased. The day of the petty producer has passed for ever in the sphere of production of articles of general necessity, although his function should always remain in connection with artistic output. The enlargement of productive processes called, as time went on, for the employment of larger and larger capitals. The substitution of big firms for little firms thus became a necessity to economic output. The producer on a large

scale can effect economies impossible to the petty producer. The combine also can buy better than the little firm can do. There are, again, obvious economies in combination through the suppression of redundant advertising, of competitive accounts, of travellers, of clerks, and of offices. We ought never to forget these important factors of the case.

#### WHAT IS WRONG ?

*What is wrong with a private capital consolidation is not the effect of these proper economies, but the fact that the value of them is appropriated, or largely appropriated, by private shareholders instead of by the public at large.*

Very often the combination is weighted at the start with a heavily watered capital, as in the case of the great Steel Trust of America, with its capital of £369,000,000. The promoter, or promoters, effecting consolidations have to make terms with the various independent firms which it is desired to consolidate. Each of the uniting firms naturally asks the highest possible price for its undertaking. So we get a united capital swollen by initial promotion profits. That is a very big deduction from the real economic value of consolidation.

Starting thus with an over-weighted capital, the combine has to hold up price in order to pay a dividend on its swollen capital. Where, in a national organisation, the public would get all the benefits of economy, the private trust reaps them to provide dividends for the shareholders to whom big promises have been made.

#### PRICE-RAISING RINGS.

The second general form of combination, as I have already said, does not consolidate capitals or seek economy of production by large-scale output. It merely consists in some form of agreement between producers or sellers to delimit output, arrange markets, and maintain price. The Report of the Committee on Trusts thus refers to a combination of the kind—a federation of concerns engaged in the manufacture of an article of furniture. It says:

On the formation of the federation a computation was made of the total output of such furniture in the United Kingdom, and of the respective share of that output contributed by each of the subscribing firms. Each firm was then assigned a percentage of the total output based on its sales prior to the formation of the federation. Each firm remained at liberty to increase its output so far as it was able and desired to do so; but upon all sales made by any firm in excess of its assigned percentage of the aggregate of trade done 5 per cent in value had to be paid each month into a pool. Any firm whose output for the month was less than its proportionate share of the aggregate output was entitled to receive from the pool 5 per cent in value upon the amount of its deficiency.

Further, it is a regulation of this furniture federation that no firm shall sell its output at lower prices or at higher discounts, or on different terms, than those settled by the government of the federation from time to time.

Each firm must give the secretary of the federation full access to its books. The members contribute 1 per cent of the amount of their monthly sales to a reserve fund, and are liable on any breach of the regulations with regard to selling, prices, terms, or discounts to pay a fine to the federation not exceeding 20 per cent on the whole amount of the transaction, with a minimum of £10 for the first offence and £20 for the second offence during any twelve months. The affairs of the federation are managed by a committee of ten principals of firms belonging to the federation. Admission to membership is by vote of the committee, and new members have an aggregate output assigned to them by the federation for the purpose of computing their liability to contribute to or their right to receive payments from the pool, and also pay an entrance fee proportionate to the amount of their output.

The Committee state that this sort of arrangement was found to be common to a great many of the trade associations into which they inquired. It will be seen that as one strange result of such an association a member of it may, if he wishes, withdraw entirely from business, allow his share of the output to be absorbed by the other firms, and as compensation draw a substantial sum from the pool month by month for doing nothing. One witness of "great experience" told the committee on this question of the pensioning of inefficient members of a trade, instead of driving them out by combination, that "it was a law of progress that the inefficient should go, but in practice progress was impeded because he would not go, so instead of trying to kill him they had decided it was better to pension him off, since that cost far less. If the inefficient man, who used to struggle to do 3 per cent of the trade, likes to content himself with doing 1½ per cent, or none at all, the difference goes to the more efficient man, who, working more economically, can well afford to pay into the pool from which the inefficient man can draw compensation."

This is not a story from *Alice in Wonderland*; it is *business* as it is carried on by capitalism in the twentieth century. The war has intensified it, but price combinations of various sorts existed before the war.

#### CAPITALISTIC CA' CANNY.

These associations sometimes operate by restricting output. The Committee on Trusts Report calls attention to the following remarkable case of capitalistic "ca' canny." The following rules are those of one of the most powerful of price rings, the members of which manufacture articles needed in the construction of workmen's houses:—

(1) The object the association has in view is that of raising and keeping up the price to the buyer of goods and articles made and/or supplied by its members.

(2) This shall be done by means of pooling arrangements, so controlling production that prices will rise naturally and inevitably, as they always must do when supply is brought into equilibrium with or is ever so little below demand.

These are rules which beggar comment.

The Majority Report of the Committee on Trusts, after showing how grave are the evils from which we suffered at the hands of trusts

and combinations, recommended no more than that the Board of Trade should have power to inquire, and power to advise the State to take action. It is difficult to say which is the more remarkable, the strength of the revelations as to fact or the weakness of the recommendations as to dealing with those facts.

#### AS TO THE REMEDY.

For any real help as to remedy we have to turn to the Minority recommendations of Messrs. E. Bevin, J. A. Hobson, W. H. Watkins, and Sidney Webb. They pointed to

- (1) The control of prices, and
- (2) The substitution of public ownership for private monopoly.

As to (1) they said "The only effective safeguard against the absorption by a capitalist combination of more than the necessary return appears to be the control of prices."

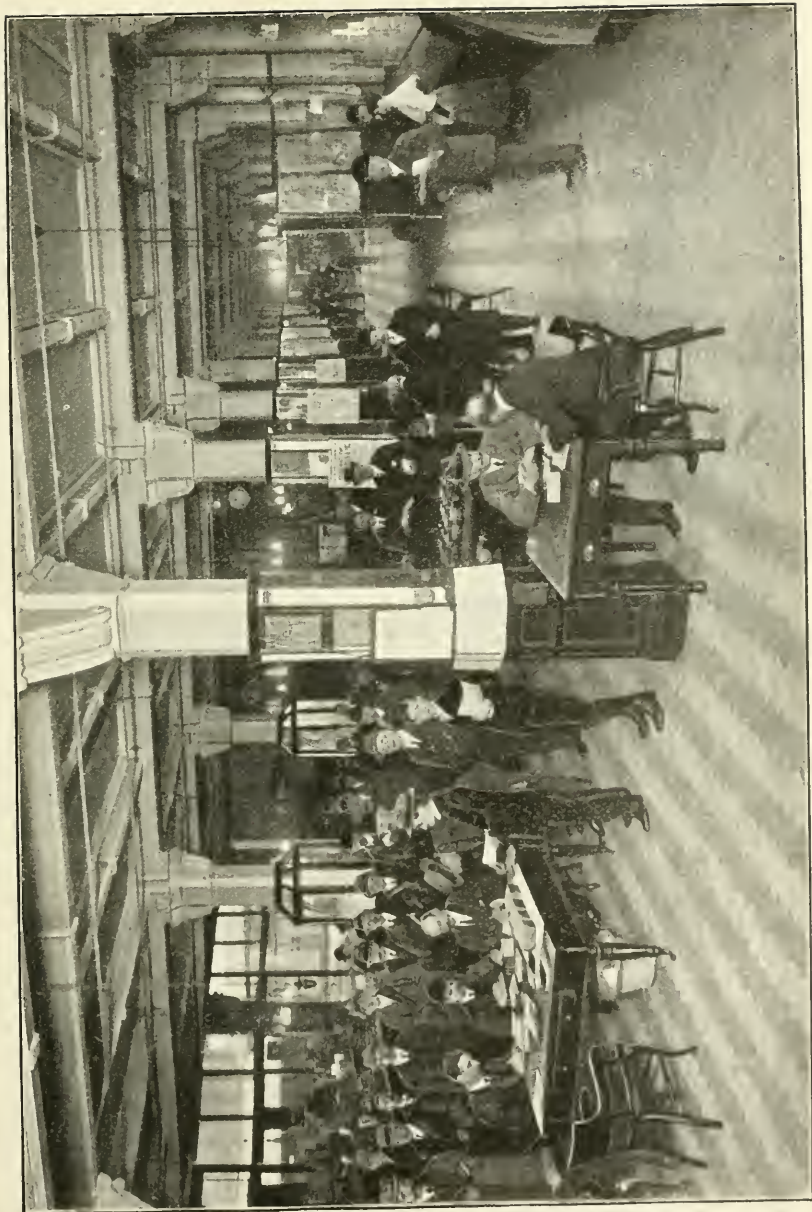
As to (2) they said: "Where, as is evidently the case in various highly-organised capitalist enterprises, competition is being rapidly displaced by combination, largely monopolistic in its structure and powers, and tending to restrict output with a view to raising prices or preventing their fall, we hold that it is contrary to the public interest to allow such enterprises to remain in private hands. In some cases their functions may more advantageously be assumed by the co-operative movement. In others their place may be taken by municipal enterprise. Where the enterprise is national in scope, and especially where its product enters into practically universal consumption, we see no alternative to State ownership."

It comes to this: that we must retain all that is good in economic consolidation while casting out the evil of private monopoly. We must see that every possible economy in production and distribution is effected, not to give monopoly profits to private shareholders, but on the one hand to give a proper reward to those who produce and distribute, and on the other hand to reduce prices to the lowest possible level. The trust movement has had a certain value in showing what can be done in the sphere of economic combination. It is for the powers of government to eliminate the factor of private profit, and thus to secure for the nation all the undeniable advantages of co-operative effort.

L. C. M.

---

According to figures given in *L'Economista d'Italia*, over 200 million lire (or over £8,000,000) have been invested in Italian textile companies during the war, a fact which bears sufficient witness to the profits which have been made by the textile industrialists at the public expense.



A CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE GROCERY MARKET SCENE, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER.



# *Furniture and Hardware* *for the Homes of the People*

ARE BEING MADE  
BY THE C.W.S.  
AT ITS OWN  
FACTORIES AT  
BROUGHTON,  
MANCHESTER,  
WHERE

## *Trade Union Conditions and* *Domestic Utility*

ARE COMBINED IN  
THE INTERESTS OF

***PRODUCERS*** *and*  
***CONSUMERS***



FURNITURE OF EVERY  
DESCRIPTION is made at the  
C.W.S. Works, and can be seen  
in every Co-operative Furniture  
Shop in the Country.

Co-operative Committee-men  
should ask their Managers to  
make representative displays  
of C.W.S. Furniture.

## THE PROGRESS OF TRADE UNIONISM.

By FRED BRAMLEY.

(Assistant Secretary, Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress).

THE progress in membership of trade unions in Great Britain during the war has been a great surprise to those engaged in trade union organisation. It was generally assumed the war would have the effect of paralysing trade union development in respect to membership and finance. Instead of this, the unions came out of the war with enormously increased membership, and the balance sheets of the principal unions show a remarkable increase in reserve funds. The following figures, representing the membership of unions affiliated to the Trade Unions Congress for 1913, the last Congress before the war, and for 1919, the first Congress after the war, will indicate the extent of the progress made:—



FRED BRAMLEY.

YEAR.	Place of Meeting.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Societies.	Membership Represented.
1913 .....	Manchester..	500	207	2,232,446
1919 .....	Glasgow .....	848	221	5,265,426

The increase in affiliated membership to Congress is mainly due to an enormous increase in the membership of the unions, as shown by the following striking examples:—

Name of Society.	Number of Members.		Increase.
	1914.	1919.	
General Workers, National Union .....	134,538	383,976	249,438
National Union of Railwaymen .....	267,611	416,531	148,920
Agricultural Labourers and Rural Workers' Union.....	10,000	100,000	90,000
National Amalgamated Labour Union.....	65,000	150,000	85,000
Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.....	27,000	97,000	70,000
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union.....	43,691	98,109	54,418
Railway Clerks' Association .....	30,000	82,000	52,000
Textile Workers, General Union .....	12,950	63,828	50,878
Miners' Federation of Great Britain .....	600,000	650,000	50,000
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union...	44,000	92,000	48,000
Carpenters, Cabinet Makers, and Joiners Amalgamated Society .....	68,000	112,000	44,000
Amalgamated Toolmakers .....	14,187	44,607	30,420

A complete return showing the growth in accumulated funds does not exist, and the difficulty of securing a financial statement from the unions, for this purpose, has not yet been overcome. There is no doubt, however, that the unions have enormously increased in financial stability during the war.

#### SHORTER HOURS.

Improvements in working conditions have also been secured, and apart from a substantial increase in wages due to, and in many trades dependent upon, the increase in the cost of living, a universal reduction in the hours of labour has been secured. From *Labour Gazette* returns and other sources we have obtained information showing that during the first seven months of 1919 nearly 6,000,000 workers have had their normal working week reduced (irrespective of overtime) by an average of about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours per head. The movement for a reduction of hours was led by a change in the engineering and shipbuilding industries. The trades concerned, by an agreement with the employers' association, secured the 47-hour week as from January 1st, 1919, a reduction from 53 and 54 hours without any reduction in the weekly wages of the time workers. Similar arrangements were subsequently made for the workers employed in other metal-working trades. The engineering and shipbuilding trades are now negotiating for a 44-hour week. In the railway service a 48-hour week was put into operation as from February 1st, 1919. The 48-hour week has also been established in a number of other industries, including cotton, dyeing and bleaching, boot and shoe, silk, hosiery, carpet, printing and bookbinding, cement, brewing, and the leather trades. For building operatives in Scotland the hours have been reduced to 44. An 8-hour shift has been generally adopted for shift workers in iron- and steel-smelting industries, and in electrical and gas undertakings. Surface workers in the coal industry are reduced to  $46\frac{1}{2}$ , and the miners generally have had their hours reduced on the recommendation of the Coal Commission.

The most drastic reduction is  $10\frac{1}{4}$  per week for glassworkers in Yorkshire, London, and Manchester (from 47 to  $36\frac{3}{4}$ ), the lowest normal week on record. The least important change by reduction is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours for limestone and quarry workers (from 48 to  $46\frac{1}{2}$ ). In most cases the reduction in hours has been subject to the condition that weekly time wages should not be reduced. In some cases no general change has been made in piece-price lists; in other cases the piece rates have been enhanced in proportion to the reduction in hours. As a result of all changes reported to the Board of Trade, the principal industries of the United Kingdom are now working a 44-hour or 48-hour week as compared with from 48 to 60 of other days.

The 48-hour Bill introduced by the Ministry of Labour, as a result of the efforts of the National Industrial Conference Provisional Joint Committee, co-operating with the Ministry, will further reduce the

hours for millions of workers not at present covered by trade agreements. Certain industries are, however, to be excluded (notably agriculture), not by agreement either with the Labour representatives or the employers, but by the decision of the Cabinet.

The majority report of the Women's Employment Committee contains the following recommendation respecting the hours of labour for women workers:—

We recommend the possibility of a 44-hour week and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay for the consideration of the Government. Trades should be allowed, within statutory limits, to settle their own hours subject to Government sanction, a substantial majority having the power to bind the minority. A new Shop Hours Act is required to limit the existing excessively long hours and excessively long spells. Government factories should make experiments to see whether a working day much shorter than at present is not economically possible, and private employers should be urged to follow suit.

This recommendation is backed by influential opinion from members of a Government Committee, recognised as authorities on factory conditions, some of them being important representatives of Government departments. The growing demand for a reduction in hours, and the results already obtained, will be encouraging to those who for years have tabled resolutions on this question at the Trade Unions Congress. In addition to the results obtained by direct trade union negotiation, the following results have been secured by the activities of joint industrial councils: Asbestos workers, 48-hour week; bobbin workers, 48-hour week without reduction of pay; china-clay workers, 42-hour week without reduction in wages; elastic-webbing workers, 48-hour week from April 7th, 1919; electrical contracting, 47-hour week; furniture, 47; gold and silver, 47 without reduction in wages; hosiery (English), 48 without reduction; leather goods, 48; local authorities' non-trading services manual workers, 47-hour week, with twelve days' holiday per annum with pay; packing-case makers, sawmill employees, and vehicle workers have secured the 47-hour week; wool and allied trades, 48; and workers employed at waterworks undertakings have secured the 47-hour week without reduction in wages.

#### PROGRESS IN SOLIDARITY.

Great progress is also being made towards amalgamation. The amalgamation of postal workers has already been secured and the united union will formally come into existence in January, 1920. The union will be known as "The Union of Post Office Workers," and will represent a membership of over 100,000, which is likely to be considerably extended in a short period of time by the addition of other unions representing post office workers not yet included in the amalgamation scheme.

The unions engaged in the engineering trades are also taking a ballot vote of their members, and it is expected that by the end of the present year a new amalgamation of engineering trades will be

established. This new organisation will represent somewhere about half-a-million, with the possible extension of amalgamation to include very many unions engaged in the metal trades. A complete amalgamation of metal workers would give us a total of somewhere about one million, and, as a result of past experience, it is safe to assume that after the first step has been taken by the principal unions, led by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the progress towards complete amalgamation will be very rapid. The recent railway dispute will have the effect of consolidating the trade union movement. The efforts that are being made by various powerful combinations of employers to reduce wages, will inspire the co-ordination of trade union activity and probably lead to the establishment of an alliance representing the principal unions of the country, especially those likely to be affected by a big trade dispute which inevitably involves almost every section of industry, such as a railway dispute, a dispute affecting miners, or transport workers.

In addition to the progress towards amalgamation, where this is not at present possible, federation is adopted as an alternative. The shipbuilding and engineering trades are represented by the Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades Federation. The metal trades are also already federated. The Textile Trades Federation are engaged in discussing the possibility of transforming their federation into an amalgamation, and the General Labourers have already a powerful combination of semi-skilled and other workers in the form of The National Federation of General Workers.

All these tendencies reflect a deep-rooted desire amongst the organised workers for increased solidarity and efficiency. The unions are carefully considering plans by which they can meet the operations of the British Industries Federation, a powerful combination of employers, representing 20,000 firms and an accumulated capital of over £5,000,000,000. The industrial battles of the future will be battles of big battalions, and organised labour is now engaged in considering plans for the creation of a general staff responsible for the direction of the trade union movement as a unified and effective body.

#### THE QUESTION OF A GENERAL STAFF.

This general-staff idea is gaining ground and will probably lead to the transformation of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress into a body with more executive control, responsible for trade union machinery to be utilised for securing swift and united action to protect the workers against the operations of united capitalism. During the railway dispute a temporary organisation was created in a few days, consisting of fourteen members acting as a mediation committee between the railway workers and the Government. The famous fourteen were eventually instrumental in bringing about a settlement of the dispute. We shall, however, require something more effective than an agreement. An agreement

did exist between the railwaymen, the transport workers, and the Miners' Federation providing for mutual support if any one of the three bodies was affected by a trade dispute. This agreement is embodied in the constitution of the Triple Alliance and is of great importance in relation to this question, and is therefore given as follows:—

CONSTITUTION OF THE TRIPLE INDUSTRIAL ALLIANCE OF MINERS, RAILWAYMEN,  
AND TRANSPORT WORKERS.

1. That matters submitted to this joint body, and upon which action may be taken, should be those of a national character, or vitally affecting a principle which, in the opinion of the executive making the request, necessitates combined action.
2. The co-operation of the joint organisation shall not be called upon, nor expected, unless and until the matter in dispute has been considered by and received the endorsement of the national executive of the organisation primarily concerned; and each organisation instituting a movement which is likely to involve the other affiliated organisations shall, before any definite steps are taken, submit the whole matter to the joint body for consideration.
3. For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the movement for combined action, periodical meetings of the three full executives shall be held at least half yearly.
4. There shall be appointed a consultative committee of six, composed of two members chosen from the executive committees of each of the three bodies, whose duty it shall be to meet from time to time, and who shall be empowered at any time to call a special conference of the executives of the three bodies if, in their opinion, such conference be necessary. That a meeting be called on application made by any one of the three bodies.
5. With a view to meeting all management expenses incurred, each affiliated body shall contribute a sum of 10s. per thousand members per annum, or such sum as may be decided upon from time to time.
6. Simultaneously with these arrangements for united action between the three organisations in question every effort shall proceed among the three sections to create effective and complete control of their respective bodies.
7. Complete autonomy shall be reserved to any one of the three bodies affiliated to take action on their own behalf.
8. Joint action can only be taken when the question at issue has been before the members of the three organisations and decided upon by such methods as the constitution of each organisation provides. A conference shall then be called without delay to consider and decide the question of taking action.
9. No obligation shall devolve upon any one of the three bodies to take joint action unless the foregoing conditions have been complied with.

It will be noticed that no centralised executive control is established by the agreement, and, more important still, the Triple Alliance has no separate and distinct administrative department; otherwise rapid joint consultation would have been possible as a preliminary to the railway dispute. The most active and able leaders of the trade union movement are now considering the most effective means of strengthening the principle embodied in the terms of the above agreement.

## INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

The antagonisms created by the war have not yet evaporated to the extent which will enable us to state satisfactorily the potentialities of international trade unionism. The first International Trade Unions Congress after the declaration of peace has, however, been held and at Amsterdam, in July, 1919. The attempt to resuscitate the international feeling, produced, in view of all the circumstances, fairly satisfactory results. Delegates representing Great Britain, America, Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark, Germany, France, Holland, Luxemburg, Norway, Austria, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland, discussed the details of the new international federation. The total number of trade unionists represented at the Amsterdam Conference was 17,500,000. It is certain that in the near future this number will be increased to a substantial extent by the affiliation of other countries and the increase in membership of trade union organisations in Belgium and other places, where the organisations have been adversely affected by the destructive tendencies of the war.

Nationally and internationally, the near future is full of promise for organised labour, and by national and international solidarity the workers will secure for themselves a better social order. By the force of their organised power they will compel the statesmen of Europe, not merely to formulate paper plans for international peace but to establish the economic and social conditions without which national and international peace is quite impossible.

---

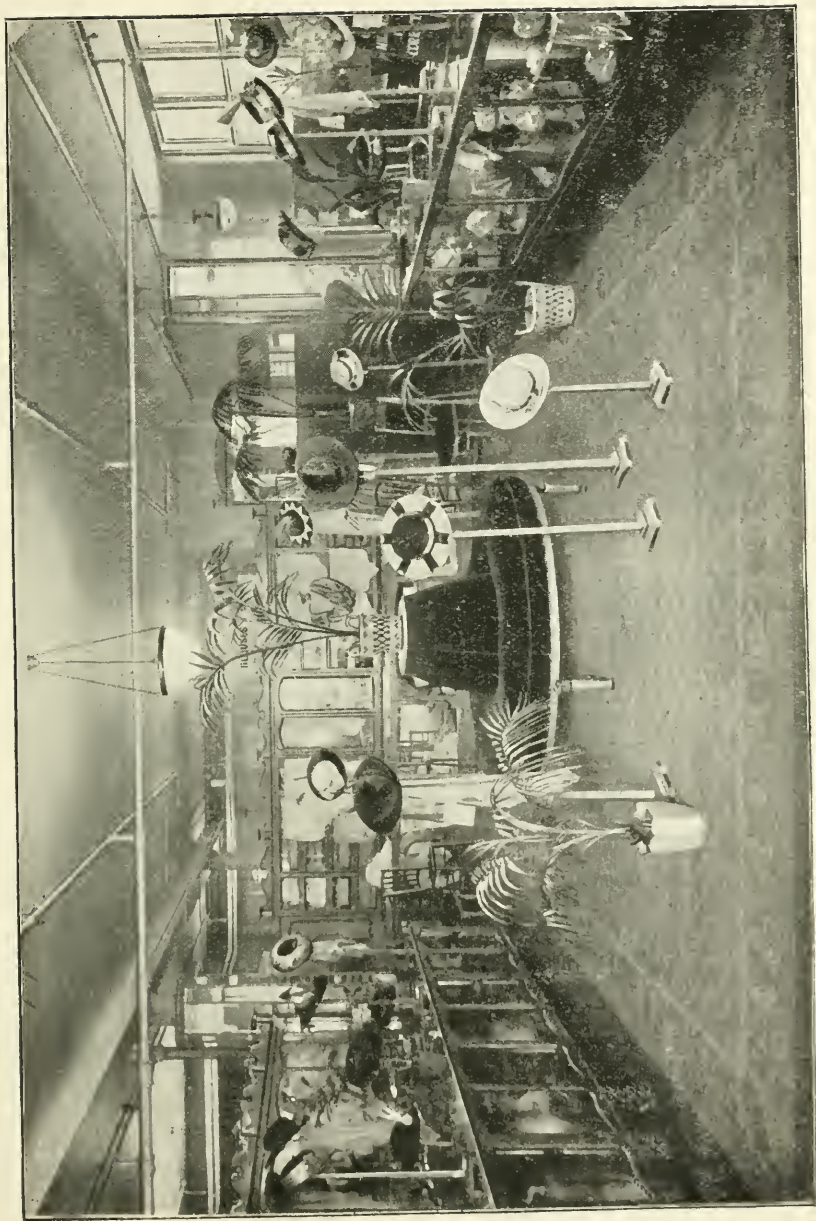
## GERMAN TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP.

Particulars given in the periodical, *Wirtschaftsdienst*, show that German trade unionism in the peace era is making great strides. The membership of the Social-Democratic trade unions has risen to six millions, and since the Nuremberg Conference, held early in July, 700,000 new members have been enrolled in these unions.

---

## HOW A DUTCH TRADE UNION COMBATS PROFITEERING.

For a trade union to embark in trading operations for the benefit of its members, is somewhat of a rarity in unionist annals. In this regard the Drivers' Union at the Hague may be said to have signalled itself by adopting co-operative methods. The Union (according to the *Nieuwe Courant*, of October 24th, 1919) is ordering clothing and boots from America; 10,000 pairs of boots have arrived and are sold at Fl.9.50, Fl.10.25, and Fl.11. Samples of underclothing are of excellent quality, and large orders have been placed. The Union will continue to deal in these articles until the shopkeepers lower their prices.



CORNER OF MILLINERY ROOM IN THE DRAPERY DEPARTMENT OF THE C.W.S.,  
PROVIDED FOR RETAIL PURCHASERS.





# HARBUTT'S PLASTICINE

It may not be generally known that quite apart from modelling, Plasticine has a hundred other uses. It is good for setting stones and gems in designing jewellery, taking impressions of coins or medals, making water tanks for magic-lantern work, emergency corks for bottles, temporary fixing of electric wires, to stop a leak in gas or water pipes, to stop a leak in a petrol tank, to prevent that exasperating window rattling just when you're going off to sleep. In many ways also in photographic work—to support a group of flowers, to level up a camera or to fix it on top of a post or wall when you've left the tripod at home. All these and many others are explained in our booklet: "100 Uses for Plasticine." Send for it, and if you enclose 3d. in stamps we will send samples and copy of our little magazine: "Modelling Monthly."

PLASTICINE IS ONE OF THE HANDIEST  
THINGS IN THE HOUSE IMAGINABLE.

**HARBUTT'S PLASTICINE Ltd.**

BATHAMPTON, BATH.

LONDON: 56, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.4.

## THE WORLD OF LABOUR.

### The Outstanding Events of the Year.

**I**N many respects the year 1919 was the most eventful and momentous in the history of the Labour movement in Great Britain. The year in which industry definitely passed from war to peace conditions, and immense adaptive changes were made in nearly every workshop; in which many industries had to be entirely reconstructed; in which the Coal Industry Commission accomplished its unprecedented investigation, and brought the question of nationalisation into the forefront of politics; in which the first great wages and conditions movement of the Triple Industrial Alliance was organised, followed by a national railway strike which nearly developed into a class war; and in which the National Industrial Conference opened the way to a great step forward in the improvement of the wages and conditions of weakly-organised workers—a year so crowded with events will be a memorable one in the annals of Labour.

Apart from the outstanding events referred to, the year provided a continuous record of industrial unrest, resulting in a series of critical situations which at times seemed to threaten disaster to the country. Stable as British institutions have proved to be during a time of severe trial, it was inevitable when the restraints imposed by the war—and particularly by the great perils of the German advance in the spring of 1918—were removed, that Great Britain should feel some of the effects of social change and upheaval which convulsed many of the continental countries. A new spirit was abroad. The workers had determined that they would not willingly return to the conditions which existed before 1914; demands for substantial improvements in wages and conditions coincided with the difficulties of the transition period in industry; delays in carrying out the urgently-needed reconstruction measures—especially in relation to housing—and the failure of the Government to reduce substantially the cost

of the necessities of life, were bitterly resented; and the foreign and economic policy of the Government, involving such questions as intervention in Russia, conscription, and trade restrictions, led to continuous agitations.

All these things, in conjunction with less important and more obscure causes of discontent, created a general state of unrest which found expression in various ways—in a succession of disputes and strikes, and in a great and disquieting movement organised with the object of substituting "direct action" (that is, the use of the weapon of industrial force) for parliamentary action on issues which, although they could not be separated entirely from industrial considerations, were essentially political.

It was characteristic of the British temperament that the country passed through the difficult spring and summer period with little worse than a series of crises which were dealt with before they reached a disastrous stage, and that the efforts to promote a great "direct action" movement resulted in a strong reaction in favour of parliamentary and constitutional procedure. The coal-mining industry presented the Government with its most difficult economic problem, and a serious decrease in the output of coal caused grave apprehension.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

In the following pages a summarised record of the principal events of the year is given.

No industrial trouble of importance occurred for some time after the armistice was signed, but during the last six weeks of 1918 there were growing indications that long-pent-up irritation was about to find expression in what had come to be known as the storm centres of British industry. The outstanding events of the upheaval which caused grave concern throughout the country during the first three months of 1919, and which startled the Government into unwonted

domestic activity, were efforts to hold up some of the principal cities by the organisation of a general strike, a railway strike in London which threatened to develop into a national stoppage, a long-drawn-out dispute over the hours question in several shipbuilding centres, and a great combined movement by the miners, railwaymen, and transport workers, constituting the Triple Industrial Alliance. The menace of a national strike by these unions, which would have paralysed industry everywhere, brought the country and the Government face to face with a fresh crisis, which was averted by substantial concessions.

#### THE GENERAL STRIKE FAILURE.

The Glasgow and Belfast strikes differed in various ways, but they had this in common, that they were not ordinary disputes in which the officials of the trade unions concerned took a leading part. They were both definitely organised with the object of bringing about a stoppage of all workers in the cities affected, and of paralysing the life of the community in order to force concession of the terms demanded. There is good reason to believe that the organisers of the strikes—chiefly men who were little known in the official trade union world—believed that the widespread unrest had fostered conditions favourable for a large scale general strike experiment. In Belfast the venture had an initial, but limited, success. In Glasgow the attempt to bring out all classes of workers failed from the start, and in both cities the strikes collapsed after struggles prolonged over several weeks. The failure undoubtedly profoundly affected the future course of industrial events during the year.

#### THE CLYDE.

Towards the end of 1918 the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation had negotiated a shorter working week of 47 hours. The Clyde trouble began in an obscure way under the guise of a movement to establish a 40-hour week in place of the 47-hour week. Members of the Scottish Trade Unions Congress, and of the Glasgow Trades Council, acting without

reference to the national leaders of the unions primarily concerned, formed a committee, and on January 18th it was made known to an astonished public that a general strike for the 40-hour week would begin ten days later. The action was justified on the ground that unemployment could be prevented only by this drastic reduction of hours. No negotiations were to take place, and nothing less than the full concession of the demand would, it was said, prevent or end the strike.

The committee was undoubtedly disappointed and disillusioned by the response on January 27th. Only about one-third of the shipyard and engineering workers responded. The flour mill workers came out, but the bakers held aloof, and, with the exception of a small number of men employed at the tramcar sheds, the municipal employees declined to strike. The strike committee, under the leadership of Mr. Emmanuel Shinwell, made vigorous efforts to extend the stoppage. Demonstrations were skilfully organised. Massed picketing, by which is meant the assembly of hundreds of strikers to block up the entrance to a works, was inaugurated, and this measure speedily led to the closing down of nearly all the shipyards and of many engineering shops.

At this time there were also on strike, on account of quite different disputes, shipyard workers on the North-East Coast, engineers in London, and coal-miners in Lanarkshire, while tube and other transport workers in London were unaffected. The Clyde strike committee endeavoured vainly to link up all these disputes with the Glasgow and Belfast strikes.

Meanwhile the success or failure of the Clyde struggle seemed to rest with the municipal workers, and their steadfast refusal to join the shipyard workers angered the strike leaders, and indirectly led to events which hastened the collapse of the strike. Demonstrations were organised with the object of influencing the tramway and electricity employees, and on Friday, January 31st, serious turmoil followed an attempt by the police to force tramcars through a dense crowd in George Square, near the City

Hall, where the strike leaders were seeking a conference with the Lord Provost. After a baton charge a section of the crowd raided a dray containing bottles. These were angrily flung at the police, and subsequently at the Sheriff and others with him when he read the Riot Act. Further baton charges took place, many windows were broken, and some looting occurred. Later, in other parts of the city, tramcars were wrecked and other damage was done. A number of arrests were made, including Messrs. Shinwell and Gallagher, the most prominent of the strike leaders.

The authorities were seized with panic, and on the following day Glasgow people saw their city occupied by troops, with tanks, machine guns, and other war equipment. A re-organised strike committee renewed the efforts to extend the stoppage, but a Government proclamation under "Dora" prevented any strike of electricity workers (who were threatening a London stoppage), and further drastic action was taken by the executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who suspended their district committees and secretaries at Glasgow, Belfast, and in London for participating in unauthorised strike movements. Later, Mr. H. Hopkins, the Glasgow secretary, was arrested. At the same time, on February 9th, the bakers finally decided against a strike, and in the middle of the following week the strike committee advised a general resumption of work.

Subsequently there was an eleven-days' trial of the strike prisoners, who were charged with inciting to riot and other offences. Shinwell was sentenced to five months, and Gallagher to three months' imprisonment for inciting to riot; Kirkwood, Hopkins, and several others were discharged.

Early in April the executive of the A.S.E. removed the suspension of the three district secretaries.

#### IN BELFAST.

The Belfast strike, which began on January 25th, was much more general than that on the Clyde. It originated with a demand by the shipyard workers for a 44-hour week, but, as in Glasgow,

the movement was started and carried on by local officials of the various unions, who formed a strike committee, and called out all classes of workers. The tramcar, electricity, and gas workers responded, with the result that for a considerable time the public services were suspended. The local authorities were blamed for acquiescing in a system of permits, issued with solemn formality by the strike committee, to enable certain services, such as the baking of bread and the supply of gas, electricity, milk, &c., to the hospitals, to be continued.

Although the city was in total darkness at night, save for the illumination by candles in the houses, little looting and no disorder occurred, and the strike committee themselves helped to police the city. No collision with the authorities took place.

At the end of a fortnight informal negotiations which had taken place were succeeded by a definite effort to find a basis of settlement, and Lord Pirrie attended conferences with representatives of the strikers. These failed, but after the third week the strikers began to weaken. The authorities, taking advantage of this, initiated a stronger policy, and shortly after the municipal services had been restored the strike as a whole broke down completely, and the shipyard men resumed their work.

#### GOVERNMENT ALARM.

Meanwhile various events in England, coinciding as they did with the more menacing attempts to force the hands of the community on the Clyde and in Belfast, were causing acute anxiety in Whitehall. In Yorkshire 150,000 miners struck work to enforce a demand for a mealtime stoppage of twenty minutes a day, and there was trouble also in the Notts and Derbyshire coalfield.

Serious dislocation of work in the North-East Coast shipyards, and in London, was caused by a dispute arising out of the 47-hour week agreement. The shipwrights', boiler-makers', and blacksmiths' societies demanded an adjustment of piece rates and lien rates so as to prevent a loss of earnings owing to the shorter working week, and in consequence

internal dissension developed between these societies and the A.S.E. and other unions in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation. The strikes which resulted were partial in character, and were not settled until protracted negotiations, which broke down on several occasions, had taken place, and until the three unions referred to had been involved in heavy strike benefit expenditure. The matter was referred to arbitration, and an acceptable award, which, broadly, provided that piece-workers should not suffer any loss of earnings, was made early in April.

#### RAILWAY TROUBLES.

At the beginning of February the refusal of the Board of Trade to recognise the Railway Clerks' Association nearly brought about a general strike of the clerical workers on the railways. The association, which had grown from 22,000 members before the war to over 70,000, had an unanswerable case for recognition, and the refusal of the Government department was inexplicable. With public sentiment entirely against the authorities, no other course except that of capitulation was possible for the Government, but the foolish handling of this and other disputes about the same time caused much irritation in the country.

A day or two after the clerks had threatened to strike the country was perturbed and London was seriously inconvenienced by the stoppage of the tube motormen, on February 3rd, as a protest against the disallowance of the meal time in the new eight-hour day which had been negotiated by the railway unions, and which came into operation at this time. The strike was recognised by the railway unions. In parleys which followed it was contended on behalf of the Government that the union executives had agreed to an eight-hour day exclusive of meal times. The men's leaders held, on the other hand, that the clause dealing with the matter had been interpreted by them in the sense that a period was allowed for meals, according to past custom. It then appeared that two versions of the agreement existed, and the Govern-

ment, accepting the theory of a misunderstanding, settled the matter to the satisfaction of the men. In this case also there seemed good reason to believe that if the question at issue had been handled more carefully at the outset by the railway executive the strike could have been avoided.

#### ELECTRICAL WORKERS' STRIKE PROCLAIMED.

In the same week the London district of the Electrical Trades Union called a sudden strike in connection with a 40-hour week demand. A number of the men responded, but the Government, fortified probably by the knowledge that the strike was opposed by the national executive of the union, took the unexpected course of issuing a "Dora" regulation, which exposed to penalties anyone who took part in the strike. On the following day the London committee ordered a resumption of work. Nearly two months later a ballot of the union failed to give a majority for a strike either for a 40 or a 44-hour week.

#### THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE CAMPAIGN.

While all these disturbing events created among the public and the Government a gloomy uncertainty about industrial happenings in the near future, even greater alarm was aroused by the crisis which developed with the progress of the movements of the powerful unions in the triple alliance. Although the movement became to some extent a concerted one in the later stages, the demands were formulated and presented, and the negotiations were carried on separately by the three groups in the alliance. Therefore, for the sake of clearness, it will be well to record each set of demands submitted and the concessions achieved respectively by the miners, railwaymen, and transport workers.

#### THE MINERS.

Before the war the Miners' Federation of Great Britain was contemplating a national campaign for the improvement of wages and conditions. This was suspended during the war, but the agitation was revived in various districts after the armistice,

and in the middle of January a conference was held at Southport, where a new programme was formulated. Certain demands referring to the wages and allowances of demobilised and partially-disabled men were afterwards dropped, and the demands round which the subsequent struggle centred were:

1. The substitution of six hours for eight hours in the Mines Eight Hours Act.
2. A 30 per cent increase in wages other than war wages.
3. Nationalisation of the mines.

It should be explained that during the war an extra wage of 3s. a day to meet the extra cost of living had been awarded. The increase of 30 per cent was desired only on the ordinary earnings in the mine.

The reply of the Government to this demand was an offer of an increase of a shilling a day to meet the higher cost of living, and an inquiry into the general claims for higher wages and shorter hours.

The miners then took a ballot on the question whether or not a strike should be declared to enforce the full demands, and an enormous majority for a strike was secured. Before the ballot was completed, however, the Government intervened, and the first of a series of conferences between the miners' leaders and the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law was held on February 20th. Mr. Lloyd George spoke gravely of the position, and offered an immediate inquiry by a Commission into all the questions at issue, including nationalisation, with a promise that an interim report dealing with hours and wages should be prepared with all possible speed.

Mr. Robert Smillie, the president of the Miners' Federation, promised that another delegate conference should be called immediately to consider the offer. The Bill to set up the Commission was introduced into the House of Commons on February 24th, and during the debate Mr. Adamson announced the result of the ballot to be 611,998 for a strike, and 104,997 against.

On February 25th the executives of the triple alliance agreed to postpone a decision on the question of a joint stoppage until March 15th, the

date on which the first interim report of the Coal Commission was expected. This was ultimately changed to March 20th. On February 27th, after a two-days' conference, the Miners' Federation decided to accept the Government's offer, although this policy was strongly opposed by many of the delegates. Mr. Smillie, Mr. Frank Hodges (the general secretary), and other leaders strongly urged a postponement of the threatened strike.

Mr. Justice Sankey was appointed chairman of the Commission, and the other twelve members were:—Representing the coal-owners: Mr. J. T. Forgie (Scotland), Mr. R. W. Cooper (Durham), Mr. Evan Williams (Wales). Representing the miners: Mr. Robert Smillie (president of the federation), Mr. Frank Hodges (secretary), Mr. Herbert Smith (Yorkshire). Appointed by the Government: Mr. Arthur Balfour (steel manufacturer), Sir Arthur Duckham (director-general of aircraft production), Sir T. Royden (deputy-chairman Cunard Steamship Co.), Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. R. H. Tawney, Sir Leo Chiozza-Money.

Sir Leo Money was appointed at the request of the miners. Later in the inquiry Sir T. Royden and Mr. Forgie resigned from the Commission, and their places were taken by Sir Allan Smith (chairman of the Engineering Employers' Association), and Sir Adam Nimmo, respectively.

The first meeting was held on March 4th, and the interim report on wages and conditions, which, with the second report of the commission, is dealt with elsewhere in this volume, was issued, as promised, on March 20th.

Basing their action on the recommendations of the chairman, the Government offered an increase in wages of 2s. a day, a seven-hour day to come into operation in July, 1919, with a further reduction to six hours in July, 1920, if the economic condition of the coal industry justified it; a 46½-hour week for surface workers, and a continuance of the inquiry into the question of reorganisation of the industry. It was estimated that the concessions offered would result in a deficit of £13,000,000, and the intention was to meet this by subsidy until the industry could be reorganised.

The miners endeavoured to secure a modification of the offer, but the Government stood firm, and the only subsequent concession was an agreement to increase piece rates so that there should be no loss of earnings by the operation of the seven-hour day. This gave rise to further trouble at a later stage.

The reply of the Government was conveyed to the miners' representatives on March 25th by Mr. Bonar Law. Afterwards, in discussions on nationalisation, a question arose as to the precise pledges given by the Government, and it was stated in the House of Commons that any pledge given related only to the first interim report. In view of this it is important to note one statement by Mr. Bonar Law in this interview with the miners' leaders. He said:—

“If this Commission is allowed to continue, interim reports will be issued dealing with subject after subject in which you are vitally interested, and not merely will these interim reports be issued, which in ordinary circumstances might be put in the waste-paper basket, but it is part of the Government's undertaking to deal with these reports in the spirit as well as in the letter, and steps will be taken to enable these recommendations to be carried into effect.”

On the following day a national delegate conference accepted the advice of their leaders to agree to the Government offer. In several districts men struck work—about 100,000 altogether—owing to misunderstandings, but a strong manifesto issued by the executive of the federation quickly ended these troubles. On March 27th the National Union of Railwaymen decided not to strike, and the danger of a great triple alliance stoppage, which would have paralysed the life of the country, was therefore averted.

The Coal Commission resumed its inquiry, with special reference to nationalisation and housing, on May 6th, and among other notable episodes was the examination by Mr. Smillie of a number of dukes and other well-known owners of mineral rights. The Commission completed its task on June 16th, and its report was issued, as promised, on June 20th. The

number of witnesses heard was 116, and 28,000 questions were asked.

The publication of the report was followed by a rapid extension of the anti-nationalisation campaign which had been organised during the inquiry, and the newly-formed Coal Association became very active. Criticisms of the report were frequent at meetings of colliery shareholders, and lecturers visited meetings of business men to condemn nationalisation.

The Government gave no indication of its policy until the eve of the summer recess, when, on August 18th, Mr. Lloyd George announced that they could not accept Mr. Justice Sankey's report. He foreshadowed a Bill to bring about a reconstruction of the coal industry on the lines of the recommendations of Sir Arthur Duckham—that is, a combination of the coal-owners in the respective coalfields, so as to form district trusts, on the boards of which one or two miners' representatives would be included. The minerals were to be purchased by the State.

This scheme was decisively rejected by the Miners' Federation at meetings held in London on September 2nd and 3rd. On September 10th the Trade Unions Congress at Glasgow passed a resolution, by 4,478,000 votes to 77,000, rejecting the scheme, instructing the Parliamentary Committee to take action, in co-operation with the Miners' Federation, to compel the acceptance of the Sankey scheme of nationalisation, first by interviewing the Prime Minister, and subsequently by convening a special congress to decide upon the future course of action if the reply of the Government was unsatisfactory. At the interview with Mr. Lloyd George, on October 9th, he announced that the attitude of the Government was unchanged. The Miners' Federation informed him that they could not co-operate in the scheme suggested. A joint propaganda campaign was then planned by the Miners' Federation and the Labour Party.

Meanwhile, trouble had occurred in connection with the adjustment of piece rates to recompense men for the reduction of one hour in the working day. The Coal Controller

suggested an advance of 10 per cent, which was the estimated average reductor in output, but it was pointed out that conditions differed widely in the coalfields, and for some time negotiations proceeded with the employers in the different districts. Some of the Yorkshire owners were willing to give an increase of 14·3 per cent, but the Coal Controller refused consent, and a strike was declared by the Yorkshire Miners' Association on July 16th. It lasted from this date until nearly the end of August. The seriousness of the strike, in view of the coal shortage, was intensified when the pump men were withdrawn, and some of the mines were in danger of destruction by water. The Government acted swiftly, but with an appearance of panic. Naval men were sent to man the pumps, and negotiations were opened with the Miners' Federation with the object of settling the whole question of piece rates. A formula was arrived at by which an increase was given according to the time actually lost. The Yorkshire men declined to accept this at first, but after a time they returned to work, when it had been made plain to them that they were acting against the wishes of the executive of the national federation.

About the same time the alarming statement was made, without warning, by Sir Auckland Geddes that previous estimates about output and the effect of the reduced hours and increased wages had been incorrect, and that a deficit of nearly fifty millions had to be faced. To meet this, he said, an increase of 6s. a ton was necessary. It was pointed out by the miners that one of the principal causes of decreased output was the disorganised state of the mines due to the war, and that if all energies were directed to restoring efficiency, output would largely increase, and the disastrous increase in price would be unnecessary. The Government replied that the increase must go on, and their action was interpreted as a political move to influence the country against the miners and to prejudice the cause of nationalisation. Just on the eve of the Miners' Federation annual conference at Keswick, on July 14th, Mr.

Bonar Law offered to suspend the increase for three months if the federation would pledge itself to prevent strikes for that period, and do everything possible to increase output. The federation, on July 17th, emphatically rejected this offer, on the grounds that it was unfair to ask the men to tie their hands, and that reduced output was largely due to causes which the men could not control. The Government at once announced that the increase would take effect on the following Monday.

#### THE RAILWAYMEN'S MOVEMENT.

Like the miners, the National Union of Railwaymen was about to launch a general campaign for better conditions when the war began. It was at once suspended, and the project was not revived until after the armistice was signed. During the war various agitations for increases to meet the increased cost of living had resulted in the concession of a total war wage of 33s. a week. Towards the end of 1918, as noted above, a demand for an eight-hour day was conceded.

On February 22nd a revised national programme was presented to the Railway Executive Committee. The principal claims were:—

1. The conversion of the war wage into permanent wage.
2. Extra pay for Sunday and night work.
3. Holidays, with pay.

Separate demands were submitted by the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers, but later the negotiations were jointly conducted and the settlement was accepted by both unions. This led to the formation of a joint committee with the object of co-ordinating the activities of the two societies, whose rivalry in the past had been an obstacle to progress.

After protracted negotiations the Government, under the pressure of a threat of a triple alliance strike, made proposals substantially in advance of those first offered, and it was estimated that the cost of these concessions would amount to a hundred millions a year. The offer was twice rejected by delegate meetings, which were in a militant mood, but the persuasive efforts of the general secretary,



# C.W.S. Women Workers

SHIRTMAKING  
AT  
MANCHESTER.



ONE OF THE  
TAILORING  
WORKROOMS.



DRUG  
ROOM  
AT  
PELAW.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., finally led to acceptance. At the height of the crisis Mr. Thomas flew to Paris to confer with the Prime Minister, and the aeroplane thus proved its usefulness as a medium for the swift settlement of industrial disputes.

The outstanding terms of the agreement were:—

1. The war wage to be guaranteed until the end of the year.
2. New standard wages to be fixed during the interval.
3. Overtime to be paid at the rate of time-and-a-quarter, and Sunday duty at time-and-a-half.
4. A guaranteed week of 48 hours.
5. One week's holiday with pay per year.

Many technical points arose in the interpretation of the agreement, and prolonged negotiations for the settlement of these matters followed. Attention was then turned to the question of fixing standard wages.

In August, trouble arose owing to the dissatisfaction caused among the locomotive men at the amounts suggested by the Government for these grades. They had asked for a standard wage ranging from the minimum to the maximum as follows:

- Cleaners, 8s. 6d. a day.
- Firemen, 9s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. a day.
- Drivers, 12s. to 16s. a day.

They were offered scales which gave a maximum of 6s. 6d. to firemen, and 12s. to drivers (after 11 years' service). A strike was threatened, and as a result of hastily-resumed negotiations, in which Sir Auckland Geddes (President of the Board of Trade) took a prominent part, the following revised offer was finally made and accepted:—

- Cleaners, ranging from 4s. to 7s. a day.
- Firemen, ranging from 9s. 6d. to 11s. a day.
- Drivers, ranging from 12s. to 15s. a day.

#### THE NATIONAL RAILWAY STRIKE.

A few weeks later, on September 23rd, the country was startled by a statement by Mr. Thomas, to the effect that a crisis had arisen on the question of standard rates for the other grades. A few days earlier Sir Auckland Geddes,

as President of the Board of Trade, had forwarded schedules with an intimation that the offer was "definitive," and was not submitted as a basis of negotiation. The executive of the N.U.R. rejected this offer on September 22nd, on the ground that it was absolutely unacceptable, and they sent an ultimatum to the Government demanding a revision of the rates by September 25th, failing which a strike would be called 24 hours later.

The offer of the Government fell much below the demands of the railwaymen, who asked for the highest rate paid in any grade, plus the 33s. war wage, to be the new standardised rate for that grade. Speaking broadly, a minimum of 60s. was desired for the principal grades, with higher rates after certain terms of service.

The new standard rates offered by the Government included the following:—

		With War Bonus.
Porters .....	40/- rising to 49/-	49/- to 55/-
Tkt. Collectors	45/- " 54/-	54/- " 64/-
Goods Porters	40/- " 47/-	53/- " 59/-
Pass'r Guards	48/- " 60/-	58/- " 68/-
Goods Guards..	48/- " 60/-	58/- " 68/-
Shunters .....	46/- " 60/-	53/- " 64/-
Carmen .....	45/- " 52/-	53/- " 62/-
Platelayers.....	40/- " 50/-	54/- " 57/-

The amounts, with war bonus included, were equivalent to existing earnings.

It was stated by the Government that these rates represented an average of 100 per cent over the pre-war wages, but analysis showed that in many cases the rate was several shillings less than 100 per cent over pre-war wage would have been.

According to the agreement of March the full war wage was to be paid until December 31st. When the strike threat was uttered on September 23rd the Government invited the N.U.R. executive to meet Sir Eric Geddes, who took over the railway supervision duties of Minister of Transport on September 24th. The conference took place on the morning of the 25th. In the afternoon the executive had a long discussion with the Prime Minister, and this was resumed on Friday morning, September 26th. The conference broke up in the early afternoon without a settlement having been arrived at, and the strike began at midnight.

In these negotiations the Government declined to consider the reopening of the standard rates offer. Apparently the word "definitive" was held to mean "final." The Government did offer, however, to continue the payment of the old rates plus war wages until March 31st, and to make no reduction after that time until the cost of living had remained for three months at or below 110 per cent above the pre-war level.

This offer meant that for six months the grades mentioned above would continue to receive a remnant of the 33s. war wage, in addition to the new standard rates. These additional payments varied for the different grades, and brought up the totals to the amounts shown in the third and fourth columns of the above table.

The important point was: How long would the war wage be continued as the cost of living fell? The Government stated that no definite answer could be given. It was understood, the Prime Minister said, that something should be taken from war wages in all industries as the cost of living fell. He suggested that the matter could be dealt with by a tribunal, or that the sliding scale could be used. This was on the basis of 1s. for each four points in the percentage of cost of living. Consequently, a passenger guard at the maximum rate who had 8s. war wage left would lose the whole of it when cost of living fell from 110 per cent to 78 per cent above pre-war level—that is, 32 points. Before the war he would get 35s. at the maximum. Consequently, he would receive 60s., or an increase of 71·4 per cent, while the cost of living was 78 per cent up. He would, in fact, have been worse off relatively than before the war. It was said by members of the Government speaking individually, that while the cost of living remained above pre-war level some portion of the war wage would remain. The Government offer gave no such guarantee.

For a few days public opinion was largely against the railwaymen because of the suddenness of the strike. Nothing was known of the secret negotiations which led to the deadlock. Other Labour leaders, while supporting the railwaymen to the full on the

merits of their case, took the view that, as a matter of tactics, the lightning strike method was bad.

The Government had prepared for a strike as early as February, when the spring crisis was imminent, and a great motor-lorry service was at once instituted to carry essential food supplies. Soldiers were disposed at various points. The Government declared that the strike was one against the community, and must be "fought to a finish." The Prime Minister, in a manifesto, described it as an "anarchist conspiracy," and for a few days the bulk of the Press wrote of the strike in the same strain.

Then came a marked revulsion of feeling, especially among other workers, who believed firmly that an attack on general wages had begun. The N.U.R. officials tried to prevent an extension of the strike, and declared that it was concerned only with wages and conditions. A conference called by the Transport Workers' Federation, instead of calling for sympathetic strikes, sought through a mediation committee (of which Mr. H. Gosling was chairman, and which included Messrs. Henderson, Clynes, Stuart-Bunning, R. Williams, E. Bevin, F. Hodges, C. W. Boverman, and other well-known leaders) to bring the Government and the railway leaders together again.

All this disproved clearly the allegations that the strike was the work of revolutionaries. The good order maintained by the strikers, the moderation with which their case was pressed, all told in their favour. On the other hand the Government acted, especially through its Propaganda Department, as though it were at war. Wages due to the strikers were withheld. Citizen guards were called for. Communiqués to the effect that the strike was breaking down were belied in the provinces by the spectacle of paralysed railways, of extraordinary solidarity among the strikers, and of industries closing down daily.

On the other hand, the railway leaders recognised that the sudden strike had alienated middle-class opinion. The atmosphere was therefore congenial for the mediators to work in, especially as the newspapers

had almost ceased to talk about a fight to a finish, recognising what a "class war" might lead to.

The mediation committee succeeded in bringing about informal meetings at Downing Street between the N.U.R. executive and the Prime Minister, but Mr. Lloyd George had demanded a return to work before negotiations could be renewed, and although certain offers, including one of a seven days' truce, were made, the executive rejected them. What seemed to be a final deadlock occurred on the night of Friday, October 3rd.

The mediation committee persisted, however. It had been arranged that a national trade unions conference should be called for Tuesday, October 7th, and on Saturday, October 4th, the committee issued a manifesto, in which they declared that the Government offer was inadequate, and that unless its attitude changed a great extension of the strike would undoubtedly be agreed to by the Tuesday's conference.

The same evening the committee saw Mr. Bonar Law. On the following day, Sunday, October 5th, the Prime Minister, who had gone to the country, returned to Downing Street. In the morning he again met the N.U.R. executive and the mediation committee, and at 4-30' in the afternoon a settlement was announced. According to the terms the men were to resume work forthwith; the existing wages were to be stabilised until September 30th, 1920, instead of until March 31st; while the cost of living remained above 110 per cent no man was to receive less than 51s. Negotiations on standard rates were to be reopened and concluded by December 31st, 1920.

Mr. Thomas stated at the Albert Hall on the same evening that the whole question of standard rates was to be reopened *de novo*. This meant, of course, that the Government had completely abandoned the position taken up when the deadlock occurred on September 26th.

The men accepted the terms and returned to work on Monday, October 6th, after a stoppage lasting nine days.

One result of the strike was a movement to set up a permanent trade union committee to co-ordinate wages

and conditions movements, and to intervene in disputes where action of this kind could be taken. It was decided to convene a special Trade Unions Congress to consider the whole question of the future of war wages, and the call for the establishment of the Joint Industrial Council again became insistent.

#### THE TRANSPORT WORKERS.

The movement of the National Transport Workers' Federation was overshadowed by the greater importance of the miners' and railwaymen's demands. The object was to secure improved conditions for all dock and riverside workers. The programme was set forth in a document issued on January 16th. It asked for a working week of 44 hours without a reduction of pay for time work, and a 20 per cent increase for piece work. A succession of conferences took place in February and March, and at one stage members were warned to prepare for a strike. Finally an agreement was arrived at, and the influence of the general triple alliance activity doubtless had an important bearing on the result. The claims were substantially conceded, and for some dock workers this meant a reduction of more than twelve hours a week.

#### THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

The events which have been recorded sufficiently explain the apprehension which moved the Prime Minister to convene a great national industrial conference to consider what might be done to allay unrest, and to secure harmoniously the improved conditions of life which were generally admitted to be necessary to restore industrial and economic stability in the country.

This conference was held on February 27th, in the Central Hall, Westminster, and it was attended by 800 delegates, 500 of whom represented labour organisations or representatives of the workers on Whitley Councils and trade boards. Sir Robert Horne (Minister of Labour) presided, and the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) and other members of the Government attended.

After listening to fervent appeals by

Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Robert Horne, and discussing freely the general situation, the conference accepted the following resolution:—

“That this conference, being of opinion that any preventable dislocation of industry is always to be deplored, and in the present critical period of reconstruction might be disastrous to the interests of the nation, and thinking that every effort should be made to remove legitimate grievances and promote harmony and goodwill, resolves to appoint a joint committee, consisting of equal numbers of employers and workers, men and women, together with a chairman to be appointed by the Government, to consider and report to a further meeting of this conference on the causes of the present unrest, and the steps necessary to safeguard and promote the best interests of the workpeople, employers, and the State, and especially to consider

1. Hours, wages, and general conditions of employment.
2. Unemployment and its prevention.
3. The best method of promoting co-operation between capital and labour.”

Representatives of the miners, transport workers, and engineers intimated that as they had no mandate from their members they were unable to take part in the formation of the committee.

Apart from these societies a thoroughly representative committee, consisting of 30 nominees of the workers and 30 employers, was formed. The workers' section included Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. Stuart-Bunning, and other well-known leaders. Sir Thomas Munro was appointed chairman by the Government. Sir Allan Smith was chairman of the employers' section, and Mr. Henderson of the workers' section, while Mr. G. D. H. Cole acted as the workers' secretary.

The general anxiety which existed is reflected in the speed with which the report was prepared. It was issued on March 26th, and contained recommendations which were especially notable in that they were agreed to without qualification by the employers' section. They were devised chiefly with the

object of enabling weakly-organised classes of workers to secure some measure of social justice. The following were the principal proposals:—

1. Legal enactment to secure a 48-hour week, with certain exceptions to meet special circumstances.

2. Discouragement of systematic overtime.

3. The legal establishment of minimum time rates of wages to be of universal applicability. A Commission to be appointed to report within three months as to what the rates should be and by what methods they should be brought into operation. An extension of trade boards to be made where necessary.

4. The continuance of war wages until November 21st, 1919, and an inquiry in the interval into the whole question of the relationship between war wages and permanent wages.

5. Full recognition of both trade unions and employers' organisations for the purpose of negotiations on wages and conditions.

6. Unemployment.—Thorough investigation recommended. Organised short time, limitation of overtime, and the stabilisation of employment suggested as preventive means. The provision of more adequate unemployment allowance advocated.

7. The appointment of a permanent National Industrial Council, with the Minister of Labour as president, to consist of about 400 members, “fully representative of and duly accredited by the employers' organisations and the trade unions, to be elected as to one half by the employers' organisations and as to one half by the trade unions.” The appointment of a standing committee of the council, composed of 25 representatives of the employers and 25 of the workers, was also suggested.

A separate memorandum, signed on behalf of the workers' section by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Cole, included a comprehensive statement on the causes of unrest, advocated public ownership of vital industries and services, urged the necessity of a full investigation into profiteering, suggested a 44-hour week, and generally pointed out the need for a thorough reconstruction of industry on a democratic basis, in a manner

which would give by evolutionary methods an opportunity to the workers to acquire an increasing measure of control over their industrial conditions.

Another national conference was convened to receive the report on April 4th, when the workers' representatives decided that if the Government would undertake to adopt the report and give effect to the recommendations they would advise the constituent unions also to accept them. The Minister of Labour, who was present, was obviously anxious for adoption by the unions without delay, but the Prime Minister, who was in Paris, had only committed himself in a letter on the subject to "immediate and sympathetic consideration" of the report. The workers' representatives maintained their demand for something more substantial.

From this time onward matters drifted. The general industrial situation had improved, and to this fact the reluctance of the Government to arrive at a definite decision was generally attributed. Sir Robert Horne had drafted Bills to give effect to the recommendations on hours and wages, but they differed in certain particulars from the suggestions in the report. Various criticisms were offered, and it was not until June 16th that an agreement was arrived at between the Minister of Labour and the joint committee. Even so, the Bills were not presented to the House of Commons until the eve of the summer recess, and consideration by Parliament was deferred until the autumn.

Agricultural workers were excluded from the scope of the 48-hour Bill, and the trade union side of the joint committee insisted that this should be withdrawn before they agreed to the establishment of a permanent Industrial Council. They argued that all workers should come under the Bill, leaving it to a tribunal, subsequently, to hear claims from employers for exemption. The Government declined to modify its attitude, and the trade union representatives next endeavoured, in November, to secure an agreement between the agricultural workers and the farmers.

The Wages Bill provided for the appointment of a Commission, repre-

senting the Government, the employers, and the workers, to report as to the minimum wages which should be fixed for the various industries.

#### MISCELLANEOUS DISPUTES.

The number of miscellaneous industrial disputes during the year was very large. The majority had little more than a local interest, but the following had a wider importance:—

#### BAKERS AND NIGHT WORK.

In the early part of the year the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers, Confectioners, and Allied Workers started an agitation to maintain the abolition of night baking which had been brought about during the war. On the other hand, the master bakers insisted on restoring the practice on the ground that the public would not be content without new bread.

The Government intervened when the men threatened a strike, and appointed a Commission of inquiry. The report, issued in July, expressed the opinion that, "with certain limitations necessary to meet the needs of the community and the reasonable interests of the employers, the prohibition of night work should be made general and permanent." It was suggested that this should be done by Act of Parliament, that the abolition should become generally operative within two years of the passing of the Act, and that in the meantime night work should be discontinued wherever possible by mutual arrangement between employers and employed.

The issue of the report was followed by a strike in London and some other centres, but owing to the comparatively weak state of organisation the public was not seriously affected, as non-union men and the proprietors of small bakeries maintained a good supply of bread. The question of wages and hours had also been raised, and after a conference at the Ministry of Labour a settlement was arrived at, and the strike ended on August 11th on the understanding that a Bill to restrict night work would be introduced immediately, and that the question of wages should be referred to arbitration. A number of co-operative societies and

some other firms entered into agreements with the union, conceding the demands for a £4 minimum wage, a 44-hour week, and the cessation of night work.

The arbitration award was issued on August 25th. It pointed out that conditions varied in different districts owing to varying circumstances. An advance of 5s. a week was given to adults, 2s. 6d. to juveniles over 18, 1s. 3d. to juveniles under 18, and 1s. 3d. to women. A 48-hour week was established, with provision for overtime pay. As a result of these concessions the maximum price of bread was increased by a halfpenny per loaf.

#### CO-OPERATIVE WORKERS.

A big-scale strike which would have had serious effects on the co-operative movement in the North of England was narrowly averted in August. The Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees asked for a 44-hour week and a new wages scale with a minimum of £4. A 48-hour week and a minimum of 75s. a week for managers was offered by the societies. After negotiations which extended over two or three months 6,000 notices were handed in by the union on August 16th to societies in the Airedale district of Yorkshire and the Bolton district of Lancashire. On the same day representatives of societies in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and North Wales gave lock-out notices to 30,000 employees. Some of the societies offered facilities for members to purchase double supplies of provisions, and the employees in some towns replied to this by an immediate stoppage.

Strenuous efforts were made to restore peace, and a settlement was reached at 10-30 on Sunday morning, August 24th, after a phenomenal conference had lasted from 10 o'clock on the Saturday morning.

#### COTTON TRADE STRIKE.

A serious dispute in the cotton trade occurred in the summer. Earlier in the year the spinners, weavers, and cardroom workers asked for a 44-hour week, without reduction of earnings. They were offered a 48-hour week and a 15 per cent increase on price lists, but this, they contended, would have meant an actual decrease of 17 per

cent in wages. The representatives of the operatives next suggested a compromise of a 46½-hour week and a 39 per cent increase in price lists, which, they held, would enable the same wages to be earned in the shorter time (the week then being 55½ hours). This was refused by the employers, and strike notices were tendered, to expire in the middle of June. The Minister of Labour invited all the affected parties to meet in London, but the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation declined to participate. They were willing to meet the representatives of the operatives in Manchester, and renewed and counter offers were made in vain in the subsequent negotiations.

The strike began on June 23rd, and it affected 300,000 workers directly and 200,000 indirectly. Once hostilities were opened the employers showed anxiety to settle, in view of the prospective trade boom, and on the first day of the stoppage a hurriedly-arranged conference found a basis of settlement in a proposal for a 48-hour week, with a 30 per cent increase in price lists. It was provided that the agreement should last eighteen months.

The negotiations had been conducted on the operatives' side by the legislative council of the United Textile Workers' Association, a body which had been formed with the object of securing greater unity among the many trade union organisations of the cotton workers. The fair prospect of advance towards greater unity was marred by the action of the executive of the Spinners' Amalgamation, which declined to accept the settlement, and by unfortunate recriminations between certain of the officials of different unions which followed. The legislative council was kept together, however, and further efforts were made to end the strike, which had continued. When the stoppage had lasted a fortnight a settlement was reached. The employers declined to modify the hours or wages agreement previously arrived at, but they concurred in reducing the period of the agreement from eighteen to nine months.

#### IRONFOUNDERS' STRIKE.

A strike of ironfounders and core-makers, involving directly 50,000 men,

was inaugurated on September 20th by the Ironfounders' Society, the Amalgamated Society of Coremakers, and the Society of Metal Dressers. It was alleged that in authorising the strike these societies were breaking an agreement which they had entered into in conjunction with many other unions connected with the engineering industry. On the other hand, the union officials held that they had given adequate notice of withdrawal from the agreement. The strike was regarded with great apprehension by other engineering workers, as they are dependent on the ironfounders and coremakers for the mouldings and castings on which they work.

A national programme which led to the strike was presented by the engineering unions in May, and it asked for an increase of 15s. a week for adult workers and 7s. 6d. for apprentices. It was referred under the agreement to the Court of Arbitration, which disallowed the claim. The ironfounders, coremakers, and metal dressers renewed their demand, withdrew from the agreement, and called a strike. Mr. A. Henderson took a prominent part in the negotiations, but his efforts to prevent the strike were fruitless. The employers took up the rigid attitude that they could not consider the application in view of the pending reconsideration by the Court of Arbitration (to take place in October) of the wages and conditions in the whole of the engineering industry—the desire being to obtain co-ordinated and standardised conditions as far as possible.

The decision to enforce the demands was taken by a ballot vote of 17,284 against 2,161, and strike notices were tendered in accordance with this ballot after the Minister of Labour had failed to effect a settlement by bringing the parties together in joint conference. At the end of three weeks a conference was arranged between the unions and the Engineering Employers' Federation, and on October 11th the strike was settled, the men agreeing to defer their claim for special treatment until after the general demands of the engineering workers had been dealt with by the Court of Arbitration.

This settlement was rejected, first by a delegate meeting and afterwards by an overwhelming vote in a ballot of the members. Fresh efforts were then made to find a basis of settlement, in view of the growing seriousness of the effect of the strike on the engineering industry.

#### RAILWAY CLERKS.

Following upon the victory in the campaign for recognition (which is referred to earlier in this record) the Railway Clerks' Association presented to the Railway Executive Committee a comprehensive programme of general reforms. As usual, the negotiations were so protracted that members of the union became irritated and impatient, and at last a national conference was convened to consider the question of striking. Under this stimulus the authorities hastened their procedure, and on August 22nd a revised offer was made, which the executive of the Association was able to recommend for acceptance.

This offer included a new salary scale which showed an immense improvement over the pre-war conditions, and also over the first offer made by the Railway Executive Committee. Beginning at £80 a year at 18 years of age—an amount which many railway clerks did not exceed at all in past years—it advanced to £200 at the age of 31, as compared with a maximum of £150 first offered by the Railway Executive Committee. Higher scales for senior clerks ranged from £210 to £350, and a further classification was to be arranged for posts carrying salaries above £350.

Conditions were included to relieve men from the burden of continuous night work, and a higher scale for the Metropolitan area was arranged for.

The National Union of Railwaymen, which includes members of the clerical and supervisory staffs, also accepted the settlement. The advance was in every way a triumph for the Clerks' Association, which made discouragingly slow progress in its early years owing to the opposition of the railway authorities.

#### MINOR RAILWAY STRIKES.

Several local railway strikes and threats of strikes which occurred



indicated the prevalence of widespread unrest.

In July it was reported that the Caledonian Company had not fully put into operation the 48-hour week, and an ultimatum was sent by the executive of the N. U. R. threatening an immediate strike.

A dispute also arose in connection with certain matters on the Great Northern Company, and the N. U. R. committee complained that its letters were ignored by the general manager. A like ultimatum was sent, and in both cases the effect was swift and decisive, the demands of the union being acceded to.

At the same time about 1,000 men of the North-Eastern Company's staff came out on strike as a protest against a new eyesight test which the company proposed to introduce. The immediate occasion of the strike was the suspension of two or three men who had refused to undergo the test. The stoppage was condemned by the executive of the N. U. R., which was promptly repudiated by the strike committee. The union officials instituted negotiations, however, and as a result Sir Auckland Geddes (President of the Board of Trade) undertook to introduce a uniform national eyesight test within a month. The railway company agreed to postpone their test, and to reinstate the suspended men. The strike committee objected to the settlement, but it was accepted by a mass meeting of the men.

Other small strikes of railway workers occurred in association with the police strike, and there were several unauthorised stoppages on the London tubes during the year, but these disputes were quickly settled.

#### ENGINEERS AND SHIPBUILDERS.

The collapse of the Clyde strike did not kill the agitation for a shorter working week than 47 hours in the engineering and shipbuilding trades, and early in the summer a demand for a 44-hour week was presented to the employers. The result of negotiations was a mutual decision on August 28th to postpone the demand until an inquiry into the economic conditions of the industry had been carried out by a joint committee of employers and

employed. In September the question of renewing an application for an increase of 15s. a week was raised. Earlier in the year the Court of Arbitration had dealt with a demand for this increase, and with a counter application from the employers for a 5 per cent reduction, and the court had disallowed both applications.

On September 19th the Minister of Labour received a deputation from the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and National Federation of General Workers to discuss the question of peace wages, and it was suggested that in view of the termination of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act on November 21st, the whole question of future wages in the engineering industry should be considered as early as possible. The Minister undertook to communicate with the employers' organisations on the subject.

#### AGRICULTURAL WORKERS.

Since the beginning of the war, partly owing to the increased profits of the farmers, partly to the extraordinary rate of conversion to trade unionism among the labourers, and partly to the establishment of the Agricultural Wages Boards, the agricultural workers of Great Britain have had their economic conditions transformed. The Agricultural Labourers' Union has increased its membership from an almost insignificant number before the war to over 100,000, while the general workers' unions have recruited thousands of members in the rural districts.

Although the minimum wage fixed by the Corn Production Act was 25s., and the Government refused to consider 30s., the latter amount was soon reached and exceeded in many districts owing to the newly-acquired bargaining power of the unions. In April, 1919, following upon a national agitation, the Wages Board agreed upon a new schedule of minimum wages, which provided for the following increases:—

Age 18 and under 19.....	3/-	per week.
„ 19 „ „ 20.....	4/-	„
„ 20 „ „ 21.....	5/-	„
„ 21 and over.....	6/6	„

The hours were reduced to 54 in summer and 48 in winter, with provision for the payment of overtime at the rate of time-and-a-quarter on week-days and time-and-a-half on Sundays.

The new rates came into operation by order on May 19th, and according to an official document showing the effect, the new minimum rates ranged from 33s. at the age of 18 in some districts to as high as 49s. 6d. for the more skilled workers in certain counties. When this is compared with the previous 14s. or 15s. a week in many parts of England the striking improvement achieved is apparent. At the same time the rural workers contend that they are entitled to still better conditions.

#### THE POLICE FORCE AND TRADE UNIONISM.

One of the issues of the Metropolitan police strike in 1918 was the recognition by the Government of the Union of Police and Prison Officers. A settlement was effected by Mr. Lloyd George, and General Sir Nevil Macready was appointed to the office of the Chief Commissioner, who had resigned in connection with the dispute. The attitude of the Government towards the union was rather vaguely defined by the Prime Minister. It was assumed by the authorities that although a police officer was not forbidden to join the union, that body was not recognised for negotiation purposes. On the other hand, members of the union believed they had won recognition.

By the settlement representative boards were to be set up, and it was soon seen that these boards were virtually controlled by the union. The system quickly broke down. The first boards were dissolved by Sir Nevil Macready, and the union boycotted the election of new boards.

At the beginning of March, 1919, a committee was appointed, with Lord Desborough as chairman, and with two Labour members of Parliament (Messrs. J. O'Grady and J. Sexton) upon it, to inquire into the whole conditions of the police service.

Meanwhile discontent was manifested in the force, and in the activities of the union the questions of discipline

and the right to strike became involved. In May a strike ballot was taken, and a Hyde Park demonstration was arranged for. Three days before the demonstration the Government anticipated it, and also the Desborough Committee's report, by an announcement that the future pay of constables would not be less than £3. 10s. per week, as compared with the existing wage of £2. 3s. At the same time it was made clear by the Home Secretary (Mr. Shortt) that the Government refused absolutely to deal with the union, and that any member of the force who struck would be dismissed the service.

At the Hyde Park meeting on June 2nd it was stated that the ballot showed a strike majority of 44,539 against 4,324, but in spite of this it was announced that a threatened strike was postponed indefinitely. Clearly its success was doubted.

In July the Government definitely declared war on the Police Union. A Bill was introduced to establish a new police organisation under official auspices, and it was decreed that no member of the force would be allowed to belong to the union after the new statutory body was set up. On July 16th the report of Lord Desborough's Committee was published. It recommended a scale of wages for constables rising from 70s. to 90s., while the pay of sergeants was to be £5, rising to £5. 12s. 6d.

The effect of the Government measures and of the improved economic conditions was seen on July 31st, when the officials of the union called a lightning strike, which had all the appearance of a gamble. Out of 20,000 men in the Metropolitan force only about 1,000 responded, and in the provinces the strike was equally a failure. Liverpool only was seriously affected, and in that city rioting and looting took place for some days.

The Government acted swiftly and sternly. It was immediately declared that all the strikers were dismissed, and this attitude was resolutely maintained, although later the Chief Commissioner assisted some of the men to enlist in the military police.

The officials of the unions continued to agitate for some time, but large

numbers of members in various cities seceded from the organisation.

#### TRAMWAY WORKERS' WAGES.

In the middle of the summer the Transport Workers' Federation submitted on behalf of the tramway employees of the country a national demand for an increase of 12s. a week, the merging of war bonuses into permanent wages, and the reduction of the qualifying period for payment of the maximum from seven years to six months.

The demands were resisted by the Tramways and Light Railways Association and the Municipal Tramways Association, representing virtually all the important privately and publicly-owned systems. The men's representatives suggested arbitration. This was accepted by the employers after the intervention of the Minister of Labour, and the arbitration inquiry was opened on September 23rd in London, with subsequent hearings in Bristol, Glasgow, and Manchester.

In the first week of October an award of an increase of 14s. a week was made.

### General Developments.

#### WAR WAGES IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

In November, 1918, the Government obtained a measure, known as the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, which provided that the minimum wages in operation at the time of the armistice (including war bonuses) should be maintained for a period of six months, except in so far as they might be varied by arbitration or agreement. An arbitration court was set up to which the Minister of Labour might refer disputes.

Later the Act was extended until November 21st, 1919. It was believed that it would be dropped at this date, leaving employers and workers to settle for themselves what future peacetime wages should be, but after the railway settlement in October, by which the Government guaranteed the stabilisation of war wages until September 30th, 1920, a demand was made by other unions for the renewal of the Act until November 21st, 1920.

### WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT.

#### THE QUESTION OF EQUAL PAY.

According to a White Paper issued in March, 1919, the increase in women workers during the war amounted to no fewer than 1,532,000, and of this number it was computed that 1,516,000 had directly replaced men and boys. This total was made up principally of 531,000 in general industries, 187,000 in Government establishments, 40,000 in agriculture, 79,500 in transport, 17,000 in tramways, 411,500 in finance, banking, and commerce, and 64,000 in the post office.

During the year 1919 the tide set steadily in the opposite direction, and in September it was estimated that over 100,000 women who desired to continue work were unemployed.

#### THE EQUAL PAY QUESTION.

The strike of omnibus women workers in London in 1918 raised in an acute form the question of equal pay for equal work. In this case the women won the equal advance with the men which they claimed, because there could be no question that the work of a 'bus conductor is the same, whether it is done by a man or a woman, but in general industry the matter is more complicated. Consequently, after the 'bus strike the War Cabinet appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Justice Atkin, to report on the question.

This report was issued in May, 1919 (*Women in Industry*, Cd. 135, Is. 6d.), and it contained a comprehensive survey of the question of the relationship of women's labour to men's.

The principal recommendations may be summarised as follows:—

That women doing similar or the same work as men should receive equal pay for equal work in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output. This covers the principle that on systems of payment by results equal payment should be made to women as to men for an equal amount of work done.

That the relative value of the work should be agreed upon by employers and trade unions.

That where a job is sub-divided in order to provide for the employment

of women the total labour cost to the employer shall not be lessened, and the workers on the job shall be paid in proportion to their respective labour contributions.

That when an employer contends that a woman's work produces less than a man's the burden of proof should rest on the employer.

That the employment of women in clerical and commercial occupations requires regulation in accordance with the principle of equal pay for equal work.

That the principle should be adopted in the manipulative branches of the Civil Service and in the post office.

That the Government should set an example by applying the principle to their own industrial establishments.

Mrs. Sidney Webb signed a minority report of eighty pages. She considered that the phrase "equal pay for equal work" was ambiguous and easily avoided, and she advocated a legal establishment of a national minimum, irrespective of sex.

The Government displayed no anxiety to take action on the report.

#### TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS.

The 1919 Trade Unions Congress, which was held at Glasgow on September 8th and five following days, was of exceptional interest, not only because of the phenomenal growth of the representation (850 delegates, representing 5,265,000 members of affiliated societies, attended), but because of the predominance of the "direct action" question. The discussions on this question are dealt with in the special article on the subject. The chairman was Mr. Stuart-Bunning.

The resolution on nationalisation of coal mines (see section on the Miners' Federation movement) was of far-reaching effect, because it has probably initiated a new era in trade union activity, in which the whole trade union movement will act together more solidly and unitedly than it has done in the past. The same principle, involving the calling of special congresses to discuss specific issues, found expression in a resolution demanding the immediate abolition of conscription and the withdrawal of troops from Russia, failing which a special congress

should be called to consider what action might be taken.

Other resolutions instructed the Parliamentary Committee to prepare a scheme for the joint control of industry by the workers, and also to devise a scheme for a "Parliament of Labour," which would endeavour to co-ordinate trade union demands and prevent overlapping.

#### LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

The Labour Party Conference, which opened at Southport on June 25th, was presided over by Mr. J. Mc.Gurk, and nearly 1,000 delegates represented over three million members.

A "direct action" discussion is mentioned in the special article on that subject.

A resolution was passed in support of the miners' demand for nationalisation, and advocating joint action between the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress, the Executive of the Labour Party, and the Miners' Federation. This was subsequently given effect to in organising a great national propaganda campaign.

A resolution on peace, moved by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, seconded by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., and carried with only one dissident, demanded the speedy admission of Germany to the League of Nations, and an immediate revision of the Peace Treaty by the League.

#### INDUSTRIAL UNITY.

In the years immediately preceding the war the movement for fusion of trade unions having interests in common was slowly making headway, and the amalgamation of four railway unions into the N.U.R. was the principal outcome. The movement was in abeyance during the war, but it revived vigorously after the armistice, and during 1919 a number of important schemes were formulated.

In September, following a ballot of the unions concerned, a new Postal Workers' Union was formed by the amalgamation of the Postmen's Federation, the Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association, and the Fawcett Association.

An amalgamation committee was

formed by the Shop Assistants' Union, the Warehouse Workers' Union, and the Co-operative Employees' Union, and preparations were made for a ballot to be taken. It was expected that fusion would be possible by Christmas.

One of the most important schemes projected was that for the fusion of the A.S.E. and fourteen other unions in the engineering industry, to be known as the Amalgamated Engineering Union. As was expected, a ballot was favourable, and a committee was appointed to make the arrangements, which included the complicated task of fixing upon uniform contributions and benefits.

A similar movement was started with the object of bringing into one great organisation a number of the unions catering for general workers which have been loosely connected in a federation. This union, if formed, would have a million members.

Preliminary proposals for various other amalgamations have also been discussed, and the indications are that the movements for strengthening the industrial forces of labour will grow with increasing speed in the near future.

#### DIRECT ACTION.

The question of "direct action" (that is, the use of the industrial strike weapon to achieve political ends) aroused great interest and controversy in political and labour circles for some months in 1919. It arose primarily over the questions of conscription and military intervention in Russia. At one of the miners' conferences during the coal crisis in the spring a resolution on the subject was passed, and on April 3rd the matter was raised by Mr. Smillie at a labour conference in London, called by the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress to press for the amendment of the draft covenant of the League of Nations. On the suggestion of the chairman, Mr. Stuart-Binning, a portion of the proposed resolution dealing with the use of the industrial weapon, and asking for a special conference to consider the matter, was omitted on the ground that a decision on that question was one for trade

unionists alone. On Mr. Smillie's motion, therefore, the conference passed a resolution calling upon the Government to withdraw from Russia, to withdraw the Military Service Bill then before Parliament, and to release conscientious objectors. Mr. Smillie freely advocated the use of the industrial weapon if Parliamentary action failed.

Following upon this a meeting of the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Committee was held to consider the question of calling a special conference to deal with the matter, but the two bodies could not agree. A few days later a meeting of the executive of the triple alliance affirmed the policy of calling a special conference, and on May 15th the sub-committee of the alliance met the Parliamentary Committee to discuss this resolution. It was then agreed that no action should be taken until the Parliamentary Committee had discussed the matter with the Government. An interview took place with Mr. Bonar Law on May 22nd, and the Parliamentary Committee considered his reply sufficiently satisfactory to make a special conference unnecessary. The triple alliance executive disagreed, and carried the matter to the Labour Party Conference at Southport in June. A resolution was carried by 1,893,000 votes to 935,000 instructing the National Executive to consult with the Parliamentary Committee with a view to effective action being taken to enforce the demands "by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power."

A decision was also arrived at by the Labour Party Executive and approved by the Southport conference to organise demonstrations on July 20th and 21st to demand withdrawal from Russia. This was in response to an invitation from foreign Socialists to organise a general demonstration strike of 24 hours. The demonstrations were held, but in France and Italy, whence the strike demand emanated, the affair was something of a fiasco, and in Great Britain no stoppage of work was attempted.

Meanwhile it was clear that the trade union movement was seriously divided on the direct action question. At the annual conference of the Transport

Workers' Federation at Swansea in July the refusal of the Parliamentary Committee to call a conference was condemned, but at the same time a resolution was passed forbidding the delegates of the federation to the next triple alliance meeting to commit the federation to a strike on the political issue until a ballot of the affiliated unions had been taken. Prominent leaders like Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Clynes were writing and speaking against the policy of direct action.

A triple alliance delegate conference was next held in London on July 23rd, and a resolution was passed recommending the affiliated unions to take a ballot to ascertain if the members were willing to take industrial action to enforce demands for

The abolition of conscription.

The discontinuance of military intervention in Russia.

No military intervention in trade disputes at home.

Previous demands had included the raising of the blockade and the release of conscientious objectors, but these demands had now become unnecessary. A significant development occurred on August 12th, when a meeting of the triple alliance executive decided to postpone the ballot, which was then in progress, and to call another delegate conference to consider the "changed circumstances" since the previous conference. The second conference was held on September 4th, and it endorsed the action of the executive. The discussion revealed wide differences of opinion, and there was a strong feeling that the whole question should be left for the decision of the Trade Unions Congress in Glasgow the following week.

It was generally believed that the congress would "turn down" the direct action proposals emphatically, and therefore the outcome of the discussions was something of a surprise. In the first place, the chairman, Mr. Stuart-Bunning, subjected the policy to unqualified criticism, on the ground that constitutional action afforded full facilities for the achievement of any political objects through the ballot box, and that industrial action for political ends could only cause misery and chaos.

Next a vote of censure on the Parliamentary Committee for refusing to call a special conference was passed by 2,586,000 votes to 1,876,000, the general feeling being that an opportunity should have been given for the delegates of the unions to discuss the matter. The debate on the policy itself took place on September 11th, and aroused tremendous public interest. The resolution read: "That this congress declares against the principle of industrial action in purely political matters." Mr. Tom Shaw and Mr. J. H. Thomas strongly supported it, although they realised that difficult questions might arise on the border line between political and industrial issues. Mr. Frank Hodges, the miners' secretary, appealed to the conference not to tie its hands, but to reserve its right to judge upon each issue as it arose purely on its merits. It was obvious that each side doubted how the vote would go, and when a "previous question" motion was submitted with the object of preventing a definite decision being taken there was much cross voting. This motion was carried by 2,225,000 votes to 2,086,000, and no vote on the direct action resolution was therefore possible.

Subsequently the withdrawal of the troops from Russia, and the general belief in political circles that no further attempt would be made to continue compulsory military service, caused the original direct action issues to fade into the background, and the probability appeared to be that if the question was raised again in a serious form it would be in connection with controversy on the nationalisation of the mines.

#### TRADE BOARDS.

An Act of Parliament passed in the 1918 session greatly extended the powers of the Minister of Labour in respect to the formation of trade boards. The object was to improve conditions among the poorer workers, and to foster their organisation so that the industries might in time reach Whitley Council status. Before the war, trade boards existed for the following: Ready-made tailoring, chain making, machine-made lace and net finishing, sugar confectionery and food preserving, shirt making, hollow-

ware manufacture, linen and cotton embroidery.

After the armistice, boards were constituted for brush and broom manufacture, corset making, tobacco trade, laundries, boot and shoe repairing, and paper bag making, while proposals were made for the hair, bass, and fibre trade, the rope, twine, and net trade, aerated water manufacture, some of the smaller metal trades, the toy trade, the rag and bone trade, &c.

The work of all these new boards is likely to raise substantially the economic position of the submerged and partially-submerged workers, and already several promising awards have been made.

#### WHITLEY COUNCILS.

Steady progress was made in 1919 in the formation of Whitley Councils, but the most powerful unions, such as the miners, railwaymen, and engineers, held aloof from the scheme. Some of the councils seemed to be indisposed to proceed to the appointment of district and shop committees, and the Minister of Labour found it necessary to remind these bodies of the importance of such committees under the scheme.

At the end of 1918 nineteen councils had been formed. During 1919 this number grew until it exceeded fifty, representing industries in which close upon three million persons are employed. The list of councils includes the following: Pottery, building, rubber, gold and silver, match making, silk, furniture, heavy chemicals, bread baking, paint manufacture, vehicle building, china clay, hosiery, metallic bedsteads, bobbin and shuttle, leather goods, wool and allied textile, wall-paper, tin mining, packing-case making, elastic webbing, Welsh plate and tin, road transport, asbestos, coir mat and matting, waterworks, local authorities' non-trading services, gas undertakings, electricity supply, heating and domestic engineering, spelter, flour milling, boot and shoe, iron and steel wire, music trades, printing, needles, the Civil Service, quarrying, cable making, cement, and the tramway industries.

Some of the councils have achieved solid results by settling disputes, agreeing upon revised wages and hours, and establishing conciliation machinery.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CHARTER.\*

An important outcome of the peace negotiations was the formulation of a scheme to secure industrial progress throughout the world by the establishment of an International Labour Bureau in connection with the League of Nations, and the arrangement of annual international labour conventions. The primary object is to level up conditions, and so approach as nearly as possible to equality of trade conditions.

It was decided that the opening convention should be held in Washington in October, 1919, but the delay in the ratification of the Peace Treaty by the United States interfered somewhat with the arrangements, and led to difficulties over invitations to the Central Powers to be represented.

The agenda included the following subjects: Application of principle of 8-hour day or 48-hour week. Question of preventing or providing against unemployment. Women's employment: (a) before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit; (b) during the night; (c) in unhealthy processes. Employment of children: (a) minimum age of employment; (b) during the night; (c) in unhealthy processes.

The extension and application of the Berne Convention of 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry, and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the match trade, were also down for consideration.

The agenda was very moderate judged by British standards, but its adoption would mean an immense advance in oriental and other backward countries. The convention has no power to enforce its decisions, but its recommendations will carry weight with the Governments represented, and will assist the organised labour movement in pressing for reforms. The convention was attended by representatives chosen by the trade unions of the various countries as well as by Government delegates.

\* See also the article by G. N. Barnes, M.P., at page 17 of this volume.

## THE SPANISH LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

ON October 14th a Royal Decree was signed introducing certain amendments into the organisation of the Institute of Social Reforms, which is in effect the official Spanish Labour Department. The *Instituto de Reformas Sociales* has been in existence for over sixteen years, its first establishment being authorised by a Royal Decree of April 23rd, 1903.

The Institute (according to the *Labour Gazette*) is entrusted with the study, initiation, and administration of all legal measures concerning labour, and is the advisory body of the Government in all matters relating to such legislation and to action in regard to social and economic problems. In pursuance of this object it is required "to study and investigate labour customs in Spain and foreign countries, both as factors of production and in their relation to capital, by compiling the necessary statistics, preparing technical and practical details preliminary to social and labour legislation." The Department has also to draft Bills and other legislative measures, either at the request of the Government or on its own initiative, to supervise the administration of existing laws by means of inspection and co-operation with the authorities, to promote by every possible means a general knowledge and correct understanding among the people of existing social enactments, to study the effects of their application with a view to amendment in the light of experience, to compile the statistics necessary for its work, and to discharge whatever functions existing or future laws may entrust to it.

The Institute is subordinate to the Ministry of Home Affairs, but at the same time acts as a permanent advisory body to other Ministries.

Gives . . .  
*Better Baking Results  
 than Cream of Tartar.*



**ONCE USED,  
 ALWAYS USED.**

**NOTE THE FOLLOWING  
 ADVANTAGES:—**

Gradual Aeration, giving excellent texture.  
 Builds up and holds up the Baked Goods.  
 Goods retain their Moisture.  
 Absolutely Pure and Wholesome.

*Write for large Baking Sample. Agents Wanted.*

**PERRY & HOPE LIMITED,**  
 NITSHILL, near GLASGOW.

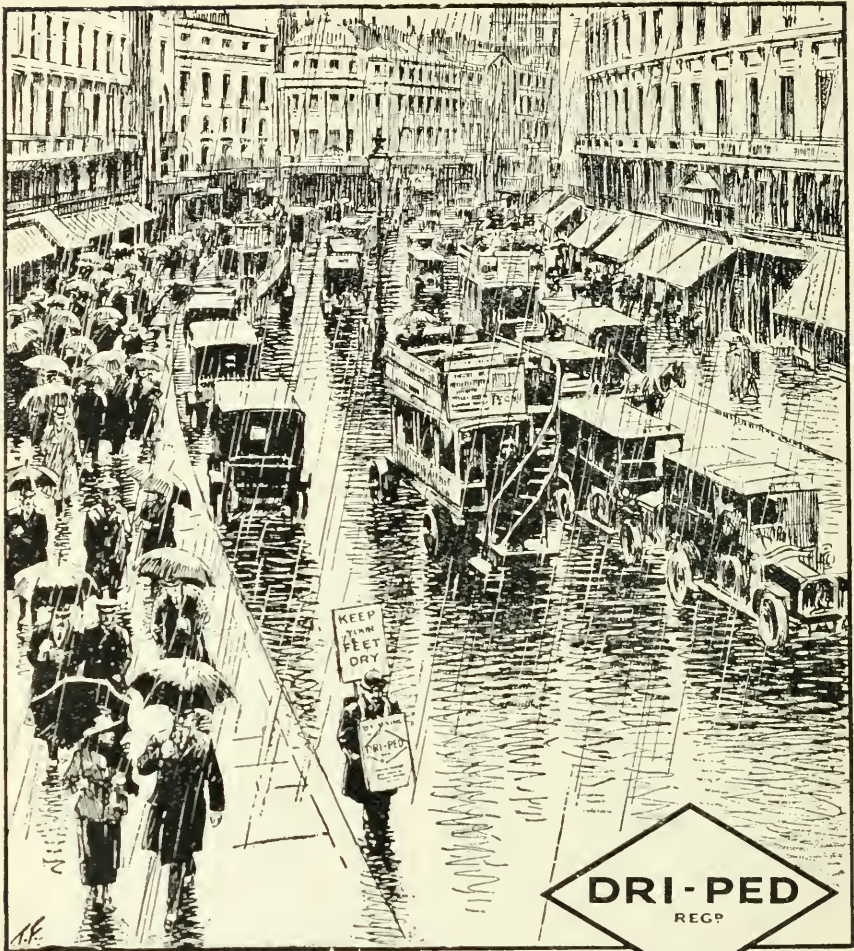
Telephones:  
 Nitshill, 14, Pollokshaws (2 lines).  
 London, 5661 Avenue (3 lines).

Telegrams:  
 "Perryope Nitshill."  
 "Perryope Ltd., London."

**LONDON OFFICE: 1, LEADENHALL STREET, E.C.3.**

**SNOCREME**





## Dri-ped Leather's Services.

*The West End.*

The West End is not the West End of 1913. It is more serious, more in earnest. Its populace has a greater desire for efficiency and economy, engendered by five years of difficulties—and carrying-on under difficulties means keeping good health and reducing expenditure. That is why Dri-ped, the Super Leather for Soles, has become a leading factor in our national economies.

Sole Proprietors, DRI-PED LTD., BOLTON, LANCS.  
(Late Proprietors, WM. WALKER & SON LTD.)

Dri-ped Sole Leather is waterproof, double-wearing, light and flexible.

**READILY OBTAINABLE.**—Owing to the cessation of Army requirements, Dri-ped Leather can now be readily obtained. Do not be put off.

**ITS ECONOMY** is greatly accentuated by the high prices of ordinary leather and footwear. Dri-ped Leather saves re-soleing charges and new hoot bills.

**CAUTION.**—Insist on Dri-ped Leather soles, but see that the Purple Diamond Trade Mark is stamped every few inches on each sole. Without it the leather is a substitute.

## LABOUR ABROAD.

### INDUSTRIAL UNREST AND STRIKES.

IT was only to be expected that after the convulsions of the war labour unrest and upheavals would be experienced in all industrial countries. The high cost of living and the shortage of essential commodities caused disputes and strikes almost everywhere, and in countries where political and industrial motives became mixed, chiefly on the continent, efforts were made to organise general strikes on a scale which purely industrial and economic causes would not have warranted.

The most significant event was the development of unrest, leading finally to a great struggle between capital and labour, in America. In the late spring the life of Winnipeg and other Canadian cities was partially paralysed by a general strike movement which lasted several weeks. Although it developed from an ordinary dispute in the metal industries, it was essentially a bid for supremacy by the advocates of the "one big union" idea. After various vicissitudes the strikes collapsed when strong action was taken by the authorities, and strike leaders were arrested.

In the United States many strikes occurred in miscellaneous industries during the summer, chiefly on wages and hours questions. Then sporadic railway and dock trouble developed, and the demand for nationalisation and joint control of the railways and mines developed. An alliance between the miners' and railroadmen's unions followed, and it was announced that this movement would be extended.

In September a great strike of steelworkers began, partly owing to an economic demand and partly owing to the refusal of the heads of the Steel Trust to recognise the unions. In customary American fashion severely repressive measures, including the use of troops, were adopted to break the strike, but it persisted for many weeks.

An industrial conference, representing the workers, the employers, and the public, was called by President Wilson, but it broke down owing to the opposition of the general body of the employers to recognition of the unions.

Meanwhile the miners' union had tabled a demand for a 60 per cent increase in wages and a 30-hour week, and they threatened to strike on November 1st if the demand was refused. Negotiations proved futile, and at the end of October the strike was declared illegal, war regulations were restored, and preparations were made to use the military. The strike began as planned, and about 400,000 men ceased work, but the leaders were forbidden by an injunction obtained in the courts by the Government to issue any communications whatsoever to the strikers, and the funds of the union were made liable to forfeiture. It was feared that the bitterness aroused by the Government action would intensify the general unrest in the States by giving the impression that the Government had definitely allied itself with the powerful capitalistic interests in a movement to check the progress of labour. At the end of a week an injunction was obtained by the Government in the Federal Court ordering the Union officials to call off the strike. This was obeyed and the negotiations on wages were resumed. The Government action caused great resentment among all workers. A little later severely repressive measures were adopted to stop advanced labour and political propaganda, and thousands of people were arrested.

In France there was sporadic unrest in nearly all industries throughout the year, and frequent strikes took place, but owing to the backward state of trade union organisation no very substantial gains were secured in many cases. Several attempts to organise general strikes failed, and the same thing occurred in Switzerland, Spain, Belgium, and other countries.

In Germany industrial unrest was complicated by the political situation, and the Government did not hesitate to use its military forces to keep aggressive movements in check.

A notable feature of the year's industrial events was the growth of unrest among workers in what have been known as the backward countries—India, Japan, and Egypt, for instance. Demands for lower hours and higher wages have been made, and various disturbances took place during the year when repressive measures were adopted. In India a strong trade union movement was started among the textile operatives, whose conditions and wages are appallingly bad. In Japan, where trade union organisation is forbidden by law, the workers are combining in "fraternal" societies.

#### FOREIGN SOCIALISATION MOVEMENTS.

The conditions created by the war have given an impetus to schemes of nationalisation or socialisation in various countries besides Great Britain, but progress towards the actual establishment of socialised industries is very slow. In Germany, for instance, although the coal mines scheme (which, together with the American "Plumb Plan" of nationalisation, is explained on another page) was propounded at the beginning of the year, nothing was done for many months to give effect to it, and the same may be said of the much wider Socialisation Law, which gave general authority to the German Government to take over and work industries for the benefit of the community. The new Governments of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia conceived ambitious schemes of socialising industry, but it remains to be seen how far these ambitions can be realised. In America, as in Great Britain, the concrete demands for nationalisation are at present limited to railways and mines.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

The international relations between Socialist and Labour parties which had been interrupted by the war were almost fully restored during 1919. The Socialist and Labour International was reconstituted at conferences held in Switzerland, and the Trade Union International was restored on a wider basis at Amsterdam in July. At both conferences delegates from the late enemy countries were present, and it was inevitable that to some extent feeling should be constrained. For the first time the British Trade Union Congress participated actively in the affairs of both internationals.

During the year the Transport Workers' International Federation was reconstituted, and a much closer working arrangement was agreed upon. At an international conference of seamen in London (without late enemy representatives) it was decided to work for a standard international wage of £16 a month. At a meeting in Amsterdam in the late summer, at which German delegates were present, steps were taken to reconstitute the Miners' International Federation.

---

## THE CAPITAL LEVY IN GERMANY.

---

Forced by the stress of events the German Government has adopted the expedient of a capital levy to cope with the terrific burden of the national liabilities. Judging by the Bill brought before the National Assembly in July, 1919, the salient feature is a poll tax, graduated according to a sliding scale, and applicable to all German subjects and foreigners deriving a permanent income within the limits of the German State. The tax embraces property of all kinds, and even pictures and jewellery are not excluded. The levy on individual fortunes ranges from 10 per cent on the small ones up to 65 per cent on those of abnormal dimensions. Thus on fortunes of 100,000 marks the levy works out at 11,000 marks, and on fortunes of 100,000,000 marks the levy amounts to 64,000,000 marks. In calculating property values, debts are deducted, and property up to 5,000 marks is exempt from the levy. The levy is made through the medium of mortgages, against which the mortgagee must deposit securities, Imperial war bonds being acceptable up to the end of 1929, and their interest reckoned in payment.

## WORLD-WIDE LABOUR UNREST, 1919.

### JANUARY.

1. Blackburn tramway workers on strike; members of the Amalgamated Tramway Workers' Union refusing to work with members of the Municipal Employees' Union.
2. National Labour Party Executive Meeting decides to organise the Labour forces in preparation for the next general election.
2. League of Nations Meeting in the Albert Hall, London, under the joint auspices of the Labour Party and Trade Unions Congress.
2. Strike of employees on the L. and Y. electric railway (Liverpool-Southport) for an eight-hours day.
2. M. Clemenceau announces to a deputation of the Confédération Générale du Travail that he is in favour of an eight-hours day and of the creation of a National Economic Council.
- 3-1. Demobilisation trouble at Folkestone and Dover, where thousands of troops returning to France from leave demonstrate in force and refuse to embark on the ground of having work to go to. Sir William Robertson, being sent for, confers with the men's representatives, and an agreement is the outcome.
6. More demobilisation trouble. At Odeley Park, Shoreham-on-Sea, and Shortlands the men of the mechanical transport section of the Royal Army Service Corps demonstrate their grievances by breaking camp and claiming to be dealt with for demobilisation purposes on the same footing as other units.
6. Strike of 3,000 fitters on the London, Brighton, and South Coast railway on a time grievance.
7. Announcement of the Admiralty's decision to adopt the 47-hours week in the Royal Dockyards, the decision signifying a concession of an hour per week.
7. New demobilisation orders issued by the Army Council. No soldier or officer to be given leave from France except on a distinct understanding to return to the unit after expiration of leave.
7. More demobilisation demonstrations in various camps, including Aldershot. Deputations also to the War Office in Whitehall.
7. At a meeting of the Labour Members of Parliament and the National Executive of the party it is decided that the Labour Party in the House of Commons shall make the necessary arrangements to become the official opposition.
- 7-9. The Premier (on a visit to London) tackles the military demonstration situation and issues an appeal through the Press Bureau.
8. Demobilisation demonstrations at Maidstone by various regiments, and also at Felixstowe, Hythe, and Westerham Hill Aerodrome by men in the Royal Air Force, as a result of which the men receive a promise of the consideration of grievances.
8. Announcement that the whole teaching staff (except five) under the Baep Town Council had resigned in a body on a question of back pay.
- 8-9. Grievance demonstrations of R.A.M.C. men at Blackpool. An inquiry promised.
9. Press announcement of an agreement by various associations in the iron manufacturing trades to establish an eight-hours day as soon as circumstances permit.
9. Demonstration Strike at the Heaton Park Dispersal Camp, Manchester, in response to which a promise of a speedy consideration of grievances is given.
9. Strike of R.A.F. motor drivers at Westerham Hill (Kent) Aerodrome. Promise of investigation of grievances given.
9. Military grievance demonstration at Holywood, County Down, Ireland. Concessions made.
9. Grimsby trawler crews go on strike owing to the refusal of concessions.
9. Announcement of the settlement of the strike of National Union of Coke-men and By-product Workers after three days' suspension of work.
- 9-11. Great shipping and dock strike in New York. Transport paralysed. Men finally resume work pending arbitration.
10. In the new official Ministerial list the following Coalition Labour appointments: Minister without portfolio, Mr. George Barnes; Parliamentary Secretary to the Labour Ministry, Mr. George Wardle; Food Controller, Mr. George Roberts; Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, Mr. Stephen Walsh.
11. In Buenos Ayres general strike ends. Renewed street fighting following on strike settlement. Total casualties during strike and after, 800 killed and 5,000 injured.
11. At the annual meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation (held at Bolton) Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., is asked to define his position, and a resolution that he be given three months' notice to quit his position as a miners' agent is lost by only fifteen votes, the voting being 853 for and 868 against.
11. Lancashire and Cheshire collieries start closing at 12 instead of 1 o'clock on Saturdays as the outcome of negotiations between representatives of miners and coalowners.
14. Announcement of the resignation of Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., as

- Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government Board.
14. Twenty thousand Yorkshire pit workers on strike owing to a dispute concerning the meal hours of surface workers.
  - 14-16. Special Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, held at Southport, to frame a new wages and shorter hours programme. The conference declares for a statutory six-hours day, a 30 per cent advance of wages, and the nationalisation of the mines, and also for the resettlement of industry by joint pit and district committees of mine-owners and workers, and for a State grant equal to full trade union wages to be paid to demobilised or displaced miners until work is found for them. Mr. Robert Snuillie appointed permanent president of the Federation.
  - Great unrest in the engineering trade.
  15. At the inaugural meeting of the Wool and Allied Textile Industrial Council a reduction of the hours of labour from 55½ to 45 per week is applied for.
  17. Mass meeting of postal workers of all grades in London demands a 42-hours week and other concessions.
  17. Strike of workmen in the Government dockyards at Bombay, attended with conflicts with troops and police.
  20. Cotton strike in Bombay attended with riots; ultimately stopped; 120,000 strikers demand a 25 per cent increase of wages.
  20. Meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress and the Committee of the Metal Trades International with the representatives of the American Federation of Labour results in the decision to form an international labour movement on a purely trade union basis.
  22. General strike of miners in Yorkshire.
  23. Yorkshire strike ends through the intervention of the Coal Controller, who grants the demand for a dead stop for surface workers' meals during the period of control; other outstanding questions to have immediate attention.
  23. Settlement of the London engineering and shipbuilding trades strike on the basis of further negotiations in reference to problems connected with the introduction of the 47-hours week.
  23. Mansfield miners out on strike. Bristol Channel ports idle through strike of boiler-makers for an increase of 60 per cent on piece rates and 100 per cent on day rates.
  23. Meeting of the National Federation of General Workers (held in London) declares for a demand of a 44-hours week.
  23. Strike of soldiers at Altrincham Camp in order to draw attention to grievances.
  - 24-25. Strike of the tramway and motor-bus men in Paris for an eight-hours day and better pay. The strike is smashed by the Government taking over the service and announcing that all provisionally demobilised employees remaining out on strike would be called up and sent to their regiments forthwith.
  27. Bombay strike ended.
  27. Great strike epidemic: 60,000 workers out in Belfast for a 44-hours week; 50,000 men on the Clyde and 6,000 in Leith and Edinburgh out for a 40-hours week; 25,000 Fife pitmen down tools; and at the Port of London, on the Manchester Ship Canal, and at the Dowlais collieries 15,000, 4,000, and 5,000 men respectively suspend work; whilst at Blandford 1,000 men of the Royal Air Force are also on strike.
  29. Manchester Ship Canal strike settled.
  29. Strike of joiners and bricklayers at the Vickers' shipyards, Barrow, against the continuance of the premium bonus system.
  30. The eight-hours day for railwaymen is arranged between the President of the Board of Trade and the railwaymen's officials.
  30. Forty-five thousand miners on strike in Lanarkshire.
  31. Strike riots in Glasgow. Police charges and arrest of strike leaders, and Glasgow put under military occupation.
  31. The General Council of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association declares in favour of a 44-hours week combined with a corresponding increase in wages.
- FEBRUARY.**
3. London tube railways stoppage by a strike of motormen, the demand being that the meal interval should be reckoned as part of the new eight-hours day.
  3. A compromise on a 48-hours week takes place at a meeting of the National Industrial Council for the Wool Textile Industry.
  4. London waiters and cooks come out on strike, the former against the system of pooling tips and the latter for an eight-hours day.
  4. Railway clerks' strike averted by full recognition to the association being conceded by the Government.
  4. The Government refuses to intervene in the Clyde, Belfast, and London disputes.
  5. New D.O.R.A. regulation issued by Government, whereby strikes of electricians engaged on public supplies are made punishable by imprisonment.
  5. The Executive of the Associated Society of Engineers decides to suspend the operations of the committees and secretaries of the London, Belfast, and Clyde districts for unconstitutional action. At Barrow a ballot on the hours question shows a large majority for remaining at work pending a settlement.
  6. Resumption of mill strikes in Bombay; 17 mills idle.
  8. London tube strike settled. Meal-times not to be included in the eight-hours day, but the companies to afford all reasonable facilities to

- meet the ordinary physical needs of the men.
- 5-9. International Labour and Socialist Conference held in Berne. The origin of the war discussed *inter alia*, and the policy of the German Majority Socialists severely condemned.
  9. Unrest in Spain manifests itself in dock strike at Cadiz and general strike in Seville.
  11. Clyde strike ends by a general resumption of work.
  11. The Premier in Parliament refers to the industrial unrest, and admits some of the causes to be legitimate.
  - 12-13. Miners' Federation Conference (held at Southport) unanimously rejects the Government offer of 1s. advance in wages and a committee of inquiry, and decides on taking a ballot of miners with regard to enforcing the miners' programme by a national strike.
  13. Labour Party attacks the Labour policy of the Government in the House of Commons. Labour condemnatory motion defeated by 311 to 59.
  13. Failure of negotiations between the Transport Workers' Federation and the employers. Labour Minister offers arbitration.
  14. At Belfast the strikers, by 11,963 votes to 8,774, reject the employers' proposals that the men shall resume work on the 54-hours week on the condition of the recommendation of a 47-hours week to a conference of engineering and shipping employers to be convoked within a month.
  14. Ballot of the Mersey Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades and the A.S.E. results in a majority of 2,272 for a 44-hours week and a majority of 11,310 against a strike.
  14. Milan textile workers secure a 48-hours working week.
  15. National Federation of Women Workers' demonstration in Albert Hall, London, to demand the Women's Charter.
  18. Strikes in Barcelona, Spain; 50,000 men out.
  19. Announcement of an agreement in the boot trade for a 48-hours week and a higher wage scale, the agreement to last till March, 1921.
  20. The Premier holds conference with the Miners' Federation Executive, and requests a delay of strike action (threatened for March 15th) till the end of that month.
  20. End of the Belfast labour struggle, in which 22 unions were engaged. The 54-hours week in the shipyards reduced to 47 hours.
  23. Mass meeting of medical men and women in London declares (by 207 votes to 30) that the profession should be democratically organised on a trade union basis.
  24. Coal Commission Bill introduced into the House of Commons.
  24. Announcement of miners' strike ballot results: 611,998 for and 104,997 against; majority for a strike, 507,001.
  25. Triple Alliance compact—the executive committees of the miners', railwaymen's, and transport workers' organisations—agree unanimously on a basis of interdependent action.
  27. Miners' National Delegate Conference decides to defer.
  27. Industrial Conference called by the Government decides to appoint a joint committee of employers and employed to consider the causes of labour unrest.
  28. Nine hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and twenty persons drawing out-of-work donation.
- ### MARCH.
1. Food riots in Madrid. Martial law proclaimed.
  2. Conference of French miners declares for a demand of 50 per cent increase in wages and an eight-hours day.
  4. Coal Industry Commission inquiry begins. Disclosure of coal-owners' war profits.
  4. Strike troubles in Pretoria, South Africa.
  6. Conference between Minister of Labour and representatives of the Transport Workers' Federation. With regard to docks and riverside workers' claims employers admit the principle of the 41-hours week.
  8. New York dock strike ended, workers securing an eight-hours day and an increase of wages ranging from 5 to 25 per cent.
  10. Transport Workers' Federation Conference demands the establishment of a Joint Control Board.
  10. Australian miners demanding a 25 per cent increase in wages and an inquiry into employers' profits.
  13. The War Cabinet decides that recognition shall not be given to the Police Union.
  14. National Union of Railwaymen's delegate meeting refuses to compromise on the national programme, and rejects the Executive's proposed basis of negotiations.
  18. Nottinghamshire Miners' Association decides in favour of an immediate strike at all the pits in the county as the outcome of a local dispute.
  20. Cotton operatives' demand for a 44-hours week and a commensurate increase of wages is refused by the factory owners, who offer a 49½-hours week without any wage increase.
  20. Issue of Coal Industry Commission's three Reports. Mr. Bonar Law announces the Government's decision to abide by Mr. Justice Sankey's recommendation of 2s. per day increase in wages, reduction of hours from eight to seven on July 16th and to six two years later. Mr. Law likewise announces that all the resources of the Government will be used in case of a strike.
  20. Government's new offer to the two railwaymen's unions of a 48-hours week, with payment of overtime at the rate of time-and-a-quarter, Sunday work at the rate of time-and-a-half, and a week's holiday with pay after twelve months' service.

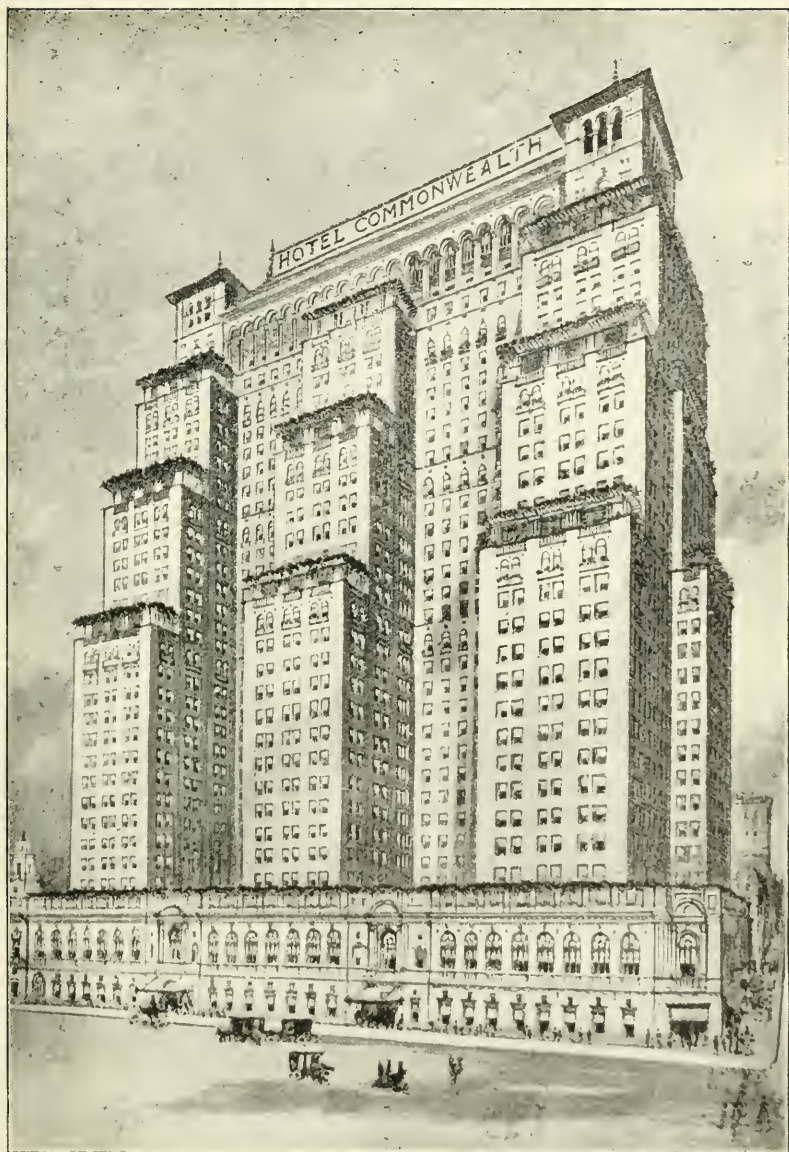
21. A special delegate meeting of railway-men rejects the above offer.
21. Conference of the Triple Industrial Alliance decides to approach the Government on behalf of the railway-men, and requests N.U.R. members to remain at work pending a further decision of the Triple Alliance.
22. The House of Commons rejects (by 108 to 56) the Prevention of Unemployment Bill on the second reading, moved by the Co-operative Member for Kettering, Mr. Waterson.
22. Resumed negotiations and conferences with Ministers by the railwaymen's and miners' executives and the leaders of the Triple Alliance.
25. Mr. Bonar Law announces the Government's decision to make no concessions beyond the Sankey report.
25. A 48-hours week (without loss of earnings) for municipal tramway workers announced.
26. Miners' Federation Conference decides to take a fresh ballot on the Government's offer, which the miners are recommended to accept.
26. The Provisional Joint Committee of the Industrial Conference convened by the Government issued its report, recommending the enactment of a general 48-hours week, the establishment of national minimum wage rates, recognition of trade unions and employers' associations, and the setting up of a permanent Joint National Industrial Council as advisory organ to the Government.
27. National Union of Railwaymen's Conference decides to accept the Government's terms and rescinds the strike resolution.
27. Strike of 1,200 Rhondda school teachers settled.
28. One hundred and forty thousand miners reported on strike in the coal-fields of South Wales, the Midlands, and Yorkshire.
28. Railway strike in German Austria.
30. Lower scale of unemployment pay in the cotton trade comes into operation.
31. Unrest in Holland: Demonstrations of demobilised soldiers and unemployed demanding the right to live.

#### APRIL.

1. Notts coal strike settled. Miners in other areas also returning to work.
1. Arbitration award for Post Office employees: Bonus increases for all grades.
1. Engineering trades agreement as to piece work prices in connection with the 47-hours week agreement.
2. Textile workers' deputation to the Minister of Labour pleads ineffectively for a more liberal donation of unemployment pay.
3. National Conference of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions Congress discusses the League of Nations and passes resolutions directed to the amendment of the Draft Covenant.
4. Second meeting of National Industrial Joint Conference decides to submit the sub-committee's report to their organisations for approval after the Government has signified its readiness to proceed at once to carry the report into effect.
6. Labour's large gains at the elections for Boards of Guardians and Urban District Councils announced.
7. Announcement of the concession of a 48-hours week for Italian cotton operatives from the 1st of May.
7. Twelve men put on trial for connection with the Glasgow strike disturbance of January.
8. At a conference of Civil Service representatives the Chancellor of the Exchequer declares the willingness of the Government to adopt the Whitley report recommendations for the administrative departments of the Civil Service; a joint committee was appointed.
11. World's Labour Charter adopted by Peace Conference.
12. Eighteen-days' stoppage of mills spinning American cotton to cope with temporary depression resulting from high prices.
14. Announcement of several thousand men and women engaged in the export bottling trade on Merseyside being rendered idle through the refusal of dockers to handle export spirits while a shortage exists in the country.
16. Miners' ballot vote *re* the Sankey Report announced: 693,084 for acceptance of terms, and 76,992 against; majority for acceptance, 616,092.
16. In New South Wales 100,000 miners on strike.
16. Conference of the Triple Alliance declares itself not fully satisfied with what the miners, railwaymen, and transport workers have achieved, but ratifies the proposals submitted, and calls for a special national conference of the trade union movement.
- 20-22. I.L.P. Conference held at Huddersfield. Conference demands the conscription of wealth, the socialisation of the land, protests against intervention in Russia, and declares for open diplomacy, a genuine league of peoples, and the reconstruction of the International.
- 20-21. British Socialist Party Conference at Sheffield declares for a united Socialist Party, for the right of self-determination of British dependencies, and expressed its desire for the success of the Soviet regime abroad.
23. National Union of Teachers' Conference (at Cheltenham) declares for a self-governing basis for the teaching profession, with full partnership in educational administration; calls for the establishment of an adequate salary scale, and of Whitley Committees.
25. Mass demonstration of returned soldiers outside Parliament House, Capetown, on behalf of adequate pensions allowances and scale of pay.
26. International Socialist Conference of ens at Amsterdam.

(Continued on page 281).

## NEW YORK CO-OPERATIVE HOTEL.



THE COMMONWEALTH, the largest and in many ways the most remarkable hotel ever projected in America, is to occupy the block bounded by Broadway, Seventh Avenue, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Streets. The Commonwealth will be 34 storeys in height, will have 2,500 rooms, and every room will be equipped with a bath. With the cost of the land the completed hotel will represent an investment of approximately \$15,000,000'00. "The Commonwealth" will be built on a co-operative plan, and it is estimated that 75,000 persons will share in the ownership.



*The English & Scottish  
Co-operative Wholesale Societies*

ARE GROWERS,  
IMPORTERS,  
BLENDERS,  
AND DISTRIBUTORS OF

TEA

TO ALL THE  
CO-OPERATIVE  
STORES  
THROUGHOUT  
THE COUNTRY.

C. W. S. TEA  
SET THE STANDARD  
OF WEIGHT  
(16 OZ. TO THE POUND  
WITHOUT the WRAPPER)  
AND QUALITY

OVER FIFTY MILLION POUNDS SOLD EVERY YEAR.

*The People prefer C.W.S Tea*

ASK FOR IT AT THE STORES.

## WORLD-WIDE LABOUR UNREST, 1919 (continued).

28. Dock labourers at Kingston, Jamaica, on strike for an eight-hours day, two dollars a day, and double pay for night work.
28. Announcement of higher wages awards in the wholesale clothing industries: Increases of 18s. 9d. per week to men, 12s. 6d. to women, and lesser increases to young persons.
29. Minister of Labour, in response to interviews, announces that a million people are still receiving the unemployment donation, and that a committee of inquiry into the administration of the unemployment benefit will be set up.
29. Conference representative of the Textile Trade Unions of the United Kingdom held in Preston, with a view to securing uniformity of working conditions throughout the textile trade of the kingdom.
- MAY.**
1. May Demonstrations in London, Paris, Rome, Madrid, Berlin, and elsewhere. In Paris the attempt to suppress them by force results in several hundred casualties. In Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., a mob attack on the demonstrators terminates in the shooting of three policemen and 200 other casualties.
5. Bank employees on strike in Paris.
8. Conference of representatives of District Wages Committees (held at Westminster) convened by the Agricultural Wages Board to discuss the proposed increase of the minimum wage against which farmers protest.
8. The proposal for a £250 minimum for income tax instead of £130, supported by the Labour Party in the House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer rejects the appeal.
9. Strike (in Lincoln) of building and allied trades operatives, affecting 16,000 men, owing to the Labour Ministry refusing to ratify an agreement.
- 9-10. Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Conference at Blackpool defines its attitude to the Triple Alliance and empowers the Executive Committee to take action with organised labour with a view to forcing the Government to abolish conscription and to withdraw British troops from Russia.
12. Official announcement of the Government's offer to lease the national shipyards at Chepstow, Beachley, and Portbury to the federation of engineering and shipbuilding trades.
13. *Daily Herald* disclosure of the secret War Office circular instructing Commanding Officers in certain areas to furnish a weekly report as to whether troops will assist in strike-breaking, parade for draft to overseas, especially Russia, besides responding to orders for assistance to preserve the public peace.
14. The question of the secret War Office circular raised in the House of Commons by the leader of the Labour Party. On behalf of the Secretary for War, it was stated "that the document was a confidential circular issued three months before, for which the War Office accepts full responsibility. Mr. Bonar Law, after defending the circular, promises to consider the question of affording facilities for discussing the question.
15. Conference of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trade Unions (held at Cardiff) rejects the Government's offer to sell the national shipyards at Chepstow and Beachley to the trade unions, as the offer is "against the basic principles of trade unionism." The conference demands that the shipyards shall remain national property and be conducted in the national interest.
15. Strikes in Canada: 4,500 railwaymen out; and in Winnipeg, firemen, bakers, and telephonists also on strike.
20. The Ministry of Reconstruction Committee on Trusts reports in favour of an official investigation into the operation of the growing system of trusts and combines.
21. Manifesto of protest issued by a number of British Labour leaders against the terms of the Peace Treaty laid down for Germany.
25. Postal employees on strike at Winnipeg and other Canadian centres.
26. Deputation from the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers expounds the unemployment grievance to the Ministry of Labour.
26. Mass demonstration in Hyde Park of unemployed ex-service men denounces the Ministry of Labour's replies to the above deputation as unsatisfactory, and demands immediate work at trade union rates. Subsequently turbulent scenes outside the Houses of Parliament, when the mounted police charge the crowd.
27. General strikes in Toronto, Regina, and Calgary (Canada) in support of the Winnipeg postal operators, who, in defiance of threats of dismissal, refuse to return to their posts.
28. Debate on workless ex-service men's grievances in the House of Commons, the official reply being calculated to render little satisfaction to the 1,008,192 demobilised men still out of work.
28. Ten thousand Back Country workers on strike owing to the dismissal of a winding-enginemaster at one of Lord Dudley's collieries.
28. Strike riots in Lima (Peru): Six killed and 20 injured. Martial law proclaimed.
27. The National Union of Railwaymen's Executive Committee denounces the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress for the manner in which it has dealt with conscription in reference to the

resolution passed by the Triple Alliance on April 16th.

28. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress declines to call a special conference as suggested by the Triple Alliance, and declares that Mr. Bonar Law's replies to the Committee the week before were sufficiently satisfactory.
29. Commons Debate, initiated by the Labour Party, on the secret War Office circular. The War Minister intimates that trade unionism would not be allowed in the army.
31. The strike movement in Canada. In Toronto 300 workshops closed and from 10,000 to 20,000 men on strike. In Winnipeg (where most classes of workers have been on strike) 189 policemen are discharged for refusing to sign an agreement to hold aloof from the labour movement. At Montreal 3,000 employees on strike for a 44-hours week. The strike movement finally extends to Vancouver.

#### JUNE.

1. Police Union's ballot (announced at Hyde Park demonstration) shows 44,539 for a strike, 4,324 against; majority, 40,215.
2. On the second reading of the Restoration of Pre-War Practices (No. 3) Bill, the Minister of Labour announces the occurrence of 30,000 to 40,000 cases of departure from pre-war customs, 75 per cent of which related to the allowing of women to work on machines on which men alone were previously employed.
3. Result of cotton operatives' strike ballot declared: For a strike (if necessary) to enforce a reduction of working hours from 55½ to 46½ with a 30 per cent increase in wages, 267,650; against, 6,347 in favour of accepting employers' offer of 48 hours and a 15 per cent advance.
4. Ministry of Labour announces the Government's decision to extend the donation period for another 13 weeks at a reduced rate to ex-soldiers who have exhausted the 26 weeks' out-of-work donation. Reduced donation: 20s. per week for men, 15s. for women, and allowances for dependent children as in the first period.
4. Great strike movement in Paris: 350,000 idle, including traffic and transport service men, electrical engineers, and men in the metal and engineering trades.
4. French coal strike continues.
4. Great strike in Rome: 50,000 persons idle, including tramwaymen and restaurant employees.
5. Transport Workers' Conference held at Swansea; 300,000 members and 25 societies represented.
5. Manifesto issued by the National Labour Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party denouncing the defects of the preliminary peace proposals and calling on the organised workers of all countries to join in bringing the treaty into harmony with the working-class conception of a democratic settlement.
6. Police grievance discussed in the Commons. The Home Secretary (Mr. Shortt) announces that the Government proposes to set up new representative boards for the police; that every police officer will then be required to sever his connection with the National Union.
- 8-9. Annual Conference of the National Union of Clerks opens at Birmingham. Conference declares for the national ownership of industries and services as the only remedy for industrial unrest. The conference also declares for a maximum working week of 38 hours, and for a minimum wage scale ranging from 65s. to 70s. per week for adult clerks.
9. Third Annual Conference of the National Democratic and Labour Party (British Workers' League) held in London. Conference protests against the profiteering in food, coal, and other necessities of life; declares against abnormal railway fares and against mineral royalties, and also against industrial unionists' methods of action.
9. Italy: General strike in Naples; collisions with police and many arrests.
9. Australia: Seamen's strike in Melbourne: many thousands thrown out of work.
10. Canada: Winnipeg general strike, which began on May 15th, ending by a resumption of work.
10. France: Strikes in Paris and the Pas de Calais coalfields still continue.
10. Egypt: Suez Canal strike ends.
11. National strike of telegraphists declared in the United States.
14. Italy: Strike epidemic and disturbance; stoppages of work in Genoa, Spezia, Florence, and Turin; State school teachers throughout the country on strike generally against inadequate pay.
16. France: Paris tram and 'bus strike settled by compromise.
16. Canada: Textile workers, electric workers, and packing-house workers' strike begins for higher wages and shorter hours, bringing the number of Montreal strikers to 20,000.
- 16-20. National Union of Railwaymen's Conference at Plymouth instructs the Executive to take any action necessary to secure the overthrow of conscription, and the conference also demands the abolition of martial law in Ireland and the withdrawal of British troops from Russia, and protests against the levying of income tax on incomes of less than £250 per year.
17. France: Miners come out on strike on the question of the interpretation of the eight-hours day.
17. Australia: Stoppage of the Mount Morgan mines. The great shipping strike still continues.
17. Four thousand Glamorgan colliers on

- strike as a protest against the arrest of two miners for non-payment of income tax.
17. Canada: Arrest of strike leaders in Winnipeg.
  17. Portugal: A general strike decided on in Lisbon.
  18. Seven thousand more South Wales miners on strike owing to a dispute with the management.
  18. Textile warehousemen's strike in London for the recognition of the union and an increase in minimum wages to 56s. 6d. per week.
  18. France: The Nord miners' strike ends with an acceptance of arbitration.
  19. South Wales Miners' Federation Conference declares for "one recognised union for the whole of the mining industry," and for the immediate enforcement of the resolution.
  20. Extension of South Wales strike: 15,000 miners out in the Rhondda valley in sympathy with the clerks' strike.
  21. Canada: Winnipeg placed under martial law. Conflicts and shooting.
  21. Insubordination at the Eastern Command Labour Centre Camp in Surrey. Camp placed under armed guard.
  23. Issue of the Coal Commission's Second Report: The Majority Report, signed by Mr. Justice Sankey and the miners' representatives, recommending the nationalisation of coal mines and mining royalties, the establishment of advisory councils, and of a Ministry of Mines.
  23. Lancashire cotton operatives' one-day strike provisionally settled by compromise on the basis of an advance of 30 per cent on the standard price list, and of a reduction of working hours from 55½ to 48 per week. Operatives to ballot.
  24. Waiters' strike at Cardiff.
  - 25-27. Labour Party Conference held at Southport, Mr. J. Mc.Gurk presiding. Conference condemns the "harsh" provisions of the Peace Treaty and the blockade, demands an equitable conscription of wealth, the cessation of intervention in Russia, supports the demand with a threat of "direct action," carried by 1,893,000 votes to 935,000. Conference also condemns the continuance of conscription, and passed resolutions concerning affairs in Egypt, the repeal of D.O.R.A., the case of conscientious objectors, the inadequacy of military pensions, as well as workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, and a six-hours day. A resolution of protest was also passed with regard to the prevention of two accredited delegates of the French Socialist Party (M. M. Longuet and Frossard) who had been stopped at Folkestone by the police authorities (as afterwards explained) on their own initiative.
  28. The cotton trade crisis again: A representative delegate meeting of operative spinners in Manchester rejects the provisional compromise agreed to by the cotton operatives' officials.
  28. Canada: Winnipeg six-weeks strike terminates officially; but Riot Act still in force. In Toronto a street railway strike in progress.
  30. Cotton strike in South and South-East Lancashire for a 4½-hour week.
- JULY.
1. Hull trawling fleet laid up in consequence of engineers' strike.
  3. Cotton lock-out in North and North-East Lancashire following on cotton strike in South and South-East Lancashire.
  3. General Federation of Trade Unions holds its annual meeting in Scarborough. Direct action denounced.
  3. Food riots in Italy (in Florence, Bologna, and other towns).
  3. Tramwaymen's strike in Toronto (Canada) settled.
  5. General strike against food prices in Switzerland.
  9. Cotton strike settled on the basis of a 48-hour week (to remain unchanged for 18 months) and of a 30 per cent advance in wages—the advance to continue unaltered till April, 1920.
  9. A new triple alliance formed by the Co-operative Union, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress, and the Parliamentary Labour Party; an agreement being made to take joint action at Parliamentary and local elections, and a committee being appointed to work out details.
  15. Strike of Yorkshire miners in consequence of the failure to arrive at a settlement on the question of the adjustment of hours and pay to the 7-hour shift: 150,000 workers affected. Strike also in Kent coal-field for a 6½-hour day.
  - 15-18. Miners' Federation conference at Keswick, Mr. Robert Smillie presiding. The conference rejects the Government's proposal that the miners should give up the strike weapon for three months on condition that the Government would postpone the 6s. increase on the price of coal. The conference calls on the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Sankey reports.
  16. Thousands of miners rendered idle in South Wales owing to various disputes.
  16. Railway strike in operation on the North-Eastern section.
  20. North-Eastern Railway strike settled.
  21. Announcement of the Government's decision to send naval stokers to engage in pumping operations in the Yorkshire mines during the strike.
  21. London dockers' 24-hours strike.
  22. Spread of coal strike to Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Monmouthshire: 40,000 more men out.
  22. Strike of gatemen and dredgers at Liverpool docks, and shipping held up.
  23. Sir Eric Geddes announces that all the resources of the State, whether of citizens or of armed forces, will

- be used to protect mine property. Meanwhile the coal strike spreads to Derbyshire.
23. Triple Alliance conference (representing miners, railwaymen, and transport workers) refers to the rank and file the question of deciding as to a strike in order to force the Government to abolish conscription and to abandon the policy of intervention in Russia.
  23. Announcement of the Swansea by-election result. The seat retained by a Coalition Liberal (with a greatly reduced majority) as against the Labour candidate.
  24. The miners' strike discussed in the House of Commons.
  25. Coal strike settlement made by the Prime Minister and the Miners' Federation Executive in regard to piece-rate terms. The Yorkshire miners, however, remain on strike owing to the unsatisfactory working out of the piece-rate formula.
  28. Liverpool shipping industry strike settled by the granting of concessions as to overtime rates and working hours.
  28. Ilford municipal employees' strike settled by the concession of a shorter working week.
  29. The Parliamentary Labour Party, by 21 votes to 2, disapproves of the action of the Junior Labour Whip (Mr. Neil Maclean) in having remained seated in the House of Commons during the singing of the National Anthem.
  29. London Wholesale Textile Trade strike averted by agreement on a 44-hour working week, with overtime paid for at the rate of 1s. 6d. per hour.
  29. Labour victory at the Bothwell by-election announced. The Labour candidate (J. Robertson) wins by 13,135 votes to 5,967. Labour majority 7,168.
  31. Announcement of increased pensions to be given to soldiers. £2 a week minimum for totally disabled.
  31. Police Union men's strike, London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Bootle, and Birkenhead the only centres affected. In Liverpool the military called out to prevent disorder, and warships brought to the Mersey.
  31. American railwaymen demand railway nationalisation.

## AUGUST.

1. The Government's Police Union Bill passes the third reading. Policemen forbidden to belong to a trade union.
2. Labour and Socialist International Conference of Permanent Committees at Lucerne.
3. Midland iron and steel workers' 27½ per cent advance in wages comes in operation.
4. National ballot of bakers on strike results in an overwhelming majority for the rejection of arbitration.
1. International Trade Unions Congress (comprising delegations from 11 countries) opens at Amsterdam.
5. London and South-Western locomotive men on strike.
6. The co-operative societies offer to grant the whole of the bakers' national demand (so far as co-operative bakers on strike are concerned) pending a settlement of the whole bakers' strike.
8. Labour troubles in America; 10,000 railway shopmen on strike in the Eastern States. Tramway workers and elevated car workers on strike in Brooklyn. Actors' strike in New York results in the closing of theatres. Strike of 33,000 packers' employees in Chicago.
9. Eight-week strike of Tees-side engineers for a 44-hour week ends by agreement to settle the dispute by negotiation and arbitration.
9. Liverpool tramwaymen's five-days strike ends by an acceptance of the *status quo*.
10. The bakers' strike ends in the London area by the agreement to submit the hours and wages question to arbitration and on the Labour Ministry's pledge of early legislation to abolish night baking.
12. The bakers' strike also ends in Manchester, Liverpool, and other centres.
12. The Triple Alliance Executive decides for the postponement of the ballot *re* "direct action" against the militarism of the Government.
12. Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., joins the Parliamentary Labour Party.
12. Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., in the House of Commons, exposes the Government as the paymaster of Labour spies and *agents provocateurs*.
12. In Brussels an extraordinary congress of the National Trade Union of Railway, Post, Telegraph, Telephone, and Marine Workers adopts the principle of a general strike by 72,539 votes to 4,000.
13. Strikes in Egypt. In Cairo the tramwaymen and waiters cease work. In Alexandria the dockers are on strike. A railway strike is also threatened.
13. The Minister of Labour states that the Government are considering the suggestion of introducing legislation to make strikes and lock-outs illegal unless a week's notice is first given in writing so that public inquiry could be held and a report made within the week.
14. The long miners' strike (*re* piece-rates) in South Yorkshire terminates by a resumption of work. In West Yorkshire the miners still remain on strike.
15. In reference to the above, the Scottish miners' conference at Ayr unanimously protests against such proposal, and "asks the executive of the Miners' Federation to approach the Labour Party and Trade Unions Congress to take such steps as will annul any such Government intentions."
16. The Police Bill becomes law.
- 16-17. National Socialist Party's conference held in Northampton, Mr. Will Thorne presiding.

17. Strike in New York of 14,000 men engaged on the elevated and subway lines, the men demanding an 8-hour day and a 50 per cent increase in wages.
18. Hull trawler engineers' strike (which has lasted over 10 weeks) ends by the resumption of work on the understanding that the position will be reviewed at the beginning of 1920.
20. Strike of 65,000 railwaymen (drivers, firemen, and cleaners) averted by settlement on the basis of a compromise re increase of wages.
20. West Yorkshire miners' strike ends. Two thousand Cannoek Chase miners out on strike as a result of horse drivers' wages dispute.
20. The strike of Belgian Government employees averted by the granting of a minimum daily wage of eight francs as demanded.
21. Lightning strike of 10,000 Dunlop rubber workers at Aston (Birmingham) in support of a sectional demand for special rates for night work.
22. Railway clerks' strike averted by the granting of a higher scale of wages and pensions.
22. Strike of Chicago billposters, baggage, parcel, and delivery drivers, and railway switchmen in sympathy with the strike of musicians and stage hands.
22. Refusal of 200 soldiers of the 2/7th Warwicks and 2/5th Gloucesters to embark (at Southampton) for France. Enlisted under the Derby scheme, and having served in France, the men had already done their "bit" and, moreover, objected to the contingency of being drafted from France to distant theatres (Russia, for example) in violation of the Ministry's pledge. The following day the men were given an hour to submit, and were then rounded up and arrested by a battalion of the Sussex Regiment armed with fixed bayonets and Lewis guns.
25. An advance in bakers' wages awarded by the Court of Arbitration.
25. Strike of Pontypool miners to enforce the removal of a master hauler.
25. Epsom electricians on strike.
26. Furniture trades lock-out (affecting several thousands of operatives) continues.
29. Two thousand transport workers on strike at Grimsby.

SEPTEMBER.

2. The United Textile Factory Workers' Association in conference denounces the espionage system (existing under the authority of the Government) as intolerable, and calls on the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress to ensure its withdrawal.
3. Miners delegates' conference (in accordance with the executive's recommendations) rejects the Government's policy with regard to the mines, but decides not to take

- immediate industrial action to secure mines nationalisation.
4. The conference of the Triple Industrial Alliance adopts the decision of the three executives to adjourn the ballot vote with regard to the use of "direct action" to compel the Government to abandon its Russian policy and to repeal the Conscription Act.
6. Threatened lock-out declared in Paris owing to a partial strike in some of the Paris theatres.
6. Settlement of the American actors' strike, which had lasted a month and resulted in the closing of nearly 200 theatres. Contemporaneously the stage hands working at 169 other theatres are called out on strike.
- 8-13. Trade Unions Congress, representing over 5½ million workers, assembles in Glasgow, Mr. Stuart-Bunning presiding. By a majority of 710,000 the conference refers back the clause of the Parliamentary Committee relating to the Triple Alliance and thereby expresses its censure of the Parliamentary Committee for refusing to call the special conference demanded by the Triple Alliance and the Labour Party. And by 4,478,000 votes to 77,000 the congress decides to co-operate with the Miners' Federation in forcing the Government to accept the Sankey nationalisation recommendation. A motion declaring against the principle of direct action in purely political matters is shelved by the acceptance of the "previous question" by a narrow majority.
9. Lock-out of 3,000 men (painters and shipwrights) at the London docks.
- 9-13. Paris municipal employees strike for standard conditions succeeds.
- 11-13. General strike in Marseilles in support of the dockers' strike for an 8-hour day and a 20 francs day wage, with a 50 per cent increase for overtime.
11. General strike of police in Boston, U.S.A. The military called out to guard the city. A general strike of United States steelworkers announced for October 22nd.
12. Widnes by-election result announced. Mr. A. Henderson wins the seat for Labour by 11,404 votes to 10,417.
12. Railway strike in Lorraine (France) ends in favour of the employees.
13. Strike of gasworkers in Antwerp develops into a general strike in the factories and workshops.
13. Egyptian tramwaymen on strike in Cairo and Alexandria.
13. In the United States the United Mine Workers endorse the demand for railway nationalisation, and invite the Railway Brotherhood to form an alliance for joint action.
- 14-15. Strike of postmen in Lyons (France).
- 15-17. Hull dockers on strike for 16s. per day and the abolition of overtime and piece work; 5,000 men out and shipping held up.
15. Police on strike in Boston, Mass.

16. Sheffield tramway strike terminates with an agreement on arbitration.
17. Sympathetic strikes in Norway against the lock-out of compositors, lithographers, and chemists.
18. Amalgamation conference of the Postmen's Federation, the Fawcett Association, and the Postal and Telegraph Workers' Association, the combined organisation to be styled the Union of Post Office Workers.
18. Furniture trade lock-out at High Wycombe gives rise to disturbances.
19. Pontefract by-election figures declared. The Labour candidate (Mr. I. Burns) reduces the Coalition Liberal majority by 2000 votes.
20. The United Mine Workers of America by a large vote demand the nationalisation of the coal mines.
22. National strike of ironmoulders and coremakers for a wages advance: 50,000 men out.
22. National steel strike in the United States begins: 284,000 men out.
22. Lock-out of trawlermen in Aberdeen. Men demand a clear day off while ashore.
27. National railway strike begins owing to the Government's refusal to standardise post-war wages for the lower grades on the same basis as for the locomotive workers.
30. The Ministry of Labour announces that all civilians thrown out of employment after the commencement of the railway strike will receive the unemployment donation at such and such rates, *provided* that such civilians "are not on strike nor identified with the strikers either through working in the same establishment or being members of any organisations giving active support to the strike."
5. Railway strike settled by Government concessions: Wages to be stabilised at their present level up to September 30th, 1920; a minimum wage of 51s. for adults so long as the cost of living remains 110 per cent above pre-war level; arrears of wages withheld to be paid on resumption of work.
6. On the ballot of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers for Secretaryship Mr. Tom Mann heads the list.
7. In a speech at the Mansion House, London, the Premier announces that the civilian organisation in preparation for the railway strike had been begun by the Government in the month of February.
8. Dockers' strike in New York: shipping held up.
8. Increased wages for tramwaymen. Arbitration tribunal awards 4s. per week increase for those over 18, and 2s. per week for those under that age.
9. A deputation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress interviews the Prime Minister with regard to the Majority Report of the Coal Commission. The Premier reiterates the Government's decision not to nationalise the mines, but agrees to the request for the war wage to be paid in lieu of out-of-work donation to the miners rendered idle by the railway strike.
9. New wages agreement giving increases to 120,000 operatives in various branches of the woollen and worsted industry. Agreement to last till August 1st, 1920.
11. Dockers and transport workers on strike at Brest (France). Squadrons of cavalry drafted into the town to suppress rioting.
12. Settlement of the ironfounders' strike, which has lasted over three weeks. Settlement to be referred to the ballot.
12. General strike of tramwaymen in Brussels.
13. In New York 10,000 railway teamsters and truckmen strike work.
14. Shipping strike extends at Marseilles. Wireless operators, ships' doctors, stewards, and kitchen and restaurant staffs join the strike movement: shipping held up and 9,000 passengers unable to sail.
18. Announcement of the result of the ironworkers' ballot. By 27,938 votes to 1,678 the ironworkers refuse to accept the agreement provisionally entered into by their officials on the 12th. The strike proceeds.
20. Settlement of 15-weeks strike of elementary teachers in the North Riding of Yorkshire.
21. Withdrawal of the furniture trade lock-out of 13 weeks, and offer of an advance in the scale of pay, which the men reject as inadequate.
21. Slaughtermen on strike at Islington (London) and Birkenhead.
22. Special delegate conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

## OCTOBER.

1. Joint trade union conference of the executives of 36 unions convened at the instance of the National Transport Workers' Federation.
1. Interviewed by a deputation from the above, the Prime Minister declares his readiness to see the executive of the railwaymen's union, but also declares that it would be quite impracticable to continue negotiations till work is resumed.
2. The Government announces its refusal to pay the railway strikers the wages due; and in a message sent to all the picture theatres in the country for display the Prime Minister represents the strike as an attempt on the life of the community. Railway union's rejoinder follows subsequently: "We are fighting for the lowest paid wage-earner against the employers' conspiracy to lower wages."
- 2-3. Abortive conferences with the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law. Government proposals of a seven-days truce and arbitration rejected.
3. The Government invites all authorities throughout the country to establish citizen guards.

- Recommendations made for substantial increases in the salaries of members of Parliament; for the payment of week-end wages and overtime for surfacemen and continuous shiftmen to be taken up as a national question; for the provision of an opportunity (at the Trade Unions Congress) for the Labour movement to decide upon a policy directed to the reduction of the cost of living. A resolution was also passed instructing the Miners' Executive to take the best possible steps to secure the nationalisation of the mines.
24. Building trade dispute in the north-western area settled and a strike averted.
  26. Antwerp dock strike ended by the granting of the men's demands.
  27. Dispute in the bleaching, dyeing, and calico-printing trade settled and a strike averted.
  28. Announcement of a printers' lock-out in New York and a strike of compositors in sympathy with the four outlaved unions. Temporary suspension of 152 periodicals in New York and three-fourths of the presses of the commercial printing firms in the city.
  28. Meeting (in New York) of the National Federation of Trade Unions and of the International Congress of working women.
  29. The International Labour Conference of the League of Nations opens in New York.
  29. Settlement of furniture trade dispute. The employees receive three-fourths of their demands at once, and the full demands of 4d. per hour advance for men and of 2d. for women as from May next, except in Lancashire, where the women receive the 2d. advance immediately with the guarantee of another ½d. in May next.
  31. Great coal strike begins in the United States: 400,000 miners out.

#### NOVEMBER.

1. Sweeping Labour victories at the municipal elections. In London alone Labour gains the predominance in 13 councils out of 28. In Bradford (Yorks) also Labour becomes the strongest party in the City Council. In Manchester Labour gains the balance of power; and in the majority of contests throughout the country there are record increases in the number of Labour councillors.

---

## LABOUR LEGISLATION IN 1919.

---

### PEACE-TIME WAGES.

**T**HE Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act of November 21st, 1918, was first applicable for six months, but it was extended subsequently until November 21st, 1919. This Act, in somewhat technical language, provided in effect that the minimum rates of wages in operation in November, 1918, together with certain allowances and all war bonuses, should continue to be paid during the operation of the Act unless employers and employed agreed mutually to a change. Under the Act an "Interim Court of Arbitration" was set up, so that wages disputes might be referred to it.

It was thought likely that the Act would lapse on November 21st, 1919, but after the railway strike settlement, which provided for the stabilisation of war wages until the end of September, 1920, a demand was made by the trade unions for the extension of the Act for a further year.

After various conferences with representatives of employers and of the trade unions the Minister of Labour submitted, on October 31st, a Draft Bill to extend the Act until September, 1920, but serious objections were raised by the trade union representatives when it was found that the Government proposed to set up an Industrial Court, to which disputes might be submitted by both parties, and whose findings should be binding. If any union took action against an award by striking it would render itself liable to prosecution. Another provision virtually annulled the advantages conferred by the Trades Disputes Act by bringing the unions and their funds under the common law.

It was intimated to the Government that the Draft Bill could not possibly be accepted as it stood, whereupon the strike restriction clauses were dropped. At the same time the Government announced that the clause in the expiring Act which compelled



employers to go to arbitration on wages claims, and to accept an award of the court, would not be renewed in the new measure.

The trade union representatives thereupon decided to call a conference of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress, and of representatives of all the trades affected. In the House of Commons provisions opposed by the Labour Party were removed, and the Bill was passed by agreement. Power was given to establish Courts of Inquiry to investigate the causes of industrial disputes.

#### MINIMUM WAGES BILL.

This measure, which was introduced late in the session to give effect to the recommendations of the Joint Industrial Conference as to the establishment of universal minimum wages, provided for the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of: Inquiring into and deciding what such minimum time rates of wages should be, regard being had to the cost of living in the various districts, and any other matters which appear to the Commissioners relevant.

The Commission was also charged with the duty of making recommendations as to the methods of bringing the minimum wages into operation, and the machinery required to secure necessary variations from time to time; as to exemptions from the fixed rates of infirm and incapable workers; and as to the legislation and amendments to existing laws required to give effect to the various decisions and recommendations.

Powers were given to require the attendance of witnesses, the production of documents, and the examination of wages books and balance sheets, and provision was made for penalties, not to exceed a fine of £50 or imprisonment with or without hard labour for one month, for giving false or misleading evidence in any material particular.

#### THE 48-HOUR WEEK BILL.

This Bill, like the Minimum Wages Bill, was introduced late in the session to give effect to recommendations of the Joint Industrial Conference. Its specific exemptions, especially of agricultural workers, were opposed by the trade unions.

The Bill provides that the number of working hours in any week (exclusive of recognised meal intervals) shall not exceed 48 in the case of any person to whom the measure applies.

Provision is made for the variation of the hours, either above or below 48, on the recommendation of a Joint Industrial Council, Conciliation Board, or Trade Council, or by agreement between organised employers and workers.

Conditions are set out governing overtime, and it is stipulated that in no case shall payment be less than time and a quarter.

If employers and workers agree upon a shorter working week than 48 hours it may be made legally compulsory in the industry if necessary steps are taken to have an order issued by the Minister of Labour.

Penalties may be imposed for contravention of provisions of the measure or orders issued under it. Offenders on conviction are liable to a fine not exceeding £10 for each offence.

The persons who are excepted from the scope of the measure include those employed in agriculture, including horticulture and forestry; sea-going workers; those whose hours are regulated by the Coal Mines Acts; domestic and outdoor servants; supervisory and managerial staffs; and holders of confidential posts.

The measure applies to persons employed in the service of the Crown, with the exception of the navy, army, air service, and police forces.

#### OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

After the armistice an out-of-work donation scheme was announced by the Ministry of Labour, with the object of mitigating the effects of the unemployment which followed upon the reduction of munitions manufacture and demobilisation from the forces. The scheme first provided for the payment of 24s. a week to men and 20s. to women, for 26 weeks to demobilised men and for 13 weeks to civilians. In December the amounts were increased to 29s. for men and 25s. for women. Extra allowances were also made for dependent children under 15 years of age.

Complaints were soon made that the scheme was being abused. Prosecutions took place, and committees were appointed to consider appeals in cases where the pay had been stopped.

Later it was announced that payment would be made for a second period of 13 weeks to those who still remained unemployed and who were able to fulfil certain conditions.

For this second period the scale was reduced to 20s. a week for men and 15s. for women.

The scheme was limited in time to November, 1919, and in October it was stated in Parliament that the Government would leave it to the House of Commons to decide whether the "dole" should be continued or not. Labour members protested, and pointed out that during the year the Government had devised no alternative constructive policy whatsoever to deal with unemployment. On November 18th it was suddenly announced that doles to civilians would cease on November 21st, and that they would be continued to ex-service men and to women from the mobile forces until March 31st, 1920. A scheme of unemployment insurance was also foreshadowed.

From November 25th, 1918, to October 17th, 1919, total amount paid in donation benefit was £39,000,000. It rose from £3,070,000 in January to its highest point, £6,517,000 in May, and then steadily declined until in September it was £2,076,000.

#### RESTORATION OF WORKSHOP CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES.

After a very long delay the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act was passed on August 15th, 1919, in fulfilment of the pledges given by the Government that any trade and workshop practices, customs, restrictions, &c., which were given up by the workers in order to facilitate the production of war material should be restored at the end of the war.

The Act provides, briefly, that after October 15th, 1919, the owner of an establishment shall be under an obligation to restore any such practices or customs which were departed from in consequence of the war, and

to permit the continuance of the practice for one year.

A penalty of a fine not exceeding £25 for each day on which the offence continues is provided for wilful evasion of the Act.

It was generally agreed that, owing to the extraordinary changes in industry during the war, and particularly to the introduction of automatic machinery on a large scale, it would not be possible completely to restore pre-war conditions. The trade unions, however, desired to have a good basis of bargaining, and they insisted, therefore, upon the statutory fulfilment of the Government pledge. There can be little doubt that by agreement between the employers and the unions various modifications will be made in the practices and customs to meet the new workshop conditions.

#### EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OF DISABLED MEN.

During the year much attention was given by the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Pensions to the question of the training and employment of partially disabled men. Comprehensive schemes of training were devised by the Ministry of Labour in rural industries and various metal and other crafts. Allowances were paid amounting to 40s. to a single man, 50s. for a married man without children, 69s. 6d. for a married man with three children, and so on—with the addition of a 5s. bonus for efficiency. Complaints were made, however, of the inadequacy of these allowances.

In the late summer a scheme was launched by the Ministry of Labour, with the active interest of the King (who issued a proclamation on the subject), under which firms were asked to undertake that at least 5 per cent of their workers should be partially disabled men. With an assurance that standard rates would not be endangered, the co-operation of many trade unions was secured, and several thousand firms gave the undertaking, thus qualifying for the privilege of using a special seal on their business notepaper to indicate that they were participants in the scheme.

Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd

---

# Bookselling Dept.

West Blandford Street :: Newcastle-on-Tyne.

---



¶ Have you availed yourself of the pleasure afforded by a visit to our Bookroom?

¶ Have you seen to the Bookselling Trade in your own Store?

¶ Have you made it your business to see that the Libraries and Clubs in your area are drawing their supplies of books from the above department?

¶ Have you satisfied yourself that there is no need whatever for a single book to be bought outside the Co-operative Stores?

¶ Have you realised the importance of Bookselling as a contribution to the advancement of Co-operative ideas?

¶ Have you any orders or inquiries to place in relation to this business? If so, place them at once, and test our ability to meet your needs.

# **S** TATIONERY AND OFFICE REQUISITES DEPARTMENT

*Co-operative  
Wholesale  
Society*

## **Things to Remember**

- ¶ Filing is an absolute necessity to every modern business house.
- ¶ The modern business man must now be in a position to bring under review at short notice the whole ramifications of the business in which he is interested or responsible for.
- ¶ This can only be done by properly collated data filed according to modern system.
- ¶ In connection with the above department a special feature for the Co-operative Movement is the opening of a new showroom for Filing Cabinets and Office Requisites. This showroom is the most modern and up to date in the trade.
- ¶ Get in touch with this department if you require up-to-date Office Requisites.

WEST BLANDFORD STREET  
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

## DOMESTIC LEGISLATION IN 1919.

THE Government undertook a big programme of social legislation in the session of 1919, and a number of important measures were speeded through Parliament by the new committee system, which shortened materially the discussions in the House of Commons. The principal measures, which dealt with transport, housing, health, profiteering, wages and hours, and land settlement, are summarised below:—

### MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT ACT.

This measure, which was passed on August 15th, after long discussions, negotiations, and protests by interested parties, in the course of which its scope was considerably narrowed, created a new Ministry of Transport. Sir Eric Geddes was appointed the first Minister.

The Act transfers to the Minister, with certain reservations, the powers and duties of any Government department in relation to railways, light railways, and tramways; canals, waterways, and inland navigations; roads, bridges, and ferries, and vehicles and traffic thereon; harbours, docks, and piers.

It provides for the creation of a separate department in connection with the Ministry to deal with road construction, improvement, maintenance, and development.

Provisions are included for the control of railways for a period of two years, in order to give time for the consideration of future policy. The Act gives complete supervisory power to the Minister, and stipulates that directors and managers "shall obey the directions of the Minister" on matters relating to the use of the railways; the rates, fares, tolls, &c., to be charged; the salaries, wages, and conditions of the persons

employed; and the general administration of the railways.

Limitations of control over docks are laid down, but very full powers over tramways development are given.

Power is given to the Minister to establish, and to work himself or lease to others, transport services by land or water, subject to control by Parliament over the financial outlay involved and over measures for the acquisition of land and the breaking up of roads.

Power is given to purchase privately-owned railway wagons, and to advance moneys (with the consent of the Treasury) for the construction, improvement, and maintenance of railways, light railways, tramways, roads, bridges, ferries, harbours and docks, and other land or water transport services.

Provision is made for the establishment of representative advisory committees, on which commercial and labour interests shall be represented, for consultative purposes in regard to rates and charges and general administration. The committee dealing with rates and charges has power to conduct inquiries. A separate roads committee is also provided for.

The salary of the Minister is £5,000 a year.

### THE HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, &c., ACT.

This Act, which was passed on July 31st, 1919, gave full powers to the Local Government Board (now the Ministry of Health) in connection with the national housing scheme, and

unamended housing and town planning legislation in conformity with the new needs due to the house famine.

The Act imposes on local authorities the duty of preparing schemes for the

provision of working-class houses, and lays down conditions under which the Ministry of Health may approve such schemes, or may take action itself if a local authority fails to carry out its duty—either directly or by requiring a county council to prepare the scheme. Authority is also given to public utility societies and housing trusts to carry out housing schemes.

The financial provisions empower the Ministry to make good a specified portion of the loss incurred by local authorities, or public utility societies, or housing trusts in carrying out duties under the Act.

In the case of local authorities the maximum loss to be borne by the authority is the amount of the proceeds of a penny rate, the Treasury making good the remainder.

Provisions are included for the compulsory acquisition of land and buildings required in connection with

any scheme, and for the lease or sale of any land for the provision of houses, gardens, factories, places of worship, places of recreation, &c., in connection with any scheme.

Grants or loans may be made to public utility societies and trusts. Grants towards the cost of these semi-public schemes are limited to 30 per cent of the annual loan charges. Financial assistance in the shape of loans or mortgages may also be given to private persons to enable them to adapt existing property for working-class dwellings.

The Town Planning Act of 1909 is amended so as to enable a local authority to prepare a town plan without previously obtaining the authorisation of the Ministry, and provisions are made in the new Act which render it compulsory on all authorities of areas with more than 20,000 inhabitants to prepare town plans.

---

## PROFITEERING ACT.

The Profiteering Act, which was passed on August 19th, 1919, was one outcome of widespread protests against high prices.

The Act conferred on the Board of Trade wide powers, and gave the Board authority to delegate any of these powers to local authorities or specially appointed committees. In pursuance of this an order was made requiring local authorities to set up profiteering tribunals to investigate complaints made by members of the public. Ministers claimed that the operation of the Act and of these bodies had helped to reduce prices, but the general opinion among the public was that the tribunals were ineffective because they failed to reach the sources of profiteering. After two or three months' experience there was, on this account, a growing disinclination to make complaints.

The main provisions of the Act gave power to the Board of Trade—

To investigate prices, costs, and profit at all stages.

To receive and investigate complaints that unreasonable profits were being made.

To declare what price would give a reasonable profit.

To require the seller to return to the purchaser any amount in excess of that price.

To take proceedings against offenders.

The penalty on conviction to be a fine not exceeding £200, or imprisonment not exceeding three months, or both fine and imprisonment.

Anyone making a complaint who furnished false information, knowingly or recklessly, to be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, or to imprisonment not exceeding three months, or to both fine and imprisonment.

The Act provides that any member of a committee established by a local authority should be disqualified from hearing a complaint if he was a trade competitor of the person against whom the complaint was made.

An important obligation was imposed by section 3 of the Act, as follows:—

“The Board of Trade shall obtain from all available sources information as to the nature, extent, and development of trusts, companies, firms,

combinations, agreements, and arrangements connected with mining, manufactures, trade, commerce, finance, or transport having for their purpose or effect the regulation of the output of prices or commodities or services produced or rendered in the United Kingdom or imported into the United Kingdom; or the delimitation of

markets in respect thereof, or the regulation of transport rates and services, in so far as they tend to the creation of monopolies or to the restraint of trade."

Section 4 empowered the Board to authorise local authorities to purchase and sell any articles to which the Act applied.

---

## MINISTRY OF HEALTH ACT.

This Act, which was passed on June 3rd, 1919, created a Ministry of Health in place of the Local Government Board, and added to it certain powers formerly held by other Government departments. Dr. Addison became the first Minister, and one of his most important initial tasks was the organisation of the national housing scheme.

The duties of the Minister, as defined in the Act, are "to take all such steps as may be desirable to secure the preparation and effective carrying out and co-ordination of measures conducive to the health of the people."

These include, among others, the prevention and cure of disease, the treatment of physical and mental defects, the care of the blind, the initiation and direction of research, and the training of persons for health services.

The Ministry absorbed generally the powers of the old Local Government Board and the Health Insurance Commissioners; various powers of the Board of Education relating to health; other powers regarding midwives and infant life protection. Authority is also given to transfer at any time by Order in Council other powers and duties, including those relating to lunacy, and to the health of officers and disabled men after leaving the services. Provision is also made for the allocation of the Poor Law powers and duties in the event of the future revision of the Poor Law.

The Act provides for the establishment of consultative health councils in various districts of the country, and for the administration of national health insurance by a joint board, of which the Minister of Health is to be president.

---

## LAND SETTLEMENT (FACILITIES) ACT.

This Act, which was passed on August 19th, 1919, is supplementary to the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908, and subsequent measures dealing with the subject, and it deals mainly with detailed matters of administration in connection with the acquirement of land and the letting or sale of land for small holdings and allotments, particularly to those who served in the forces.

The Act gives the Board of Agriculture power to acquire and dispose of land if it is considered that

any county council is not performing its duty satisfactorily.

Power is given to a county council to advance loans to smallholders for the purchase of live stock, fruit trees, seeds, fertilisers, and implements, and to a borough, urban, or parish council to purchase any of these things and sell them without profit to holders of allotment gardens—providing in both cases that the facilities for obtaining a loan or purchasing the goods from a society on a co-operative basis are inadequate.

## EMPIRE PROBLEMS.

## Growing Demands for Self-Government.

**A**MONG the world-shaking reactions of the war one of the most important to British people is the impetus which has been given to the demands for self-government in the subject countries of the Empire, and especially in Ireland, India, and Egypt. It is becoming clearer day by day that the old method of government by bureaucratic officials cannot continue to exist, and that the only alternative to turmoil and uprisings or purely military rule is a progressive policy of self-government, suited to the needs and state of political evolution of the respective countries.

The outstanding features of the situation in Ireland, India, and Egypt are explained in the following articles:—

## IRELAND.

The year 1919 will occupy a place by itself in the history of Ireland. The state of the country presented an amazing paradox. On the one hand the prosperity of agriculture—the chief industry—was abounding. On the other, the political situation went from bad to worse.

Following upon the December, 1918, election catastrophe to the National Parliamentary Party, the mass of the people in Nationalist Ireland rallied to the Sinn Fein organisation. This led in turn to the adoption by the Government of stronger repressive methods. The result, so familiar in Irish history, was the creation of a spirit among the more reckless and extreme elements which found expression in political crimes of the type of the earlier coercion days. Police officers were shot from ambush, people suspected of hostility to Sinn Fein were boycotted or subjected to various forms of outrage.

Although these crimes were less numerous, and limited chiefly to attacks on the police, than in the days of the agrarian trouble, the situation as a whole was relatively far worse. In the former period the constitutional Home Rule Party was strong, and it was found possible gradually to restore it to ascendancy. Now Nationalist Ireland is almost solidly Sinn Fein, and although large numbers of people would still welcome a Home Rule solution on Dominion lines—a policy which is strongly advocated by Sir Horace Plunkett and other leaders of moderate opinion—it is nevertheless a fact that the effect of the repressive measures daily strengthened the serious demand for complete separation.

The Government maintained in the country during the year an "army of occupation" estimated variously at from 50,000 to 80,000 men, and month by month what came to be described as the "military strangle hold" was tightened. Areas of the country, beginning with the disturbed districts of the south-west, were proclaimed and placed under autocratic military rule, and during the year these areas were gradually enlarged. Tributes were levied on whole communities as compensation for political crimes, and in many districts the right of public meeting, except under a permit system, was abrogated.

Newspapers were suppressed, and finally the whole Sinn Fein organisation was proclaimed, and meetings of an assembly which had been set up as an "Irish Parliament," under the title "Dail Eireann," were forbidden. This body had decided to float an "Irish Republican Loan," but papers which published its advertisement were suppressed or suspended for several days, and among them was the moderate Nationalist *Cork Examiner*. The inevitable result of all these measures was the creation of a spirit of extraordinary bitterness throughout the country.

Meanwhile the Government failed to agree on any definite policy, and politically the question drifted. Lord French, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Ian Macpherson, who succeeded Mr. Shortt as Chief Secretary, appeared to limit their activities to vain endeavours to restore "law and order." *The Times* newspaper made a spirited effort in the summer to rally



moderate opinion in support of a generous self-government solution, but Sir Edward Carson responded by stimulating his reactionary Ulster followers to renewed opposition. In September it was discovered suddenly by the law officers of the Crown that as soon as the Peace Treaty with Turkey was signed the suspended Home Rule Act would come automatically into operation, and a committee was therefore hurriedly appointed to try to devise an acceptable scheme of settlement.

The Irish situation reacted adversely against British interests in America. Sinn Fein agents were active in propaganda work, and Mr. de Valera, the Sinn Fein president, himself succeeded in reaching the States, where he was publicly acclaimed by the numerous sympathisers with Ireland. The campaign against President Wilson and the League of Nations Covenant was undoubtedly enormously strengthened by the feeling on the Irish question.

During the year many of the Sinn Fein leaders were arrested in Ireland, and various troubles occurred in the prisons where they were lodged. In October, five of the prominent leaders made a dramatic escape from Strangeways Prison, Manchester, where they had been treated as political prisoners.

#### INDIA.

A remarkably full and frank statement about the position in India was made in the House of Commons on May 23rd, 1919, by Mr. Montagu (Secretary of State for India).

He described the riots and destruction of life and property which had occurred in the Presidency of Bombay, the Province of the Punjab, and, to a less degree, in the cities of Delhi and Calcutta. He ascribed the trouble partly to economic causes—the famine and high prices due to drought, and the appalling death-roll caused by influenza—and partly to political causes. He pointed out that the widespread unrest had been created in the Mohammedan world by the belief that a victory in the war for liberation and national self-determination was to be utilised for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. A more deeply seated cause of unrest, however, was the existence of suspicions that the promised measure of evolutionary self-government for India would not prove acceptable, and Mr. Montagu drew a picture of operations and agitations carried on by secret organisations in the interests of the extreme Nationalist movement.

Lastly, he admitted candidly that much disaffection had been created by the passing of the Rowlatt Act. This measure was the outcome of a committee of inquiry presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt. The Act empowers the executive, in the event of grave anxiety or danger to the public safety, caused by anarchical or revolutionary movements, to deprive a suspected man of his liberty and intern him for a prolonged period without recourse to the ordinary process of law. Provision is made for appeal to an investigating authority, which would report whether or not it was right to continue internment, but legal assistance at the hearing of the appeal is specifically denied the interned person.

The scope for abuse of provisions of this nature by reactionary rulers is obvious. Mr. Montagu stated that under the Defence of India Act—the equivalent of the British "Dora"—1,600 people were dealt with for extreme political activities, and that in May 464 were still subject to restraint.

Mr. Montagu said sufficient to show that in India there is grave danger of repeating the process which has taken place in Ireland—that is, bringing about the alienation of loyal and constitutional Nationalists by repressive measures to put down the agitation for self-government.

Later in the session the Bill was introduced to give effect to recommendations that a self-governing system should be introduced, with various limitations and safeguards, in order gradually to train the Indian people to assume a greater share of responsibility for their own government. The measure, which was subject to criticism both from Nationalists and the opponents of any form of self-government, was remitted to a special committee, which carried out a prolonged investigation and examination of witnesses.

This Committee reported favourably on the Bill in the middle of November, and certain amendments, with the object of amending the proposed franchise somewhat, were recommended.

#### EGYPT.

The story of the Egyptian trouble is in its essential features the same as that of India. Before the war a Nationalist Party, with self-government aspirations, had grown up in Egypt, and authoritative critics of the Government declare that these aspirations could have been satisfied by the inauguration of a tentative scheme, which would have given an opportunity for the Egyptian people to train their own governors, with the object of assuming a steadily increasing share of control over the administration.

Instead of this many things occurred during the war to create discontent, and, as in India, the causes were both economic and political. The check on the export of cotton was one of the principal economic causes. The actions of many of the minor military authorities and the treatment of native labour corps were responsible, it is alleged, for other troubles; but one of the chief political causes of unrest was the proclamation of the Protectorate. The inevitable effect was a stimulation of the self-government demand, and the development of an aggressiveness among a section of the Nationalists which naturally displeased the conventional official mind.

The unrest was brought to a head by a refusal of permission to Rushdi Pasha (Prime Minister) and the Minister of Education to visit London, with certain Nationalist leaders, to state the case for self-government, and by the arrest and deportation of Zaghul (whose official position was in some degree like that of the Speaker in England) and several of his associates. The Prime Minister (Rushdi Pasha) whose war record was admirable in every way, and whose attachment to the cause of the Allies was sincere and devoted, resigned his office as a protest. The movement of open rebellion swiftly developed, but some semblance of order was restored by General Allenby, the Victor of Palestine, on his way back to England.

According to official statements there was much loss of life in the disturbances. The number of killed were 27 British soldiers, 4 British civilians, 9 Indian soldiers, 15 Armenians, and nearly 1,000 Egyptians, which indicates a ruthless suppression of the rising. All details were suppressed by a rigid censorship.

A Commission of Inquiry was appointed, with Lord Milner as chairman, and later, in the autumn, General Allenby was appointed High Commissioner of Egypt, but almost before he could assume his new duties, and before the Commission visited Egypt, the trouble broke out afresh, and at the beginning of November grave riots occurred at Alexandria. The new outbreak was partly attributed to the growth of Moslem unrest due to the difficulties connected with the Turkish Peace Treaty, and the future settlement of the defeated Empire. The accounts which reached England indicated that disaffection was widespread. Two or three weeks later an intimation that the Commission was about to visit Egypt led to a political crisis, and the Egyptian Government resigned. Simultaneously there was a fresh rising in Cairo (on November 19th), and its suppression involved further loss of life among the natives.

---

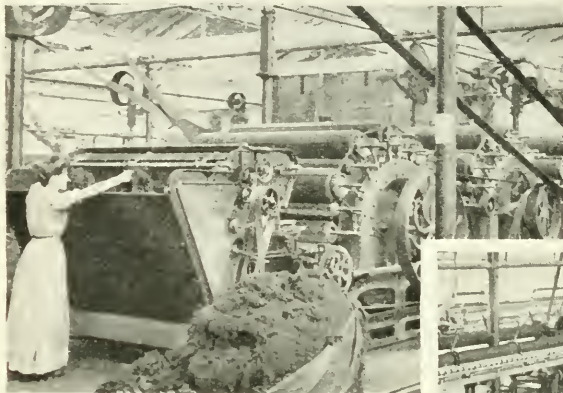
## SWISS INTERNATIONAL ENTERPRISE.

---

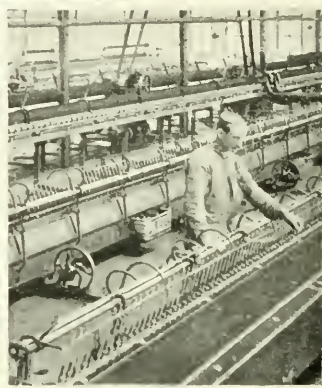
According to the periodical, *Welt-handel*, a Swiss co-operative society for the exchange of goods has been formed in Berne with branches in Poland and Jugo-Slavia. Branches are also to be established in Czecho-

Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Germany, and other countries. It is reported to have a capital of Fr.50 millions, one-third of which represents the interest of the Swiss Government.

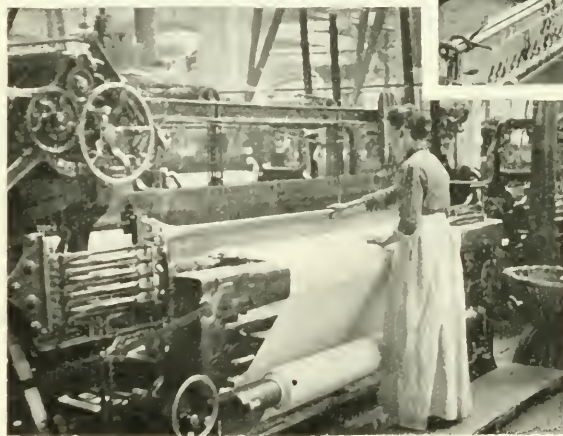
# WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE



THE  
SCRIBBLER.



WOOL SPINNING  
AT A  
C.W.S. MILL.



WOOLLEN  
WEAVING  
AT A  
C.W.S.  
MILL.

## WORLD-WIDE POLITICAL UNREST IN 1919.

### JANUARY.

11. Luxemburg: Grand Duchess Maria Adelaide forced to abdicate on account of her German sympathies; her sister Charlotte subsequently proclaimed Grand Duchess.
16. Poland: Announcement of the appointment of General Pilsudski as head of the State and of M. Paderewski as Premier of a Coalition Government.
18. Inter-Allied Peace Conference formally opened in Paris, representatives of the 32 allied and associated nations (including the British Dominions and India) being present.
- 19-29. Portugal: Monarchist military rising in Oporto and afterwards in Lisbon. The Portuguese Government proclaims a state of siege throughout the country and ultimately restores order. New Cabinet formed.
20. Italian Ministry reorganised by Signor Orlando, owing to the resignation of the Finance Minister (Signor Nitti) as a protest against the Chauvinist claims on Jugo-Slavia.
25. Roumania: Peasants and soldiers' insurrection.
27. Patagonia: Bolshevik uprising. Chilean Government sends troops and warships.

### FEBRUARY.

8. Turkey: Announcement of sweeping arrests of members of the late administration for war crimes, as a result of pressure brought to bear on the Turkish Government by the Allies.
8. Poland: Announcement of the results of elections to the Constituent Assembly. National block of 400 seats; Socialists, 80 seats; Jews, 15 seats.
12. United States: Announcement of the rejection by the Senate once more of the Bill for women's suffrage.
13. Roumania: A general insurrection announced. Flight of the Royal Family prevented. Royal palace fired on and king wounded.
13. Portugal: Announcement of the suppression of the Monarchist rising by the capture of Oporto and of the Royalist leaders.
19. France: Attempted assassination of M. Clemenceau by an anarchist; the French Premier shot in the shoulder.
20. Afghanistan: The Ameer assassinated.
22. The United States Government officially recognises the British protectorate over Egypt, proclaimed by the British Government on December 18th, 1914.
23. Egypt: Resignation of the Egyptian Cabinet announced. Three weeks' strike of native officials in Cairo ends by a resumption of work.

### MARCH.

1. Nationalist outbreak in Korea: Demonstrations and disturbances on behalf of independence.
8. Egypt: Arrest and deportation to Malta of four Nationalist leaders (including Zaghul Pasha, a former Cabinet Minister) on charges of agitation hostile to the Protectorate. (The deportations must be taken in connection with the predominance of martial law, the prohibition of public meetings, rigid censorship, the prohibition of the presentation of Nationalist aspirations before the Peace Congress, and the resignation of the Ministry of Rushdi Pasha in consequence of his having been forbidden to go to London to make a personal declaration of his views with regard to the present and future position of Egypt), and in addition to all this, the closing of the Legislative Assembly during the whole period of the war.
10. Revolt in Abyssinia.
- 10-18. Egypt: Riotous demonstrations in Cairo dispersed by the military; numerous arrests. Strike of members of the Native Bar. British Commander-in-Chief empowers the courts to determine matters without the legal advocates. Demonstrations and disturbances also in the provinces, military authorities employing energetic measures, including aeroplanes.
18. India: The Rowlatt Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Bill passed by the Legislative Council against the strong opposition of the Indian members.
21. Egypt: Appointment of General Allenby as Special High Commissioner for Egypt and the Soudan. Military reinforcements also sent. On the 24th General Allenby promises an inquiry into the causes of active discontent.

### APRIL.

3. South Africa: Racial trouble on the Rand.
4. Philippine Islands: A Filipino delegation to Washington presents a claim for the independence of the Philippine Islands.
- 7-9-10. Egypt: The new High Commissioner (General Allenby) proclaims the abolition of restrictions on travel and egress from the country and also the release from internment of the recently deported Nationalist leaders, the proclamation being received with enthusiasm. A new Ministry is also formed, with Rushdi Pasha as President of the Council. Following on the rejoicings mob riots take place, which result in the killing of eight British soldiers and 400 arrests amongst the disturbers of the

peace. Casualties during two months' disturbances—29 military killed and 81 wounded, and close on 1,000 casualties among the rioters.

- 10-12. India: Disturbances in various cities. At Lahore the police fire on the mob; at Amritsar the rioters wreck the telegraph office and burn a bank, and five Europeans lose their lives, while the rioters' casualties amount to 200. At Ahmedabad the rioters burn down the city telegraph office, and conflicts with the police result in the killing of two constables and heavy losses amongst the rioters. At Calcutta the dispersal of the mob by the military results in six killed and 12 wounded. At Delhi the firing results in 15 casualties. At Amritsar 350 persons are arrested, and at Rewar a Delhi boy of 13 is arrested for spreading sedition. The Seditious Meetings Acts extended to Sind. Three agitators deported from Lahore and a great number of arrests take place elsewhere. The Rowlatt Bills stated to be the cause of the trouble.
- 23-26. India: Further reports of incendiarism and illegal activity. Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* (Mr. Horniman) deported to England, and the directors of the paper suspend publication rather than submit to a special censorship.
29. Turkey: Trial begins by court martial of ex-Ministers involved in the Armenian massacres.
30. India: Government Commission delivers judgment on a number of accused for participation in disturbances; 11 of the accused sentenced to death and others to varying terms of imprisonment.

#### MAY.

2. Poland: Pogrom at Vilna and 220 Jews killed and a multitude deported.
2. Spain: The Cortes dissolved.
- 5-6. Poland: More anti-Semitic pogroms at Kobuzowa in West Galicia; nine Jews killed and 100 injured, and in various other towns attacks on Jews and excesses.
7. India: Partial famine reported; over two millions of persons in receipt of relief.
7. Finland: British recognition of Finland's independence announced in the press.
- 8-15. India: Military operations on the Afghan frontier; raiders expelled.
- 9-12. Egypt: Casual affrays between soldiers and native crowds. Colonel Sir Leo Stack Pasha appointed Sirdar of the Egyptian army and Governor-General of the Soudan.
10. Bolshevik outbreak in Bulgaria.
15. Egypt: Official announcement of the British Government's decision to send out a commission to Egypt to make recommendations with regard to the future government of the country.
18. The Levant: Fighting in Smyrna on the occupation of the town by Greek troops; 100 Greeks killed and 400 Turks.
19. Esthonia: The Constituent Assembly (at Reval) ratifies the declaration of independence made previously by the Provisional National Council.
20. Armenia: Report of British troops going to occupy Kars, Erzerum, and Erzincan.
21. Bulgaria: Political crisis; Cabinet resigns.
23. Turkey: Political crisis; Cabinet resigns as a protest (it is reported) against the Greek occupation of Smyrna.
27. Poland: More pogroms and atrocities by Haller's troops. Polish campaign in Galicia results in the capture of various towns.
28. India: The Secretary of State for India (in the House of Commons) reports an estimate of 400 killed and 400 wounded in the recent riots, and that the damage done in the Punjab might amount to nearly £1,000,000.
28. India: Demobilisation stopped in view of the Afghan situation. In the southern section of the Afghan frontier British outposts forced to withdraw; elsewhere attacks repulsed. Peace proposals received from the Ameer.
29. Egypt: High treason trial in Egypt; six natives charged.
29. Turkey: Deportation of 77 prisoners (including the ex-Grand Vizier) to Malta.

#### JUNE.

1. Spain: General elections result in successes for progressists.
2. Portugal: The President (Admiral de Canto Castro) resigns.
4. Poland: Anti-Semitic riots in Cracow; 200 Jews injured and £1,000,000 damage to property.
6. China: Disturbances in Shanghai; 1,000 students arrested.
6. Finland declares war on Bolshevik Russia.
7. Russia: The Order of the Bath presented to the reactionist General Denikin on behalf of King George.
- 9-10. Malta: Disturbances suppressed by military, and loss of life.
- 9-11. India: Martial law revoked in the Punjab and partially so in Lahore.
10. China: Political crisis with regard to the question of China signing the Peace Treaty; President and Cabinet tender their resignations.
19. Italy: Political crisis; the Cabinet resigns and Signor Nitti succeeds Signor Orlando as Prime Minister.

#### JULY.

4. Revolution in Peru. The President and Cabinet put in prison.
- 5-6. Italy: Food riots in Florence, Milan, and other towns.
11. Spain: Cabinet crisis. New Cabinet formed.

20. Australia. Riots in Melbourne, and Premier of Victoria assaulted by returned soldiers.
20. Turkey. Cabinet crisis. New Ministry formed with Damad Ferid Pasha again as Grand Vizier.
21. United States. Racial riot between whites and blacks in Washington; seven killed and many wounded.
22. Croatia. Military revolt against the Serbian regime.
25. Finland. Professor Stahlberg (a co-operator) elected first president of the republic.
26. Finland. Cabinet crisis; ministry resigns.
- 27-29. United States. Racial riots in Chicago; 24 persons killed, and hospitals filled with wounded.
29. Bulgaria. Reported Bolshevik rising in Amboli.
30. Jamaica. Race riot in Kingston suppressed by troops.

**AUGUST.**

5. Italy. Disturbances in Trieste; 300 arrests.
8. Asia Minor. Fighting between Greeks and Turks at Aidin.
11. India. Fighting on the Afghan frontier.
11. India. Eight Hindus sentenced to death and 135 to transportation for life for participation in the religious riot at Katarpur.
16. Mexico. British Charge d'Affairs expelled by President Carranza.

22. Bulgaria. Reported republican demonstration in Sofia and sanguinary encounters between soldiers and demonstrators.

**SEPTEMBER.**

2. General Smuts becomes Premier of South Africa in succession to the late General Botha.
12. Raid on Fiume by Signor D'Annunzio (the novelist and poet) at the head of a body of Italian volunteer troops; the town forcibly entered and occupied despite the fact of its being under inter-allied control. Action of D'Annunzio is disavowed by the Italian Premier.
13. Insurrection in progress in Albania.
15. Revolution in Honduras; the President escapes to San Salvador.
17. Montenegrins in insurrection against the Serbians in occupation of the country.
20. The Dutch Ambassador in Brussels withdrawn in consequence of the withdrawal of the Belgian Ambassador from the Ifague.

**OCTOBER.**

1. Italy. Political crisis and dissolution of Parliament.
5. Turkey. Another political crisis; resignation of the Grand Vizier and Cabinet.
- 5-6. India. Fighting and casualties on Afghan frontier.
24. Egypt. Riots in Alexandria; troops fire on the crowd.

---

**IRELAND.**

---

**DECEMBER.**

- 1918.
30. Election results show sweeping victory for the Sinn Fein Party, which secures the election of 47 candidates as against the Nationalists 6, and the Unionists 23.

**JANUARY.**

- 1919.
3. More Sinn Fein arrests.
20. Official revocal of military order (of July 4th, 1918) prohibiting the holding of meetings without a permit.
21. Sinn Fein Assembly (Irish Constituent Assembly) meets in the Mansion House, Dublin, and proclaims Ireland's independence, appoints (uninvited) delegates to the Peace Conference, and issues a proclamation to the "free nations" of the world.
23. Tipperary area proclaimed, consequent on the assassination of two policemen.
23. Irish press censor offers to resign, but withdraws the resignation at the urgent request of Lord French, the Viceroy.

21. New Centre party founded.
25. Irish Unionist split; reunion of Southern Unionists.
28. Special official inquiry begins into the alleged illtreatment of Sinn Fein prisoners in Belfast gaol.
28. Announcement of the establishment of Sinn Fein law courts in the form of arbitration courts.

**FEBRUARY.**

4. The Sinn Fein leader (Eamon de Valera) escapes from Lincoln Gaol.
25. Sinn Fein appeal to the Peace Conference for the international recognition of the independence of Ireland and the admission of Ireland as a constituent member of the League of Nations.

**MARCH.**

6. The Chief Secretary for Ireland announces the decision of the Government to release the interned Irish Political prisoners (most of whom were arrested in connection with the alleged "German plot," but were never brought to trial).
17. Ulster by-election; increase of Sinn Fein vote in Londonderry.

21. The vice-president of Sinn Fein (Father O'Flanagan) refused a passport to America.
25. Proclamation forbidding the holding of any meeting or procession in Dublin city or county without a written permission from the authorities.

**APRIL.**

1. The Westport district proclaimed a military area in consequence of the murder of the resident magistrate.
10. The Sinn Fein "Parliament" opens its second public sitting in the Mansion House, Dublin.
- 14-21. Political strike in Limerick against martial law.
28. Change of press censors. Lord Decies resigns, and Major Bryan R. Cooper is appointed to succeed him.

**MAY.**

9. The Mansion House, Dublin, taken possession of by the military and police prior to the reception arranged in honour of the Irish-American delegates who had attended a special meeting of the Sinn Fein Assembly.
11. Official ban on the visit to Westport of the Irish-American delegates.
11. Sinn Fein raid (on an Ulster Castle) in quest of arms.
12. Military search for arms at Cork.
13. On the occasion of the second reading of the Irish Housing Bill it is officially announced that in Dublin 340 people in every 1,000 are living in one-room dwellings.

**JUNE.**

5. Reported recrudescence of military activity in various parts of Ireland.
9. East Antrim by-election results in the election of an independent Unionist and the defeat of the Carsonist candidate.
24. Civic honours for the Sinn Fein leader (Mr. de Valera) in New York City, the Board of Aldermen deciding to bestow on him the freedom of the city.
27. The Irish Dominion League (newly founded under the auspices of Sir Horace Plunket and other Unionists) declares for Ireland being made a self-governing dominion within the Empire.
29. Another police raid on the Sinn Fein headquarters in Dublin, and baton charges in the city streets.

**JULY.**

7. Prohibition and suppression of all Sinn Fein organisations throughout County Tipperary.

**AUGUST.**

14. Prohibition and suppression of all Sinn Fein organisations in County Clare.
- 15-16. Nationalist and Sinn Fein demonstrations in Ulster. Outbreak of hooliganism in Londonderry and military called out. Rioting in East Tyrone, and faction fight at Dundalk.

20. Police raids in Dundalk and Dublin. A Dublin weekly paper suppressed.
22. Headquarters of the Irish Transport Workers' Union raided twice by the military and police.
31. Irish press censorship abolished.

**SEPTEMBER.**

- 1-6. More soldiers drafted into Ulster.
7. Attack on soldiers in Fermoy; four shot.
8. Rioting in Fermoy; 50 shops wrecked.
7. Military convoy in County Cork held up by armed civilians and a number of rifles taken.
10. Irish Government Order suppressing all Sinn Fein organisations in the city and County of Cork.
10. The Irish Government extends the Crimes Act to the County and City of Dublin, County Tipperary, County and City of Limerick, County Clare, and County and City of Cork.
12. Military and police raids throughout Ireland on Sinn Fein premises in search of arms and seditious literature. At the Sinn Fein headquarters in Dublin two Sinn Fein M.P.'s arrested, besides the publications and correspondence of the organisation being seized.
12. Suppression of the Sinn Fein "Parliament" ("Dail Eireann").
17. Police raid on the *Cork Examiner* (Nationalist paper) and the paper temporarily suppressed.
19. Six Dublin weekly papers suppressed on the ground of having inserted the prospectus of the Sinn Fein Loan.
21. Another Irish newspaper suppressed.
22. The arming of policemen with bombs in disturbed areas is officially announced.

**OCTOBER.**

11. Arrest of Mr. A. McCabe, M.P. for South Sligo.
14. All political prisoners in Mountjoy prison, Dublin, on hunger strike, and all in handcuffs and solitary confinement except those in hospital.
15. All Sinn Fein organisations in the City and County of Dublin prohibited and suppressed.
15. Meeting of the Sinn Fein Convention (despite the suppression order) and Mr. de Valera re-elected president.
17. Over a score of arrests by police and military in Dundrum, near Dublin.
18. Women's Sinn Fein League Convention suppressed. All political prisoners in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, released.
25. Dramatic escape of Sinn Feiners from Strangeways Prison (Manchester). Six men get clear away after gagging and bandaging the warden.
31. Raids on Irish police barracks in County Meath, and a constable shot.

**NOVEMBER.**

6. Motor cars in Ireland forbidden to be kept or used without special permit.

# CO-OPERATORS

WHO have not already joined an Approved Society, or who are about to reach the age of 16 years, should apply for membership in the CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY'S

## NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE SECTION

---

1, BALLOON STREET : MANCHESTER

YOU may obtain Application Form at the Office of the NEAREST CO-OPERATIVE STORE. Apply at once; don't wait until you are :: :: 16 years of age. :: ::

---

DENTAL TREATMENT now available as an additional benefit. Ask for particulars from Head Office.

•

Membership, 250,000.

Benefits Paid, £520,000.

Invested Funds, £750,000.

Compensation secured for Members, £145,000.

War Pensions granted to Members, £180,000.



# C.W.S. PURE YEAST

SOCIETIES  
ARE  
INVITED  
TO SEND  
INQUIRIES  
FOR YEAST  
TO THEIR  
OWN  
WORKS

MANUFACTURED AT THE  
C.W.S.  
MIDDLETON JUNCTION.

# C.W.S. in the FISH TRADE

ONE OF THE LATEST CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS.

HERRING  
QUAY.



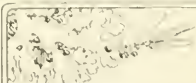
GUTTING HERRINGS.



BAGS OF FISH.



DESPATCH  
TO SOCIETIES.



## INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

---

International Co-operative Alliance (established 1895): 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Secretary: H. J. May.

### UNITED KINGDOM.

*For a complete list of Co-operative bodies in the United Kingdom see pages 341 to 344.*

### AUSTRIA.

Zentralverband österreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna. (Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies.) Established 1904.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft österreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna. (Austrian Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1905.

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Lindengasse 5, Vienna. (The General Union is a composite organisation).

### BELGIUM.

Fédération des Sociétés coopératives belges: 48, rue du Rupel, Brussels (established 1901.) Secretary: Victor Serwy.

Office coopératif, 28, Rue de Portugal, Brussels (Co-operative Union).

### BULGARIA.

Société Coopérative de Consommation, "Bratski Troud": Sofia. (Distributive Society.)

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Ustředni svaz ceskoslovanských družstev v Praze (Central Union of Czech-Slovak Co-operative Societies, Prague). Established 1907.

Velkonákupni společnost konsumních družstev v Praze (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Prague). Established 1909.

### DENMARK.

Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger: Copenhagen. (The Danish Distributive Wholesale.) Established 1896.

Andelsudvalget: Christiansgade 24, Aarhus. (The All-Danish Central Co-operative Board).

Jydsk Andels—Foderstofforening: Aarhus. (Feeding Stuff Society.)

### FINLAND.

Suomen Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta r.l. (The Finnish Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society): Helsingfors. Established 1904.

Pellervo Society: Helsingfors. Secretary: Onni Karhunen. (Society for the Promotion and Propagation of Co-operation.) Established 1901.

Kultusosuuskuntien Keskusliitto: Djurgårdsvägen 1, Helsingfors. Secretary: Wäinö Hüpli. (Central Union of Distributive Societies.) Established 1916.

Suomen Osuustukkukauppa: Broholmngatan 8, Helsingfors. (Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1917.

FRANCE.

Fédération nationale des Cooperatives de Consommation: 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. Chairman: Charles Gide. Secretaries: A. Daudé-Barcel and E. Poisson. (National Federation of Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1912.

Magasin de Gros des Cooperatives de France: 29, Boulevard Bourdon, Paris. (The French Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1913.

Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production: 44, Rue du Renard, Paris.

\*GALICIA.

Landes Kredit Verband: Ringplatz 10, Lemberg. (National Credit Union).

Landes Revisions-Verband landwirt. Genossenschaften: Lemberg. (National Auditing Union of Ruthenian Agricultural Societies.)

Verband der Erwerbs und Wirtschafts-Genossenschaften: Plac Smolki 3, Lemberg.

GERMANY.

Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine: Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg. Secretary: Heinrich Kaufmann. (Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1903.

Grossekaufigesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine: Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg. (The Wholesale of the Central Union.) Established 1892.

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Berlinerstrasse 102, Charlottenburg, Berlin. (The General or Composite Union, founded in 1864 by Schulze-Delitzsch).

Reichsverband der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften: Bernburgerstrasse 21, Berlin. (Imperial Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies.) Established 1883.

Generalverband ländlicher Genossenschaften für Deutschland: Dorotheenstrasse 11, Berlin. (The Raiffeisen Organisation.) Established 1877.

Hauptverband deutscher gewerblichen Genossenschaften: Berlin. (Head Union of German Operative Co-operative Societies.) Established 1901.

Deutsche Gartenstadt Gesellschaft: Schlachtensee, Berlin. (Garden City Society.)

Bank Zwiasku Zarabowych: Posen.

HOLLAND.

Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Bond: Gedepte Burgwal 35, The Hague. Secretary: H. van der Mandere. (The Co-operative Union.) Established 1889.

Coöperatieve Groothandelsvereniging „De Handelskamer”: Ruijgeplaatweg 29, Rotterdam. President: J. Warmolts. (The Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1890.

Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Vrouwenbond. Secretary: Mej. Marg. Meijboom, Westerbro, Rijswijk (Z.H.). (Women's Co-operative Guild).

Vereeniging Eigenhulp: The Hague. (Distributive Society.)

Bond van Nederlandsche Arbeiderscoöperaties: Leidschestrnat 35, Amsterdam. (Union of Workers' Productive Societies.) Established 1907.

Bond van Coöperatieve Vereenigingen in Nederland, Hertogenbosch. (R.C. Co-operative Union.) Established 1902.

\* Now associated with Poland.

Allgemeene Nederlandsche Zuivelbond: Hugo de Grootstraat 13, The Hague. (Union of Dairy Societies.) Established 1900.

Coöperatieve Centrale Boerealeenbank, Eindhoven. (Farmers' Co-operative Credit Bank).

Coöperatieve Stoomzuivelfabriek: Alkmaar.

Erste Nederlandsche Beetwortelzuikerfabriek: Sas van Gent.

#### HUNGARY.

Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszö vetség Foggyasztasi és Ertekesitö Svövetkezete: Közraktar-utca 34, Budapest. (The Hangya Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1898.

Magyarországi szövöttek szövetsege (General Co-operative Union): Ullöi-út 25, Budapest.

Landes Central Kreditgenossenschaft, Baross-utca 13-szam: Budapest (National Central Credit Society).

#### ITALY.

Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative: Via Pace, Milan. (National League of Co-operative Societies.) Established 1886.

Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative di Consumo: Milan. (The Italian Wholesale).

Federazione Italiana dei Consorzi Agrari: via Mazzini 4, Piacenza.

#### NORWAY.

Norges Kooperative Landsforening: 4, Kirkegaden, Christiania. (The Norwegian Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1906.

#### POLAND.

Związek stowarzyszeń spożywczych: Warsaw. (Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1911.

#### ROUMANIA.

Casa Centrale a Bancilor populare si coopertivelor Satesti: Bucharest. (Co-operative Credit Banking Central.) Established 1903.

#### RUSSIA.

Vserossiisky Tsentralny Soyuz Potrebitelnykh Obshtshestv: Moscow. (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1898.

Komitet o selskyykh ssudosberegatelnykh i promyshlennykh tovarishtshestvakh: Moscow. (Rural Savings and Industrial Associations Committee).

Soyuz Sibirskikh Maslolyelnykh Artelei: Kurgan, Siberia. (Union of Siberian Creamery Associations.) Established 1908. London Offices: 14, Austin Friars, E.C.

Central Association of Flax Growers, Bolshaia Lubianka 15.

Council of the All-Russian Co-operative Congresses, Moscow.

Moscow Narodny Bank: Miasnitskaia 15, Moscow. (People's Co-operative Bank.) London Offices: 40, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.

Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupshbyt," Novo-Nikolaievsk, Siberia.

Union of Co-operative Tar-manufacturing Associations: Shenkursk. (Archangel Government.)

Northern Union of Co-operative Timber Associations: Archangel.

**SERBIA.**

General Union of Serbian Agricultural Co-operative Societies: Belgrade.  
Established 1895.

**SPAIN.**

Camara Regional des Socièdades Cooperativas de Cataluña: Pasaje de San José,  
Letra D. Barcelona. (Catalonian Wholesale.) Established 1900.

Federacion de las Cooperativas Integrales y Populares: Madrid.

**SWEDEN.**

Kooperativa Förbundet i Sverge: Stadsgården 12, Stockholm. (Co-operative  
Union and Wholesale of Sweden.) Established 1899.

**SWITZERLAND.**

Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine: Thiersteineralle 14, Bâle. (Union  
and Wholesale of Swiss Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established  
1890.

Verband Ostschweizerischer landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften: Winterthur.  
(Union of East Swiss Agricultural Co-operative Societies.) Established 1886.

Verband der Genossenschaften "Konkordia": Ausstellungstrasse 21, Zurich.  
(Union of Co-operative Societies, "Konkordia.")

**UKRAINE.**

Union Dniпровienne des Sociètés Coopératives de Consommation: Kiev. (Union  
of Distributive Societies.)

Banque Populaire de l'Ukraine: Kiev. (People's Bank.)

Union Centrale ukrainienne des Coopératives agricoles: Kiev. (Central Union  
of Agricultural Societies.)

**ARMENIA.**

Union of Armenian Co-operative Societies: Erivan.

**JAPAN.**

Central Union of Distributive and other Co-operative Societies: Tokio.  
Established 1903.

**INDIA.**

Co-operative Union of India: Calcutta.

Dharma Samavaya Ltd.: Samavaya Mansions, Corporation Place, Calcutta.  
(Co-operative Wholesale.)

**ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.**

El Hogar Obrero: Buenos Aires. (Distributive, Building, and Credit Society.)

Sociedad Cooperativa de Pan: Rosario de Santa Fé. (Baking Society.)

**CANADA.**

Co-operative Union of Canada: 136, Rawdon Street, Brantford, Ontario.

Co-operative Association: 39, Quebec Street, Guelph.

British Canadian Co-operative Society: Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia.

**UNITED STATES.**

Co-operative League of America: 2, West 13th Street, New York.

Pacific Co-operative League, 236, Commercial Street, San Francisco.

## INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PRESS DIRECTORY.

### AUSTRIA.

- Der Konsumverein:** Vienna. Organ of the Central Union of Austrian Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1903. Also **Für Unsere Hausmütter**. Issued as a household supplement to the **Konsumverein**.
- Die Genossenschaft:** Vienna. Official organ of the General Union or Allgemeine Verband. Established 1872.
- Oesterreichische Landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaftspresse:** Vienna. Organ of agricultural co-operation. Fortnightly. Established 1904.

### BELGIUM.

- La Coopération.** Organ of the Belgian Federation of Co-operative Societies. Established 1902.
- La Cooperation Belge:** Rue de Portugal 28, Brussels. Issued from the Office Cooperatif. Fortnightly. (Journal Populaire.) Established 1919.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

- Družstevník (Co-operator):** Palackého 63, Prague, Bohemia. Organ of the Union of Czech-Slovak Co-operative Societies. Monthly. Established 1909. Monthly Supplement: **Průkopník**.

### DENMARK.

- Andelsbladet (Co-operative Journal):** Christiansgade 24, Aarhus. The joint and general organ of co-operation in Denmark. Issued by the Joint Co-operative Board. Weekly. Editor: Anders Nielsen.

### FINLAND.

- Yhtelshyvä (The Common Weal):** Helsingfors. Official organ of the Finnish Co-operative Wholesale Society. Weekly. Established 1905.
- Samarbete (Co-operation).** Issued by the Finnish Wholesale for the benefit of the Swedish-speaking members of the movement.
- Kuluttajain Lehti (Consumers' Newspaper):** Helsingfors. Organ of the recently-formed Central Union of Consumers' Societies.
- Pellervo:** Helsingfors. Propagandist organ issued by the Pellervo Society. Established 1900. Editor: Dr. Hannes Gebhard.

### FRANCE.

- Action Cooperative:** Paris. Organ of the National Federation of French Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1912. Editors: A. Daudé-Bancel and E. Poisson.
- L'Emancipation:** Nîmes. Journal of Political and social economy. Monthly. Established 1887.
- Le Consommateur:** Paris. Organ of the Consumers' League. Monthly. Established 1911.
- Association Ouvrière:** Paris. Official organ of productive co-operation. Issued three times per month. Established 1894.

GERMANY.

**Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau (Co-operative Review):** Beim Strohhause, Hamburg. Official organ of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1904.

**Konsumgenossenschaftliches Volksblatt (Co-operative People's Journal).** The household propagandist periodical of the Central Union. Established 1904.

**Blätter für Genossenschaftswesen (Journal of Co-operation):** Berlin. Official organ of the Allgemeine Verband—the composite union originally instituted by Schulze-Delitzsch. Weekly. Established 1882.

**Landwirtschaftliches Genossenschaftsblatt (Agricultural Co-operative Journal):** Berlin. Official organ of the Raiffeisen Union of Agricultural Credit Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1888.

**Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaftspresse (German Agricultural Co-operative Press):** Berlin. Organ of the Reichsverband or Imperial Union. Weekly. Established 1899.

**Deutsches Genossenschaftsblatt:** Berlin. Organ of the Hauptverband, or Head Union of Operative Societies.

HOLLAND.

**De Coöperator:** Gedempte Burgwal 35, The Hague. Official organ of the Co-operative Union of the Netherlands. Fortnightly. Established 1913. A continuance of the Co-operative Monthly, established 1904.

**De Coöperatiegids (Co-operative Guide):** Tolstraat 61, Amsterdam. Organ of the Union of Workers Productive Co-operative Societies. Monthly. Established 1911. Edited by the Board.

**Koöperatief Volksblad (Co-operative People's Journal).** Issued by the Union last named. Bi-monthly. Established 1916.

**Mededeelingen (Communications):** Jansveld 25, Utrecht. Issued by the R.C. Union of Co-operative Societies. Issued every two months. Established 1916.

**Official Organ of the General Dairy Union of the Netherlands:** Hugo de Grootstraat 13, The Hague. Weekly. Established 1906. Editor: The Secretary of the Union.

HUNGARY.

**Szovetkezes:** Budapest. Issued by the "Hangya" Wholesale Society. Bi-weekly.

**Mezőgazdak:** Budapest. Organ of agricultural co-operation.

ITALY.

**La Cooperazione Italiana:** Via Pace, Milan. Official organ of the National League of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1886. Director: Antonio Vergnanini.

NORWAY.

**Kooperatören:** Kirkegaten 4, Christiana. Organ of the Norwegian Wholesale Co-operative Society. Monthly. Established 1906.



## POLAND.

**Spolem:** ul. Mickiewicza, Warsaw. Organ of Polish Co-operation. Weekly, from July, 1918.

**Odrodzenie (Regeneration):** Plac Smolki 3, Lemberg, Galicia. Organ of the (Galician-Polish) Union of Co-operative Credit and Productive Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1874 under the name of **Zwiazek (Union)**. Transformed 1909.

**Zjednoczenie (Union):** Plac Smolki 3, Lemberg, Galicia. Organ of the (Galician-Polish) Union of Distributive and Productive Societies. Monthly. Established 1914.

## RUSSIA.

**Soyuz Potrebitel' (Union of Consumers):** Moscow. Organ of the Central Union of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1903.

**Obedinenie (Unification) and Obshtshe Dyelo (The Common Cause).** Popular monthlies issued by the Central Union for the behoof of town co-operators and rural co-operators respectively.

**Vyestnik Kooperatsii (Messenger of Co-operation):** Petrograd. A monthly journal dealing with the theory and practice of co-operation, both in Russia and elsewhere. Established 1909.

**Narodnaya Gazeta (People's Paper):** Kurgan, Western Siberia. Weekly organ of the Siberian Union of Creamery Associations. Established 1906.

**Artelnoe Dyelo:** Petrograd. Monthly organ of the Society for the Promotion of Operative Associations. Established 1915.

**Vyestnik Kustarnoy Promyshlennosti:** Petrograd. Official organ of the Peasant Industries Organisation. Monthly. Established 1913.

N.B.—The above constitutes a representative list of leading co-operative periodicals issued in normal times.

## SPAIN.

**Cooperatismo:** Pasaje San José, Barcelona. Organ of the Federation of Catalanian Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly.

## SWEDEN.

**Kooperatören:** Stadsgården 12, Stockholm Sö. Official organ of the Co-operative Union. Monthly. Established 1914. Editor: Axel Gjöres.

**Konsumentbladet (Consumers' Journal).** Weekly periodical of the Co-operative Union. Established 1914. Editor: Axel Gjöres.

## SWITZERLAND.

**Schweiz. Konsum-Verein:** Thiersteinerallee 14, Bâle. Official organ of the Swiss Co-operative Union. Weekly. Established 1901. Editor: Dr. Henry Faucherre.

**Le Coopérateur Suisse:** 62, Tellstrasse, Basle. Official organ of the Swiss Co-operative Union for French-speaking Switzerland. Weekly. Established 1919. Editor: C. Mutschler.

**Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt, La Coopération, and La Cooperazione:** Popular fortnightly periodicals issued by the Co-operative Union for the German-speaking, French-speaking, and Italian-speaking sections of the movement respectively.

**Samenkörner (Grains of Corn):** Popular monthly, also issued by the Swiss Co-operative Union.

**Genossenschaftsblatt, "Konkordia":** Zurich. Organ of the Konkordia Co-operative Union. Fortnightly.

**Genossenschafter (Co-operator):** Winterthur. The official organ of the Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in East Switzerland.

#### THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

**La Cooperacion Libre:** Martin Garcia 465, Buenos Ayres. Monthly.

#### CANADA.

**Canadian Co-operator:** Brantford, Ontario. Issued under the auspices of the Co-operative Union of Canada. Monthly.

**Le Bulletin des Agriculteurs:** 63, Rue William, Montreal. Organ of the Agricultural Society of Cheesemakers in the province of Quebec. Monthly.

#### U.S.A.

**Co-operation (formerly Co-operative Consumer):** 2, West 13th Street, New York. Published by the Co-operative League of America.

**National Co-operative News:** 138, North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill. Published weekly by the National Co-operative Association.

**North-west Co-operative News:** Seattle. Fortnightly.

**Pacific Co-operator:** San Francisco, California. Monthly.

**Colony Co-operator:** Published by the Llano Co-operative Colony, Leesville, Louisiana, U.S.A. Monthly.

**National Equity News:** Madison, Wisconsin. Weekly organ of the National Union of the Society of Equity. (Specialises in propaganda amongst farmers.)

---

## FROM THE CAUCASUS TO THE ATLAS.

THE ramifications of co-operation from the southern slopes of the Caucasus to the African shores of the Mediterranean is a fact interesting to note. Georgia, in Transcaucasia, is said to have 850 consumers' societies and 400 credit societies, whilst in Armenia co-operation in the form of consumers' societies, rural banks, and agricultural productive societies has made considerable progress during the last decade.

In Palestine, also, co-operation has

made a successful beginning, as testified by the foundation four years ago of the "Hamashbir" Co-operative Society at Jaffa, and its subsequent growth and offshoots. In Egypt, moreover, the project of establishing co-operative societies for the railway and postal staffs is under consideration; while in the Italian territory of Tripoli, as well as in the French possessions of Tunis and Algeria, co-operation is already in evidence amongst the European part of the population.



## CO-OPERATIVE PRESS DIRECTORY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

---

**Co-operative News:** Long Millgate, Manchester. News organ for the British movement. Issued by the Co-operative Newspaper Society Limited. Weekly, 1½d. Established 1871. Editor: W. M. Bamford.

**Scottish Co-operator:** 263, Wallace Street, Kingston, Glasgow. Issued by the "Scottish Co-operator" Newspaper Society Ltd. Weekly, 1d. Established 1900. Editor: W. Reid.

**Irish Homestead:** 34, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. Official organ of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Weekly, 1d. Established 1895. Editor: G. W. Russell.

**Producer:** 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Technical organ for the British movement. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly, 2d. Established 1916. Editor: James Haslam.

**Wheatsheaf:** 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Organ for household propaganda. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly. Established 1897. Editor: Percy Redfern.

**Millgate Monthly:** Long Millgate, Manchester. A magazine of progress. Illustrated. Monthly, 4d.

**Woman's Outlook:** Long Millgate, Manchester. Editor: Mrs. Bamford Tomlinson. Monthly, 1½d.

**Our Circle:** Long Millgate, Manchester. A magazine for young people. Monthly. Editor: Mrs. Bamford-Tomlinson.

**Co-operative Educator:** Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Educational organ of the Co-operative Union Limited. Established December, 1916. Quarterly, 2d. Editor: F. Hall.

**A.U.C.E. Journal:** 22, Long Millgate, Manchester. Official organ of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employés and Allied Workers. Monthly. Editor: A. Hewitt.

**International Co-operative Bulletin:** 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Official organ of the International Co-operative Alliance. Monthly. Established 1908. Editor: H. J. May.

**Russian Co-operator:** Published monthly at 83, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.4, in the interest of Russian co-operation. Established December, 1917.

**The People's Year Book:** 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Published by the C.W.S. and the S.C.W.S.

**Copartnership:** 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. Monthly, 1d.

## EDWARD ANSEELE.

**F**EW men in the world can show a more inspiring record of effort and achievement than Edward Anseele, who was born, the son of a shoemaker, in 1856, who began life as a compositor, and who to-day holds the rank of Minister of State. In Belgium, Anseele's name is a household word amongst the working class, to the emancipation of whom his whole life has been dedicated. If to-day the co-operative movement is one of the chief forces in Belgium, the credit is due, above all, to Edward Anseele, who created the "Vooruit"

Society in Ghent, and gave the land a "new model." And if the co-operative "People's House" is the rallying centre and headquarters and symbol of working-class unity in every town, it is because of that consolidation of forces (co-operative, trade unionist, and political labour) which distinguishes the Belgian working-class movement, and in the promotion of which Anseele has taken a prominent part.

In public affairs Anseele has occupied an ever-widening sphere of activity: first as town councillor and magistrate in Ghent, then as Labour M.P., and last, but not least, as Minister of Public Works, to which position he was called shortly after

the armistice. On December 8th, 1918, his appointment to Ministerial rank was made the occasion of a splendid celebration in Ghent, and the words he spoke on that occasion show the power of Anseele's oratory to win the hearts of the people: "For, good friends, don't forget it: the higher I climb, the higher you, the working-class, ascend as a whole. We stride on, heart to heart and shoulder to shoulder, and in the future, as in the past, we remain one. . . . In conclusion, friends, I thank you heartily for the tokens of trust you have given me. But I swear to you: what Anseele was as compositor, what he was as stores director, what he was as magistrate, he will remain now he is Minister."

Anseele it was who in 1915, in defiance of the German authorities, instituted a strike amongst the Ghent weavers to prevent the making of sand-bagging for the use of the Germans against the Belgian soldiers. And Anseele it was who told the same authorities to their faces that the weavers of Ghent refused to participate in fratricide, even if it cost them their liberty.



EDWARD ANSEELE.



CLAIMS PAID:

£ 1,987,000

INSURANCE FUNDS:

£ 911,000

# The Co-operative Insurance Society Limited

(The Joint Insurance Department of the English  
and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies)

Undertakes  
all classes of  
business  
including

**ANNUITIES**

**LIFE ASSURANCE (INDUSTRIAL  
AND SPECIAL)**

**COLLECTIVE LIFE ASSURANCE**

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION**

**FIDELITY : FIRE : BURGLARY**

**LIVE STOCK : PLATE GLASS**

**MOTOR VEHICLE**

**PERSONAL ACCIDENT**

**PUBLIC LIABILITY INSURANCE**

Apply for PROSPECTUS from the following Offices:

MANCHESTER: 109, Corporation Street.

GLASGOW: 59, Morrison Street.

NEWCASTLE ON-TYNE: 84, Westmorland Road.

CARDIFF: 114-116, St. Mary Street.

LONDON: 14, Red Lion Square, Holborn, W.C.1.

DUBLIN: 3, Commercial Buildings, Dame Street.

BIRMINGHAM: Central Place, Corporation Street.

NOTTINGHAM: C.W.S. Depot, Friar Lane.

LEEDS: Crown Chambers, 9, Albion Street.

AGENCIES IN ALL CO-OPERATIVE CENTRES.

**PREMIUM INCOME - - £587,000.**

# Co-operative Movements Abroad.

## FOREWORD.

A REVIEW of co-operative movements shows that the co-operative cause has emerged from the war era stronger in spirit and endeavour than ever before, and with an international outlook far outranging that of former years. All things bear witness to the impetus given to co-operation, and not least in those countries which have suffered to the greatest extent from the afflictions of war, and where dire necessity, increased by "profiteering," has brought about the widespread recognition of co-operation as an indispensable form of economy, from which one may gauge the forces making for the recovery from crushing blows and the march of movements with greater vigour. As for the shattering of ancient empires and the dethronement of ancient iniquities, one cannot fail to perceive in this working of events a removal of obstructions and a quickening of spirit, combined with conditions much more conducive to co-operative advance. For the rest, recent elections have unquestionably demonstrated the progress of co-operation as a political force. In this connection the elections in Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy bear witness to the advancing tide of co-operative influence in the legislative sphere.

## AUSTRIA.

The development of the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies between 1904 (the year of its establishment) and 1913 is recorded by the figures for this last-named year, viz., 463 societies with a total membership of 300,934 and a collective turnover of 97,753,641 kronen, or £4,073,068; whilst the arrest of progress in 1914 was the prelude to an accelerated increase of membership in the three following years:—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1914 .....	508 ...	298,605 ...	94,750,000 ...	3,947,916
1915 .....	476 ...	314,814 ...	101,826,000 ...	4,242,750
1916 .....	— ...	337,003 ...	121,000,000 ...	5,458,333
1917 .....	498 ...	367,538 ...	158,000,000 ...	6,583,333

### THE AUSTRIAN WHOLESALE.

Despite the critical conditions in pre-war years, the Wholesale (founded in 1905) had also built up a trade which amounted in 1913

to 26,348,429 kronen (£1,097,851), a turnover which was almost doubled during the three following years:—

Year.	Total Turnover.	
	Kronen.	£
1914.....	26,802,153 ...	1,116,756
1915.....	28,928,296 ...	1,205,346
1916.....	50,092,772 ...	2,087,199

#### DISRUPTION AND ITS EFFECTS.

Subsequently, however, the Central Union and its Wholesale have fallen upon evil days. The disruption of the empire has led to the disruption of the two organisations and the grouping of societies on the basis of nationalities, with the result that the number of societies belonging to the Central Union was, by the end of 1918, reduced to 391.

### THE BALKAN STATES.

In the pre-war period distributive co-operation in the Balkan States (Serbia, Roumania, and Bulgaria) counted over 500 societies all told, *i.e.*, 231 in Roumania with a membership of 11,000, 200 in Serbia with a membership of 9,500, Bulgaria coming in the rear with some 76 societies. But it can hardly be doubted that the peace era will show a greatly accelerated growth in all three states. And in the future it may be anticipated that in Serbia (which has now developed into Jugo-Slavia) co-operation will occupy the first place amongst the Balkan co-operative movements.

### BELGIUM.

In 1913 distributive co-operation in Belgium was represented by 531 societies; the Union of Belgian Co-operative Societies (*La Fédération des Cooperatives belges*) standing out as the leading national organisation by virtue of its membership and its Wholesale establishment, the turnover of which, in the year mentioned, amounted to 11,550,931 francs, or £462,037, from which figure the Wholesale's trade was reduced to 2,000,000 francs (£80,000) in 1915—a fact which speaks volumes as to the shattering effects of the war and the German invasion; effects, moreover, which have rendered the compilation of up-to-date statistics an impossibility. Meanwhile, the general position of affairs in 1918–19 may be realised from the following communication written by M. Victor Serwy (*Directeur de l'Office coopératif belge*):—

#### CO-OPERATION IN BELGIUM IN 1918–19.

“The year 1918 was a hard one for co-operation. Notwithstanding the efforts of the directors to provide for the members, a number of

societies were obliged to close for lack of commodities. All trade was in the hands of the German centrals and of their accomplices, the illicit traders. The bakeries alone had still some activity, thanks to the existence of the National Committee and the Commission for Relief. When the armistice took place Belgium was devoid of commodities, denuded of transport facilities, and greatly impoverished; but courageously we re-set to work. As there was a shortage of products we applied to our comrades of the English and Scottish Wholesales. Capital we also lacked, and we naturally appealed to those who are the richest in the co-operative world; and our appeal was not made in vain. In May, 1918, we received the first consignments of commodities from the Wholesale Society in Manchester. We tried also to obtain supplies in France, but only small quantities were obtainable. In Spain we bought also: in a word, we bought wherever we could hope to obtain products for our debilitated population, which, after four years of the most odious military occupation of the country, was lacking both in footwear and clothing.

"We have made a considerable effort to re-establish our co-operative movement, and we think that in two or three years we shall be able to show to our co-operative comrades in Great Britain that co-operation is a powerful organisation in Belgium. A considerable

advance in co-operative concentration has taken place in several parts of the country. In the province of Liège about 70 societies have amalgamated under the name of the 'Co-operative Union,' which, this year, will do a trade of 40,000,000 francs (£1,600,000). In the region of Philippeville half a score of societies have also amalgamated. And as far as the districts adjacent to the Yser, nowhere has the concentration movement failed to make itself manifest.

"We should require millions of francs to supply the needs of the workers who are calling out everywhere for co-operative societies or stores in order to combat the high cost of living to which we have to submit. The cost of living is actually 300 per cent above what it was in 1914.



An inside glimpse of the Vooruit Society's Drapery Establishment at Ghent.



"Our Wholesale (Magasin de Gros) is now making headway at the rate of 3,500,000 francs per month."

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The success of the national co-operative movement in Czecho-Slovakia (otherwise Bohemia) in the pre-war era is attested by the figures for 1913, viz., 272 societies with a membership collectively of 66,496, and a total turnover of 23,742,047 kronen, or £989,252—figures representing the development of five years from the foundation, in 1908, of the Czecho-Slovak Central Union of Distributive, Productive, and Economic Co-operative Societies, with headquarters in Prague (Ustředni československých družstev-konsumních, výrobních, hospodářských v Praze). Of the greater expansion during the war era the following figures form a sufficient attestation:—

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Membership.	Total Trade of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1913 .....	292 ...	14,267 ...	23,742,047 ...	989,252
1917 .....	304 ...	83,028 ...	34,568,174 ...	1,460,340
1918 .....	450 ...	150,000 ...	90,000,000 ...	3,750,000

The figures for 1918 include 84 societies (comprising 30,000 members) which had hitherto been affiliated to the Austrian Co-operative Union, but which joined the Czecho-Slovak Central Union immediately after the proclamation of the republic at the end of October, 1918.

### THE WHOLESALE.

The Co-operative Wholesale (Velkonákupni společnosti konsumních družstev v Praze), founded at Prague in 1909, had, in 1913, a trading turnover of 3,126,463 kronen, or £125,058. The figures for 1914 and 1918 indicate its forward strides:—

Year.	Total Turnover.	
	Kronen.	£
1914.....	3,238,427 ...	129,537
1918.....	38,323,525 ...	1,596,813

It is anticipated that the year 1919 will show a doubling of the previous year's turnover.

It may be noted that the president and secretary of the Co-operative Union have both been elected to the National Assembly, or Parliament, and that Leon Winter, another militant co-operator, is a member of the Government.

## DENMARK.

The Danish distributive movement occupies the leading position amongst the consumers' movements of Scandinavia, those of Sweden and Norway ranking respectively as second and third in point of

dimensions and trade. Similarly the Danish Wholesale organisation, known as "Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger" (Joint Society for Denmark's Consumption Societies), figures as the chief distributive Wholesale in the three Scandinavian realms. Right from its foundation in 1896 its record was one of uninterrupted progress till 1917 and 1918, the abnormal conditions of which sufficed to bring about a temporary abatement of trade, despite the increase of membership.

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Membership.	Total Sales of Wholesale.	
			Kroner.	£
1914 .....	1,407 ...	219,492 ...	69,588,824 ...	3,866,046
1915 .....	1,488 ...	232,128 ...	71,458,307 ...	3,969,906
1916 .....	1,537 ...	239,772 ...	84,510,390 ...	4,695,022
1917 .....	1,574 ...	245,544 ...	81,581,786 ...	4,532,321
1918 .....	1,604 ...	250,224 ...	74,043,050 ...	4,113,533

At Copenhagen the Wholesale Society has a hosiery and ready-made clothing manufactory and a cycle works; at Kolding, a coffee roastery and a chocolate and sweetmeat manufactory; at Esbjerg, a cigar and tobacco manufactory; and at Viby, a rope walk, as well as establishments for the manufacture of soap, margarine, and mustard. In addition to these the Society possesses seed-testing and seed-growing grounds. In 1916 the productive output reached 16,377,979 kroner, or £909,888; but the extension of undertakings was brought to a check by the decline in output due to untoward circumstances. The decline is shown in the following figures:—

Year.	Kroner.	£
1916 .....	17,668,395 ...	981,189
1917 .....	16,377,979 ...	909,888
1918 .....	9,598,531 ...	533,085

#### THE ALLIED CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

That the temporary set-back is not confined to the distributive Wholesale is shown by the collective figures for 1917-18 of the co-operative organisations represented on the Andelsudvalget, or National Co-operative Board. In 1916-17 the collective turnover of these organisations (including the Distributive Wholesale) reached 959,600,000 kroner, or £53,311,111. In 1917-18 the turnover receded to 874,700,000 kroner, or £48,594,444, and showed a decrease of £4,722,222.

### FINLAND.

The outstanding feature of the co-operative movement in Finland (whose record dates back to the beginning of the present century) is the striking advance during the war period—an advance all the more remarkable in view of the civil war which for a time raged throughout the country. Thus the progress of the neutral co-operative

distributive movement, as represented by the General Union, is typified in the following comparative figures:—

	1914.	...	1918.
Number of Societies	415	...	523
Membership .....	97,000	...	177,000
Collective Sales.....	71,000,000 Fin. marks	...	368,000,000 Fin. marks
	(£2,840,000)		(£14,720,000)

During the same period the Finnish Wholesale (Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta, or S.O.K.), the trading organisation of the neutral movement, has developed as follows:—

		Wholesale Turnover.	
		Finnish	£
Year.	Number of Societies.	Marks.	
1914.....	244 ...	24,285,756 ...	971,440
1915.....	341 ...	35,098,521 ...	1,430,940
1916.....	432 ...	72,160,139 ...	2,886,406
1917.....	438 ...	91,121,357 ...	3,644,854
1918.....	494 ...	107,715,834 ...	4,308,633



Headquarters of the Finnish Co-operative Wholesale Society at Helsingfors.

The productive works of the S.O.K. comprise a match manufactory, a saw mill, a tar distillery, a brick works, a barrel manufactory, and a coffee-roasting and fruit-packing establishment. The S.O.K. has also four estates, utilised for the purpose of providing societies with agricultural products.

#### THE CENTRAL UNION.

Mention must also be made of the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies, formed by seeding (socialistic and mainly urban) societies from the neutral movement in 1916 and 1917. Taking these societies into account, the collective total of distributive societies in Finland amounted, at the end of 1918, to 577, with a total membership of 250,000, and collective sales amounting to 475,000,000 Finnish marks, or £19,000,000. And, so far as the neutral movement is concerned, the fact that 79.4 per cent of the surplus of the societies as a whole in 1918 was allocated to the funds for development purposes, as compared with 59.6 per cent in 1914, speaks volumes as to the spirit and methods of the movement, and augurs well for its future.

## FRANCE.

Although the co-operative movement in France belongs to the secondary rank, the figures for this century show the headway that

has been made both in peace-time and war. As regards the pre-war era the following particulars are indicative of the rate of growth:—

Year.	Total Number of Distributive Societies.	Total Turnover.	
		£	
1903.....	1,880	...	3,405,000
1914 (Jan. 1st) .....	3,156	...	12,608,000

With regard to the later period complete and definite figures are not available, but the approximate figures, as recorded by M. Charles Gide, for 79 departments, suffice to show the striking increase of membership as well as of trade:—

Year.	Membership.	Turnover.	
		Francs.	£
1914.....	600,782	...	8,320,000
1918.....	1,129,684	...	22,800,000

The membership has thus increased by 88 per cent, and so partly accounts for the 174 per cent increase in turnover, in which soaring prices have manifestly also played a prominent part. Sufficient has been said to show that the representative organisation of distributive co-operation in France (La Fédération nationale des Coopératives de Consommation) is in a position to confront the future with the consciousness of a great reinforcement in numbers and strength.

#### THE FRENCH WHOLESALE.

The report of the French Wholesale, or Magasin de Gros (founded in 1906), showed for the business year 1913-14 a turnover of 13,700,000 francs, or £548,000. And how completely it has recovered from the set-back sustained in the first war year may be seen from the subjoined figures:—

Year.	Turnover.		
	Francs.	£	
1914-15 .....	9,000,000	...	360,000
1915-16 .....	12,000,000	...	480,000
1916-17 .....	26,000,000	...	1,040,000
1917-18 .....	41,270,668	...	1,650,827
1918-19 .....	78,613,184	...	3,144,527

In 1918-19 the value of the output of the Wholesale's productive departments figured at 6,818,096 francs (£272,724), as compared with 3,797,553 francs (£151,902) for 1917-18.

#### GERMANY.

Founded in 1903, the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies (Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine) had attained, at the end of its first decade, a leading position on the continent, as shown by the figures for 1913, denoting 1,155 affiliated consumers' societies, with a total membership of 1,483,811 for the 1,128 societies reporting, and a collective turnover of 472,006,215 marks, or £23,600,310. As between 1913-18, the total membership

of the societies increased by 748,106, and the trading turnover by 198,746,938 marks, or £9,937,346. Herewith are the annual figures:—

Year.	Number of Distributive Societies.	Number Reporting.	Total Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
				Marks.	£
1914 ...	1,109	1,094	1,717,519	492,980,519	24,649,026
1915 ...	1,079	1,073	1,849,434	493,569,933	24,678,496
1916 ...	1,077	1,068	2,052,139	577,335,808	28,866,790
1917 ...	1,079	1,072	2,189,630	590,955,454	29,547,772
1918 ...	1,090	1,078	2,231,917	670,753,153	33,537,657

The societies other than distributive in 1918 numbered 27, and had a collective membership of 8,923, and a turnover of 15,642,754 marks (£782,137), as compared with 30 societies, a membership of 9,666, and a turnover of £627,508 for the year before.

As regards production, the collective figures of the distributive societies are as follows:—

Year.	Marks.	£
1914 .....	106,389,789	5,319,489
1915 .....	120,070,000	6,003,500
1916 .....	139,752,231	6,987,611
1917 .....	143,599,492	7,179,974
1918 .....	149,827,719	7,491,385

#### THE GERMAN WHOLESALE.

In 1913 the Wholesale's turnover amounted to 154,047,300 marks (£7,702,365), and its productive figures to 11,076,580 marks (£553,829). The subsequent records bears witness to its chequered career during the war period:—

Year.	Wholesale's Turnover.		Wholesale's Production.	
	Marks.	£	Marks.	£
1914 .....	157,524,040	7,876,202	10,475,273	523,763
1915 .....	152,858,636	7,642,931	19,026,692	951,334
1916 .....	133,896,014	6,694,800	28,312,907	1,415,645
1917 .....	107,737,281	5,386,864	23,095,427	1,154,721
1918 .....	104,500,972	5,225,048	19,890,603	994,530

The Wholesale's productive establishments include a couple of soap manufactories, two match manufactories, three sugar manufactories, and one for the making of tobacco.

#### GREECE.

Distributive co-operation in Greece is represented by some 60 societies, of which those at Athens, the Piræus, and Salonica are the chief. Of urban societies—distributive, productive, transport, &c.—there are about 100 in round figures; and these again form about a tenth of the total of co-operative associations of various kinds, a total amounting at the end of 1918 to 917, with a collective membership of 45,000, and a collective capital of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000). These figures are exclusive of the agricultural co-operative societies, as to which official figures have recorded a total of 890 with a collective membership of 32,648.

## HOLLAND.

In the year 1914 the Co-operative Union of the Netherlands (Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Bond) comprised 162 societies, with a collective membership of (approximately) 100,000, the figures denoting the progress of a quarter of a century and the growth of the Union from the year of its establishment in 1889. Its accelerated progress during the war period is indicated as follows:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership of Societies.
1914 .....	162	99,234
1915 .....	151	99,785
1916 .....	161	135,079
1917 .....	160	... over 150,000

## THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

The Co-operative Wholesale (Handelskamer) was conducted as the trading department of the Co-operative Union from 1890 down to 1914, in which year the Wholesale embraced 133 affiliated societies, and had a turnover of (approximately) £365,000. After its reconstitution as a separate legal entity in 1914 its progress continued unabated till 1918, when the figures showed a temporary set-back:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership.	Total Turnover.	
			Florins.	£
1913-14 .....	133	90,189	4,561,444	364,915
1915.....	159	111,214	6,236,095	498,888
1916.....	225	143,127	8,977,305	718,184
1917.....	—	—	10,000,298	800,024
1918.....	—	—	7,775,336	662,027

The productive establishments of the Handelskamer comprise a soap manufactory near Moerdijk (first established at Rijswijk in 1900), the coffee roastery in Rotterdam (since 1911), and a butcher's meat establishment since 1913.

## HUNGARY.

The Hangya (Ant) Union of distributive and sales co-operative societies (founded in 1890) comprised, in 1912, 1,195 societies with a membership of 182,300 and a collective turnover of 53,400,000 kronen, or £2,136,000, as compared with 122 affiliated societies with a total membership of 22,500 and a collective turnover of 28,000,000 kronen, or £1,120,000, in the year 1900; the record thus showing that the present century has been an era of expansion for the Union. The

further increase of societies and membership, &c., during the war period has been as follows:—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1915 .....	1,307 ...	228,400 ...	77,069,000 ...	3,082,762
1916 .....	1,386 ...	292,000 ...	107,278,800 ...	4,465,783

Whilst the figures of turnover are unmistakably related to soaring prices, yet the fact that 470 societies joined the Union between 1914–1917, and that the Union's affiliated societies increased from 1,532 in 1917 to 1,940 (with a membership of 468,263) in 1918, is quite sufficient evidence of the growth in numerical strength.

#### THE WHOLESALE.

How the Hangya's wholesale trade developed in the period 1900–13 is shown by comparative figures—*i.e.*, 30,348,436 kronen (£1,264,185) in 1913, as against 1,225,447 kronen (£51,060) in 1900. As to the war period, the salient feature is the enlargement of the annual amounts, apart from a temporary check in 1914:—

Year.	Total Sales of the Wholesale.	
	Kronen.	£
1914.....	30,218,913 ...	1,259,121
1915.....	46,064,331 ...	1,919,347
1916.....	57,573,133 ...	2,398,880
1917.....	87,856,900 ...	3,660,704

For the first six months of 1918 the turnover amounted to 60,557,923 kronen (£2,523,247), as compared with 35,998,763 kronen (£1,499,865) for the corresponding period of 1917.

#### ITALY.

In 1914 the distributive co-operative movement in Italy embraced 2,408 societies, with a membership of over 400,000 and an estimated turnover of 180 million lire, or £7,200,000; and as 2,182 of the total number of societies (or 90 per cent) were affiliated to the National League of Co-operative Societies (Liga Nazionale delle Cooperative, founded in 1887), the fact is sufficient to denote the representative character of the Italian organisation. The reinforcement in numbers during the war period is indicated by the membership which, in 1918, figured at an average of 354 per society, as compared with 295 in 1915. Numerous societies have increased their number of branches, and these factors have promoted the augmentation of the collective turnover apart from the factor of high prices, against which the movement battled throughout, especially in the war period, during which the movement figured prominently in the national organisation of the food supply.

THE ITALIAN WHOLESALE.

As for the Italian Wholesale (Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative de Consumo), the comparative figures show a sextupling of trading amounts, and a trifle over:—

Year.	Wholesale Turnover.	
	Lire.	£
1914.....	1,410,000	56,400
1915.....	2,502,170	100,087
1916.....	3,240,000	129,600
1918.....	9,000,000	360,000

THE CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK.

The position of the (semi-State, semi-Co-operative) Italian Central Co-operative Bank (or National Credit Institute for Co-operation) may also be mentioned. At the end of 1918 the share capital of the bank amounted to 14,320,000 lire (£572,800), the assets to 69,658,635 lire (£2,786,344), the current accounts to 46,696,798 lire (£1,867,872), and the cash turnover for the year to 1,087,157,555 lire (£43,486,302). The bank embraces 2,123 distributive societies, 640 productive, 119 agricultural, and 119 miscellaneous, or 3,077 altogether.

In conclusion, it should be stated that the National League has done yeoman service to the cause of national reconstruction by securing the approval of the Government to the far-reaching Co-operative programme devised for the utilisation of the Co-operative and Labour organisations on public works, and of the co-operative agricultural organisations on Crown lands. From all the facts, it is evident that co-operation in Italy is recognised as a factor in the national economy to an extent unknown in pre-war days.



New Premises of the Unione Cooperativa, Milan, Italy's chief Distributive Society.



**NORWAY.**

The progress of the co-operative movement in Norway is shown by the figures of Norway's Co-operative Union (Norges Kooperative Landsforening), which, in 1914 (eight years after its foundation), embraced 149 societies with a collective membership of 31,000, and a collective turnover of 10,019,600 kroner, or £556,644. For the whole of the war period the figures show a notable increase:—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kroner.	£
1914.....	149 ...	31,000 ...	10,019,600 ...	556,644
1915.....	172 ...	34,848 ...	16,252,300 ...	902,906
1916.....	205 ...	47,034 ...	24,347,900 ...	1,352,661
1917.....	237 ...	59,969 ...	39,866,000 ...	2,214,778
1918.....	235 ...	67,910 ...	48,139,900 ...	2,674,438

**THE WHOLESALE.**

The Union's Wholesale, which commenced operations in 1907, had, by 1914, secured a turnover of 3,097,017 kroner, or £172,055, and by 1917 almost trebled that figure. With the following year, however (despite the increase of membership), came the first trading set-back in the Wholesale's history:—

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kroner.	£
1914 .....	3,097,017 ...	172,055
1915 .....	4,457,900 ...	247,650
1916 .....	6,021,100 ...	334,505
1917 .....	8,332,311 ...	462,906
1918 .....	5,917,857 ...	328,770

The productive operations comprise the manufacture of margarine and tobacco (in addition to coffee roasting). The banking department in 1918 had a 50 per cent increase of deposits.

**POLAND.**

In 1914 Russian Poland contained over 1,500 consumers' societies, with a collective membership of 120,000. In 1918 the societies numbered some 2,260, and their membership 370,000. Further evidence of recuperation from the frightful afflictions of the war period is furnished by the record of the Union of Consumers' Societies (Związek stowarzyszeń spożywczych, founded at Warsaw in 1911), which, in 1918, embraced 560 affiliated societies with a membership of 120,000, as compared with 274 societies with a membership of 36,000 in 1913. Thus, despite the number of societies which were compelled to suspend operations, the multiplicity of societies which have sprung up have sufficed to double the societies of the Union,

and to more than treble the membership of the Union's societies, whilst the ample margin for the extension of unionship is revealed by the fact that there are about 1,700 societies not yet affiliated.

#### THE POLISH WHOLESALE.

As to the wholesale operations of the Union, the figures suffice to indicate the enlarging scale, even when all deductions are made for soaring prices:—

Year.	Polish Marks.
1917.....	6,491,374
1918.....	11,000,000

Meantime, it is worthy of note that the National Assembly includes 40 members who are co-operators, and that a co-operative pioneer holds Government office as Home Secretary. And, in view of the fact that the Government is showing its readiness to support co-operation in various ways, it will be seen that the establishment of Polish independence has been a boon to the cause, and that to co-operation in the Polish Republic a new vista of progress opens out.

### RUSSIA.

The advance of co-operation in Russia has been one of the outstanding features of the war period, as shown by the estimate of 20,000 consumers' societies at the beginning of 1917, as compared with 10,000 in 1914, and 1,000 in 1905. As to the progress of organisation, also, the figures of the Moscow Union (now known as the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, or Centro-Soyuz) are sufficiently indicative in view of the fact that between 1914 and 1916 its affiliated societies increased from 1,260 to 3,164, and its wholesale turnover from 10,343,000 roubles (£1,088,737) to 85,000,000 roubles (£8,947,368); while for the year 1917 the turnover has been estimated at over 150,000,000 roubles, or over £15,625,000.

As to the position at the end of 1918 (that is, in the revolutionary era), this may be seen from the figures given by the spokesman of the Russian delegation (A. M. Azantcheyev) at the International Co-operative Congress held in Paris in June, 1919:—

Nothing has so conclusively demonstrated the power and vitality of co-operation as its progress and present position in Russia. The exact figure of actual members of distributive co-operation on December 31st, 1918, stood at 10,269,757; at present it has increased to nearly 12,000,000. This refers to the number of heads of families only, and counting each family as consisting of five persons, we realise that about 60,000,000 persons, or about a third of the population of pre-war Russia, has entrusted to co-operation their provisioning with prime necessaries. I must add that about 80 per cent of the membership of the movement is formed of peasants.

The above-mentioned 12,000,000 persons are organised in approximately 25,000 individual co-operative distributive societies, of which 20 societies count over 10,000 members each, while the Moscow distributive store, "Kooperatsia," counts over 210,000 actual members.

In their turn, these distributive societies are organised into local unions, of which there are at present about 500, and these local unions are again united in the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, "The Centro-Soyuz," in the name of which I have the honour to address this Congress.

The capital of our Central Union amounts to about 100,000,000 roubles, while our total turnover during 1918 reached 1,000,000,000 roubles.

Co-operative industries, in other words, industrial undertakings controlled by various co-operative organisations, are steadily growing in numbers and importance, from the point of view of the quantity of goods they are bringing to the market. The yearly output of the undertakings owned by the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies represents commodities valued at 150,000,000 roubles.

Other co-operative organisations of Russia control 398 industrial concerns. In addition to this data about the trading and industrial activities of Russian distributive co-operation, it is necessary also to put on record its work in the domain of education and culture, of which Russia stands so badly in need.

The Russian co-operative organisations publish over 200 periodical publications, many of which are illustrated papers, and also over 10,000 books and over 5,000,000 copies of pamphlets and booklets per year.

#### THE MOSCOW NARODNY BANK.

The position of the Moscow Narodny Bank at the beginning of 1919 is shown by the approximate estimate of over 9,000 co-operative organisations owning 202,307 shares representing a total capital of 50,738,500 roubles; while the expansion of affairs is indicated by the increase of branches in 1917-18 from two to 36, by the increase of the deposit and current accounts from 33,000,000 roubles to 677,000,000 between January 1st, 1917, and August 1st, 1918, and the total of the balance sheet, which amounted to 1,283,000,000 roubles on November 1st, 1918, as compared with 83,000,000 roubles on January 1st, 1917. As between January 1st, 1917, and November 1st, 1918, the credit afforded by the bank to co-operative societies rose from 33,000,000 roubles to 174,000,000. It should also be stated that the value of articles supplied by the Goods Department of the Bank to co-operative societies amounted to 46,799,000 roubles for the period January-October in 1918—a sum which may be compared with the volume of trading transactions in 1914 and 1916, when the year's figures stood at 897,400 and 15,378,300 roubles, respectively.

#### OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

Of the progress of co-operation in other directions we have evidence in the growth of the Union of Siberian Creamery Associations, which comprises 2,038 creameries and 1,859 co-operative stores; in the advance of the Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupshyt," representing 28 co-operative unions, comprising 8,200 consumers' societies, creamery and fishery associations, and other co-operative organisations in the Ural, Siberia, and the Far East; in the Central Association of Flax Growers, comprising some 3,500 societies with an aggregate membership of 3,500,000; as well as in the Northern

Union of Co-operative Timber Associations (established 1918), which embraces over 100 co-operative artels of timber-cutters, with a collective membership of over 10,000.

#### THE UKRAINE.

In this newly-founded State it is estimated that distributive co-operation embraces 15,000 societies, and supplies the needs of 3,000,000 families.

#### SPAIN.

In Spain the chief stronghold of co-operation is Catalonia, the most progressive province in various respects; and, according to statistics given in the *Museo Social*, the movement in Catalonia embraced, at the beginning of 1918, 219 distributive societies and 24 productive, the distributive societies having a membership of 32,302 all told, and a collective turnover of 19,278,586 pesetas, or about £771,000; whilst the productive societies, comprising, as regards membership, 264 collective concerns and 5,388 individuals, had a turnover of 3,111,922 pesetas (£122,400). The movement has its representative organisation in the shape of the Federation of Catalonian Co-operative Societies (*Federación de Cooperativas Catalanas*), whose economic section operates as a wholesale organisation for the benefit of societies affiliated thereto.

As to the statistical position of the movement in Spain as a whole, there would appear to be no complete or up-to-date figures, and all that one can do is to record the declaration of Juan Salas Antón: "Whilst in all other European countries the war has given an impetus to co-operation, in Spain the movement is, if anything, weaker than it was in July, 1914."

#### SWEDEN.

Founded in 1899, the Co-operative Union (*Kooperativa Förbundet*) had progressed so far as to embrace four-fifths of the societies comprising the distributive movement in Sweden, as shown by the figures for 1913, recording 560 affiliated societies with a collective membership of 103,369 for the 409 reporting societies, and a total turnover of 32,710,818 kroner, or £1,817,268. The subjoined figures show the continuous advance throughout the war era:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Societies Reporting.	Membership.	Turnover of Societies.	
				Kroner.	£
1914 .....	583	537	111,293	39,466,473	2,192,582
1915 .....	687	581	127,876	54,608,695	3,033,816
1916 .....	785	737	169,063	81,661,807	4,536,767
1917 .....	—	—	177,473	—	—
1918 .....	849	771	203,600	143,871,000	7,992,833

In addition to the distributive societies, the Union's figures for 1918 included four insurance societies with a total membership of 120,108.

#### WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

Commencing wholesale operations in 1903, the Union, at the end of the first decade in the pre-war year 1913, showed a turnover of 7,621,304 kroner, or £423,406. For the whole of the war period (with the exception of the year 1917) the trading record has been characterised by figures on an enlarging scale:—

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kroner.	£
1914 .....	9,889,252	549,403
1915 .....	16,497,640	916,536
1916 .....	22,013,232	1,222,957
1917 .....	21,802,603	1,211,256
1918 .....	27,989,733	1,554,985

### SWITZERLAND.

The record of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies (Verband Schweiz. Konsum-vereine, or V.S.K.) was one of steady progress from the date of its establishment in 1890 down to 1913, when it mustered 387 societies, and embraced from 80 to 90 per cent of the distributive co-operative societies in Switzerland. And that its progress suffered no abatement during the recent harassing years is shown by the increase of affiliated societies to 396 (with a collective membership of 276,000) in 1914, to 407 in 1915, and by the subsequent figures:—

Year.	Total of Societies.	Societies Reporting.	Total Membership.	Collective Turnover.	
				Francs.	£
1916 .....	421	407	305,326	159,799,945	6,391,998
1917 .....	434	422	324,948	197,435,555	7,897,422
1918 .....	461	433	341,286	237,595,776	9,503,831

#### WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

Similarly, the wholesale operations of the Union (which began in 1893) have been marked by a steady advance in war time as well as in peace:—

Year.	Wholesale Trade.	
	Francs.	£
1914.....	45,717,076	1,828,683
1915.....	50,193,161	2,007,727
1916.....	74,658,943	2,986,358
1917.....	96,185,998	3,847,440
1918.....	129,719,746	5,188,790

Productive establishments comprise a boot and shoe manufactory, a spice mill and coffee roastery, and a manufactory of pickled cabbage. During the war period a policy of pastoral enterprise was adopted, and a number of estates have been bought, viz., two in 1916, two others

in 1917, and four in 1918, or eight altogether, apart from another domain acquired on lease, and the participation in the acquisition of two Alpine pasturages.

The movement also possesses a co-operative dairy at Basle, and a couple of corn mills (one at Zurich and another at Vevey), besides being the controlling shareholder in the largest slaughter-house concern in the country, and participating also in other enterprises.

---

## AUSTRALIA.

Distributive co-operation in the Australian Commonwealth is represented by the societies in the main centres of populations by the Co-operative Union of New South Wales, and by the Wholesale at Newcastle in the same State. Meanwhile, the movement for developments is illustrated by the project for a South Australian Co-operative Union and a Wholesale as well, and by the arrangements for an inter-State congress at Easter, 1920, which will possibly foreshadow the foundation of a National Co-operative Union for the whole Commonwealth of Australia.

---

## SOUTH AFRICA.

The inauguration of the youngest of co-operative movements is due to the initiative of the South African Industrial Federation—or, in other words, the Trade Union Federation of South Africa, which, over three years ago, promoted the S.A.I.F. Co-operative Development Co. Ltd.—a title which speaks for itself. Under the auspices of the Development Co., 25 branches have been opened in various industrial centres, the collective grocery trade of which works out at the rate of £200,000 per year in round figures. In view of the wide scope for operations we may anticipate a considerable extension of co-operation in South Africa in the near future. Meanwhile, the recent congress held at Bloemfontein, and the adoption of a resolution in favour of establishing a Co-operative Wholesale, constitutes further evidence of a progressive spirit.

---

## CANADA.

Canada contains some hundreds of retail co-operative institutions, but as they are scattered over half a continent the difficulties of organising a national movement may easily be realised. In the Co-operative Union of Canada, however (which was founded in 1909, and so became the first national co-operative union in the New World), there is the nucleus of a national organisation. At the end of 1918 the Union comprised 15 affiliated societies, the trading statistics of a dozen of them showing an aggregate membership of 4,746 and a

collective trade turnover of, approximately, £300,000; and the fact that these societies range in locality from Nova Scotia in the east to British Columbia in the west, and include others from Quebec and Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta, it will be seen that the large intervening spaces constitute a formidable obstacle to the growth of the Union. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that the co-operative movement will receive a considerable impetus from the quickened spirit now manifest in the Labour organisations, and that the Union will ultimately benefit thereby.

---

## AMERICA.

The progress of co-operation in the United States is proclaimed by the existence in 1918 of over 2,000 consumers' societies, and six wholesales situated respectively at San Francisco (California), Seattle (Washington), St. Paul (Minnesota), Superior (Wisconsin), Washington (Pennsylvania), and Springfield (Illinois). Further evidence is afforded by the National Co-operative Convention held at Springfield, Illinois, in September, 1918 (on the initiative of the propagandist organisation, the Co-operative League of America), at which 386 societies were represented by 185 delegates from all parts of the United States; the support of the Labour movement being indicated by the fraternal delegates, representing powerful trade unionist organisations. In view of the steps taken to promote the organisation of co-operation on national lines, the convention is one which is likely to prove of historical interest. In this regard it is sufficient to point to the adoption, first, of a resolution to organise a national union (or the conversion of the Co-operative League of America into one), and the appointment of a committee to formulate a constitution and by-laws for submission to the next convention in 1919; and, second, the decision to form a National Co-operative Wholesale Federation, and the appointment of a provisional board composed of seven members, one each from the Pacific Coast, Puget Sound, North-West, North-Central States, Central States, Middle-Eastern States, and New England States: an arrangement based on the location of the Wholesale Societies previously mentioned. It is interesting to note the intention to organise the wholesale on British C.W.S. lines, and that the National Union projected will in all probability closely follow the British and Canadian models.

Meanwhile, the development of the National American Wholesale project is shown by the formation of plans embracing the planting of a wholesale in Chicago, and the organisation thereafter of wholesales in New York and Boston, and one later on in Kansas City. The National Co-operative Association, whose board of directors is composed of the Presidents of regional wholesale societies, has the scheme in hand, and Chicago will form the centre for the preliminary work of organisation.

## JUAN SALAS ANTÓN.

**J**UAN SALAS ANTÓN, the veteran Spanish co-operator, was born in 1854 at Sabadell, the greatest wool manufacturing centre in Catalonia (Spain). He is a lawyer, and has been a member of the Barcelona Municipal Government, and later on a Member of Parliament (Diputado a Cortes) for the Sabadell district. For six years he was the secretary to the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in London, where he founded and edited the quarterly illustrated magazine *The Anglo-Spanish Trade*, the organ of the said corporation.



JUAN SALAS ANTÓN.

Up to the middle of the nineties he belonged to the Republican party, though having Socialistic ideas, and then he undertook co-operative work. Not one of the co-operative societies then existing in Catalonia had any reserve funds at all. Señor Antón preached the necessity of having such funds, and of assigning part of the profits to mutual assistance, schools, &c., and since then there is no co-operative society without any reserve and mutual funds. Señor Antón founded a great number of new co-operative societies, federated them into the *Cámara Regional de Sociedades Cooperativas de Cataluña*

and *Balears*, and founded in 1898 the monthly review *Revista Cooperativa Catalana*, now *Cooperatismo*. In a word, the name of Salas Antón is indissolubly associated with the revival of co-operation in Spain, and if results fall short of his ideal the circumstance is attributable to conditions which have rendered complete achievement a superhuman task.

Señor Antón has been several times president of the said *Cámara Regional*, has assisted at many foreign and international co-operative congresses (amongst them the International Congress of Production Workers' Associations, held in Paris on the 11th, 12th, and 13th July, 1900, of which he was honorary vice-president), and has been a member of the executive of the International Co-operative Alliance. He has given numerous lectures and written numerous articles on co-operation, the supreme ideal of his life, as he sees in co-operation the most practical means of realising socialism on the earth.



## THE RESTORATION OF CO-OPERATION ABROAD.

### The Participation of the C.W.S.

---

TO what extent the English Co-operative Wholesale Society is engaged in promoting the reconstruction of co-operation abroad, it is interesting to note. To begin with, it may be stated that the C.W.S. despatched the first cargo of wearing apparel by the Cunard s.s. *Tyria*, which left Manchester Docks on September 27th, 1919, the cargo being destined for distribution among co-operators in the Kuban district of South Russia, the Rostov-Don Co-operative Society acting as agents and distributors on behalf of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies. The cargo comprised about £60,000 worth of goods, principally textiles, and, according to arrangement, other steamers will follow with further supplies.

An agreement has been made for an exchange trade with societies in South Russia, and it is estimated that the C.W.S. will supply articles to the value of about £400,000. In return, the Russian societies will send cargoes of goods, principally hides and wheat, to this country for C.W.S. factories and distributive societies. It has been necessary to set up a C.W.S. office at Novorossisk, and two representatives are on their way to take part in establishing an international exchange co-operative trade.

#### A HELPING HAND FOR CONTINENTAL ORGANISATIONS.

It may be added that recently the C.W.S. has decided to loan large sums of money (amounting to £1,200,000) on credit to co-operative federations in countries where distress has been prevalent in consequence of the war. This includes £400,000 to Roumania, to be administered by the Federation of Village Co-operative Societies. About £200,000 of this amount has been already supplied in the form of food and dried goods, especially wearing material for men, women, and children. Goods on credit have also been supplied to two Co-operative Wholesale Societies in Poland—the Union of Consumers' Societies and the Polish Conservative Co-operative Union, the headquarters of both being at Warsaw. About £100,000 worth of commodities has been sent to each of these organisations, and there is more to follow.

Credit to the extent of £100,000 has been set up between the C.W.S. and Belgian co-operators through the Federation of Belgian Co-operative Societies at Brussels. Of this amount about £75,000 has been provided in goods largely consisting of supplies of soap. Other credit arrangements including £200,000 to the Serbian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies at Belgrade, £100,000 to the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Prague, whilst under consideration

is the question of supplying essential commodities to the extent of £100,000 to the Co-operative Union of Armenia, for distribution among co-operative families in distress.

In all cases the loans may be met by cash payments or by supplies of raw material and manufactured goods shipped for delivery to the C.W.S. at Manchester, London, Newcastle, or Bristol.

## SALES OF EUROPEAN CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES.

	1918.	1917.	1915.	1914.
	£	£	£	£
C.W.S., Manchester .....	65,167,960	57,710,132	43,101,747	34,910,813
S.C.W.S., Glasgow .....	19,216,762	17,083,275	11,363,075	9,425,383
I.A.W.S., Dublin .....	914,242	651,567	375,379	268,385
Centro-Soyuz, Moscow ...	*105,000,000	†15,625,000	2,400,000	1,088,737
G.E.G., Hamburg .....	5,225,048	5,353,500	7,642,931	7,876,202
F.D.B., Copenhagen .....	4,113,533	4,532,321	3,969,906	3,866,046
V.S.K., Basle .....	5,118,790	3,847,440	2,007,727	1,828,683
Hangya, Budapest .....	†5,000,000	3,660,704	1,919,347	1,259,121
S. O. K., Helsingfors .....	4,308,633	3,644,854	1,403,940	971,440
G. ö. K., Vienna .....	‡ .....	†3,500,000	1,205,345	1,072,000
M. d. G., Paris .....	3,114,527	1,680,000	480,000	360,000
Czecho-Slovak, Prague ...	1,596,813	398,072	175,236	\$130,269
K.F., Stockholm .....	1,554,985	1,211,256	916,536	549,403
Handelskamer, Rotterdam	662,027	800,024	498,888	397,284
N.K.L., Christiania .....	328,770	462,906	247,650	172,055
C.I.G., Milan .....	360,000	†200,000	100,087	56,400
F.C.B., Brussels .....	‡ .....	†80,000	80,000	128,000
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>221,682,090</b>	<b>120,441,051</b>	<b>77,887,794</b>	<b>64,360,221</b>

\* Or 1,000,000,000 roubles—a figure whose striking abnormality is clearly related to the fearful depreciation of the currency.

† Approximate figures.

‡ No figures available.

§ In 1913.

N.B.—In 1918 the Polish Wholesale had also a turnover of 11,000,000 marks (Polish).

## C.W.S. DEVELOPMENT BONDS.

IN the first month of 1919 the directors were pleased to report that the Treasury had agreed to an issue of Bonds to the extent of £2,500,000 (subject to the same being restricted to existing depositors). Steps were taken to make the necessary arrangements, and it may be stated that the issue was fully subscribed. The Bonds are in denominations of £20, £100, £500, and £1,000, and bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum. The term of the Bonds is for ten years, on the expiry of which they will be redeemed at par. In their report the directors stated that “the money raised by the issue of these Bonds will be largely looked upon as the basis for the carrying out of the progressive policy of the movement.”

## RUSSIAN CO-OPERATION.

### The Moscow Narodny Bank.

(Central Co-operative Bank of Russia). Established 1912, for the purpose of rendering financial aid to Co-operative Societies of Russia. CAPITAL: Rbbl. 100,000,000. *Head Office*: Moscow; 36 Branches and Agencies in Russia. *Agencies Abroad*: England, 40, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2; United States, 136, Liberty Street, New York.

### The All-Russian Purchasing Union of Agricultural Co-operation, "Selskosoyus."

Established in 1918 (formerly the Goods Department of the Moscow Narodny Bank, Russia.) *Main Office for Abroad*: 38, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2. *Agency in the U.S.A.*: 136, Liberty Street, New York City. *Branches in Russia*: Odessa, Kieff, Kharkoff, Ekaterinoslav, Rostoff-on-Don, Ekaterinburg, Omsk, Nikolaevsk. Principal Aims: the purchase of all kinds of agricultural machinery and implements, binder twine, seeds, insecticides, fungicides, hardware, small tools, &c., &c., for Russian Agricultural Co-operative Societies; the sale (in association with Russian Agricultural Co-operative Societies) of products of Russian agricultural industry.

### All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society for the whole of Russia. *Head Office*: Moscow. *Representatives in United Kingdom*: Centrosoyus Ltd., Hazlitt House, Southampton Buildings, High Holborn, W.C. *Branches in Russia*: Andizhan, Archangel, Astrachan, Barnaoul, Bijsk, Kharkov, Novonikolaievsk, Novorossisk, Odessa, Omsk, Rybinsk, Samara, Saratov, Taganrog, Vladivostok, Voronezh, &c. *Foreign Branches*—Christiania: Handelsbygningen Dramensveien, 20; Constantinople: Hovaghimian Han, Galata; Berlin: Unter den Linden, 62; Helsingfors: Annegatan, 25; Kobe: Marseilles: 55, Rue Grignan; New York: 136, Liberty Street; Paris: 1/3, Rue Caumartin; Shanghai: 26, The Bund; Stockholm: Riddaregatan, 39; Warsaw: Wspulna, 53; Yokohama: 78b, Yamashita cho. The manufacturing establishments owned by the Union include: flour mills, soap works, confectionery works, canning plant, fisheries and fish curing and canning establishments, treacle works, tobacco factories, match factories, boot and shoe factories, sea and river transport facilities, &c., &c. Exporters of British goods to Russia, and importers of Russian goods into the United Kingdom. Represents: 350 local unions, 25,000 societies, 15,000,000 individual members.

### The Central Association of Flax Growers.

Established 1915. Number of affiliated societies about 3,500, comprising about 3,500,000 individual members. Three million pods of flax fibre (value Rbbl. 300,000,000) were collected during the season 1917-18. *London Office*: 38, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2.

### The Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupsbyt."

*Head Office*: Novo-Nikolaevsk (Siberia). *Branches*—In Siberia: Irkutsk, Blagovestchensk, Vladivostok, Kharbin, Nikolaievsk-on-Amur; in *European*

(Continued on next page.)

## RUSSIAN CO-OPERATION (continued from previous page).

*Russia:* Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Petrograd, Nijni-Novgorod (Fair), Samarkand; *Abroad:* London, New York, Stockholm, Shanghai, Kobe. *Head Office for Foreign Branches:* Moorgate Hall, 83, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2. Telephone: London Wall, 8817. *Branch Office:* 31, Tooley Street, S.E.1. Telephone: Hop 1742. The Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions—"Zakupsbyt"—represents 34 Co-operative Unions, to which are affiliated 8,362 Consumers' Societies, Creamery and Fishery Associations, and other Co-operative organisations in the Ural, Siberia, and the Far East. It purchases various food commodities, machinery and implements for butter making, and manufactured products. It sells butter, fat, eggs, cheese, honey, wax, wool, hair, hides, bristles, furs, and other agricultural products and raw materials. It owns factories and workshops.

### The Union of Siberian Creamery and other Co-operative Associations.

Established 1908. The Union is engaged in the production and sale of butter, cheese, and raw materials, such as wool, bristles, horse hair, furs, skins, &c. The Union comprises 2,047 Creameries and 2,310 Co-operative Stores. *Head Office:* Omsk. 24 Branch Offices and 10 Branches in Western Siberia. *Head Office Abroad:* 113, Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. *London Office:* 59, Eastcheap, E.C.

### The Union of Co-operative Tar Manufacturing Associations.

(VAGA DISTRICT, NORTH RUSSIA.)

Established 1901. *Head Office:* Shenkursk (Archangel Government). *Branches:* Moscow, Archangel, Vologda, Viatka, Kotlas, Niandoma. Manufacturers of tar, pitch, tar and turpentine oils, charcoal, and charcoal dust. The Union owns various works for the manufacture of above articles, and its activities extend all over the Archangel, Vologda, Viatka, and Severo-Dvinsk districts of Northern Russia. *London Office:* 40, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2. Telegrams: Tarsoius Avenue, London. Telephones: London Wall, 494, 495, and 496.

### The Northern Union of Co-operative Timber Associations.

Established 1918. The Union is engaged in marketing the timber produced by the Artels. It owns saw mills and barges. It embraces over 100 Co-operative Artels of timber cutters, with a total membership of over 10,000. *Head Office:* Archangel. *London Office:* 40, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2.

### The Joint Committee of Russian Co-operative Organisations in London.

Established 1919. The members of the committee are the following organisations: The Moscow Narodny Bank; The All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, "Centrosoyuz"; The Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupsbyt"; The Central Association of Flax Growers. The object of the Committee is to co-ordinate the activities of the Russian Co-operative Organisations in London, and to represent the interests of Russian Co-operation. The Committee publishes the *Russian Co-operator* in English, and the *Vestnik* (Messenger) of the Joint Committee of Russian Co-operative organisations in London, in Russian. *Offices:* 38, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2.

# CO-OPERATIVE TANNERY

WORKS OF THE C.W.S. AT GRAPPENHALL, CHESHIRE.



GRAPPENHALL  
TANNERY.



FLESHING  
MACHINES.



FLESHING  
AND  
ROUNDING.

## CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

(References to the character and work of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited on pages 88, 93, 99-100, 103, and 104; Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Limited on pages 107, 110, and 111; to the Co-operative Union Limited on page 75; and to the Co-operative Party on page 69.)

### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

HOLYOAKE HOUSE, HANOVER STREET, MANCHESTER.

Secretary: A. WHITEHEAD.

The Co-operative Union Limited (formerly known as the Central Board, was established in 1869) is a federation of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom which conform to the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts. Its functions are propaganda, legal assistance, co-operative education and defence. The annual Co-operative Congress is held under its auspices. The membership in 1918, as given in the statistical report, was as follows:—

Type of Society.	Members of the Co-operative Union.		All Societies (including non-members) included in the Statistics of the Co-operative Union.	
	Number of Societies.	Membership of Societies.	Number of Societies.	Membership of Societies.
Retail Distributive Societies .....	1,208	3,772,058	1,364	3,846,531
Distributive Federations .....	4	61	5	61
Productive Societies.....	81	31,519	95	37,393
Supply Associations.....	2	8,349	3	8,349
Special Societies.....	2	478	4	693
Wholesale Societies .....	3	1,972	3	1,972
Totals for All Types of Societies	1,300	3,814,437	1,474	3,894,999

### WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

28, CHURCH ROW, HAMPSTEAD, N.W.3.

President: Mrs. WILLIAMS. Secretary: Miss M. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

The Guild was established in 1883, and has the following objects: To organise women, as co-operators, for the study and practise of (1) co-operation and other methods of social reform; (2) improved conditions of domestic life. In April, 1919, it had 716 branches, with a total membership of 32,908. The subjects selected for discussion during the year 1919-20 include the following: (1) "The Menace of Capitalism and how to Fight it," (2) "How to Supply Co-operatively all the Needs of the People," (3) "International Co-operation," (4) "The League of Peoples and the Uprising of Democracy," (5) "The Need for a Workers' Press," (6) "The Co-operative Party," (7) "A Minimum for the Family: how best to secure it," (8) "Housing," (9) "The National Care of Maternity," (10) "Home Helps."

### SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.

President: Mrs. MACDONALD.

Secretary: Miss KATE M. CALLEN, 5, Elliot Street, Anderston, Glasgow.

The Scottish Guild has similar objects to those of the English. In 1918-19 it had a membership of 16,965 in 213 branches. During the year 12 new branches were opened.

**IRISH CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.**

President: Mrs. A. C. HUSBAND.

Secretary: Mrs. GIRVAN, 16, Reid Street, Belfast.

There are 14 branches with a membership of 1,300.

**CO-OPERATIVE NEWSPAPER SOCIETY LIMITED.**

22, LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER.

Chairman: G. BROWNBILL, J.P. Secretary: W. M. BAMFORD.

This society is a federation of distributive societies owning the *Co-operative News*, *Millgate Monthly*, *Our Circle*, and *Woman's Outlook*, devoted to the co-operative movement.

**CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED.**

ALLIANCE CHAMBERS, HORSEFAIR STREET, LEICESTER.

President: COUNCILLOR T. ADAMS. Secretary: R. HALSTEAD.

The objects of the federation are: To aid co-operative productive societies by united action; to open up a market for the sale of their goods; and to obtain capital for co-operative production. It has a membership of 48 societies, whose trade through the federation for the year 1918 was £335,243.

**CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LIMITED.**

109, CORPORATION STREET, MANCHESTER.

Manager: J. P. JONES. Secretary: T. BRODRICK, J.P.

The C.I.S., founded 1867, is now the Joint Insurance Department of the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies. It undertakes all kinds of insurance business, including life, fire, accident, burglary, fidelity, employers' liability, live stock, &c. It has branches and agents throughout the United Kingdom.

**C.W.S. HEALTH INSURANCE SECTION.**

1, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER.

Manager: R. SMITH, F.F.I. Secretary: T. BRODRICK, J.P.

An Approved Society (No. 214) under the Health Insurance Acts, established to administer for co-operators and others the benefits of the Acts. The present membership is 250,000, and the benefits paid to date £520,000. The invested funds are £750,000. Compensation to the amount of £145,000 has been secured for members, and war pensions granted to members have totalled £180,000.

**NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION LTD.**

President: F. KNOX (Birtley).

General Secretary: WM. BRADSHAW, J.P. (17, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham):

Magazine Editor: C. W. SWINGLER (Birmingham).

Executive Committee: Messrs. THOS. MCGHEE (West Scotland Association), DUNSMORE (East Scotland), WINTERBOTTOM (North-Western Grocery Managers), W. J. COLE (Bristol District Association), WHITNEY (South Wales), NEWBOLD (London District Association), PEARSON (North-Western Drapers' Association), RATHBONE (North-Western Boot Association), HELLIWELL (North-Western Tailors' Association), DAWSON (North-Western Furnishing Association), G. HAW

(Leeds District Association). J. HOYLE (Huddersfield Association), and J. E. SHARPE (Northants Association).

The above association has for its objects the improvement of the status of co-operative managers, and the education of managers and buyers in technical matters relating to the various businesses they have to control.

---

#### CO-OPERATIVE SECRETARIES' ASSOCIATION.

President: G. BRIGGS, J.P. (Leeds). Treasurer: W. BENTLEY (Bolton).

Secretary: E. EMERY, 18, Countess Lane, Radcliffe, Manchester.

Council: W. R. BLAIR (Liverpool), T. HORROCKS (N.-W. Convalescent Homes), J. MAGIN (Ashington), A. PICKUP (Birkenhead), J. ROWLANDS (Prestwich), J. P. STOPFORD (Blackpool), J. R. STEEL (Horwich), W. A. WILKINSON (Brighton), and A. E. WORSWICK (Beswick).

Membership 450, chiefly in England and Wales.

---

#### THE NATIONAL UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE OFFICIALS.

33, KESWICK ROAD, ST. HELENS.

President: WM. BRADSHAW, J.P. (Grantham).

Vice-Presidents: W. BENTLEY (Bolton) and THOS. DAWSON (Dewsbury).

Secretary: W. RATHBONE.

The union is open to general managers, secretaries, managing secretaries, heads of departments (who are buyers), cashiers, or accountants of co-operative societies.

Objects: (a) The obtaining of the recognition of such rates of wages and conditions of employment as shall seem from time to time desirable; (b) the provision of sick and unemployment benefits for its members; (c) the provision to its members of a sum of money against old age and infirmity; (d) the provision to its members of legal advice and assistance in any time of necessity, so far as the law allows.

The present membership is 1,520.

---

#### THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE AND COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES AND ALLIED WORKERS.

22, LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER.

Secretary: J. HALLSWORTH.

Manager of Health Insurance Section: R. J. DAVIES.

Founded as the "Manchester and District Co-operative Employees' Association" in 1891; by amalgamation with other associations it became national in scope, and in 1895 the name was changed to the "Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees," in which year it was registered as a trade union. It adopted a militant attitude in 1911 by making provision for a strike fund. Its membership is now open to other than co-operative employees. The membership is 90,000.

The union is also a State Approved Society, with 33,500 insured members, comprising 26,000 males and 7,500 females.

---

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY.

THE PLUNKETT HOUSE, DUBLIN.

Librarian: D. COFFEY. Assistant Librarian: F. E. MARKS.

Secretary: LIONEL SMITH-GORDON.

Founded in 1914. Contains works dealing with co-operation in all countries, and undertakes research work in co-operative economies.



**THE RUSSO-BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE INFORMATION BUREAU.**

99, LEMAN STREET, E.1.

Joint Secretaries: I. V. BUBNOFF and FREDERICK ROCKELL.

The bureau, which is a joint committee of the English, Scottish, and Irish Wholesale Societies, together with Russian co-operative organisations having establishments in London, was instituted to gather information of use to the development of international co-operative trade; and especially with the object of promoting the exchange of productions between the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of the United Kingdom and the great co-operative producing and trading organisations of Russia.

---

## AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

**AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED.**

40, BROADWAY, WESTMINSTER. S.W.1.

Director-General: R. H. CARR. Secretary: F. S. GRAFF.

The Agricultural Organisation Society exists for the purpose of advocating the principles of co-operation amongst agriculturists, and of giving advice and assistance in the formation and organisation of properly registered co-operative agricultural societies in suitable districts throughout England and Wales. It does no trade and makes no profits. It is supported by voluntary contributions, but in addition receives grants from the development fund in aid of its work in the general development of agricultural co-operation, and from the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in aid of the promotion of co-operation in connection with small holdings and allotments.

On December 31st, 1918, the number of societies in affiliation was 1,121, representing an approximate membership of 160,000.

**IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED.**

THE PLUNKETT HOUSE, DUBLIN.

President: Sir HORACE PLUNKETT, K.C.V.O. Secretary: R. A. ANDERSON.

Founded in 1894 for the organisation of co-operation among Irish farmers and farm labourers. The number of societies in affiliation at the end of 1917 was 938, with a membership of 113,630 farmers and a total turnover of more than £7,570,000. Among these societies are 350 creameries, whose turnover exceeds 5 million pounds. The official organ is the *Irish Homestead*.

**SCOTTISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED**

5, ST. ANDREW'S SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

Hon. President: THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH, K.G., K.T.

Secretary: JOHN DRYSDALE.

There are in affiliation with the Scottish A.O.S. 170 agricultural co-operative societies, viz.: 141 purchase, dairy, and poultry societies; 13 stock improvement societies; 10 co-operative creameries, and 6 fruit societies. Their total membership is 11,364, and the turnover in 1918 was £810,365

## WOMEN'S WORK ORGANISATIONS.

(Reference to the Women's Co-operative Guilds will be found under Co-operative Organisations.)

EQUAL CITIZENSHIP, NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.—President: Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone; Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. K. Game; Hon. Treasurer: Miss Rosamond Smith; Secretary Information Bureau: Mrs. Hubback; General Secretary: Miss Inez M. Ferguson.

The object of the N.U.S.E.C. is to obtain all such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, 144, High Holborn, W.C.1. Hon. Organising Secretary: Mrs. Schofield Coates.

Formed to advocate equal rights and opportunities, and an equal moral standard for men and women.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2.—Hon. President: H.E. the Countess of Aberdeen; President: Miss C. Black, Chairman of Executive; Hon. Secretary: Miss Jeannette Franklin.

The Council is non-sectarian and independent of political parties. Its objects are to organise and carry out systematic inquiry into the conditions of employment of women in industry; to provide accurate information concerning those conditions; and to take or promote such action resulting from the survey as may seem conducive to their improvement.

WOMEN'S INSTITUTES, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF (ENGLAND AND WALES), 48, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: The Lady Denman; Hon. Secretary: Miss Kilroy Kenyon.

Women's Institutes are societies of country women formed to bring educational and social advantages to the villages; to promote co-operative enterprises, and to encourage village industries.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C.1. Established 1874.—Chairman: Miss Gertrude Tuckwell; Secretary: Miss Mary R. Macarthur.

The League is a Federation of Affiliated Unions of those trades in which women are employed, and acts as the agent of women trade unionists in all matters on which joint action on behalf of the affiliated unions is necessary; it also sends organisers to any district to form new or strengthen existing trade unions.

WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF (formerly National Union of Women Workers), Parliament Mansions, Westminster.—President: Mrs. Ogilvie Gordan, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S.; General Secretary: Miss Norah Greer.

Its objects are: To promote the social, civil, moral, and religious welfare of the community; to co-ordinate organisations in harmony with these purposes; to work for the removal of all disabilities of women, and to collect and redistribute information.

---

## SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN SOCIETIES.

ANTI-SWEATING LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL, 45, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: Mr. J. J. Mallon.

Object: The securing of a minimum wage.

ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, LONDON AND PROVINCIAL, 22A, Regent Street, S.W.1.—President: The Earl of Tankerville; Secretary: Mrs. E. J. Holland.

The object of the society is to secure the prohibition by law of the practice commonly called vivisection, by which is understood cruelty perpetrated upon living beings in the name of science.

ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, NATIONAL, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Director: Hon. Stephen Coleridge; Acting Secretary: R. S. Wood.

Object: To draw public attention to the iniquity of torturing animals for any purpose, and to lead people to call upon Parliament totally to suppress the practice of vivisection.

CANCER RESEARCH FUND, IMPERIAL, 8-11, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1.—Director: Dr. J. A. Murray; Secretary: F. G. Hallett.

The scope of the work embraces systematic and detailed investigation of cancer in every part of the Empire as it occurs in the human race and in every species of the vertebrate kingdom.

CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION, THE STATE, 53, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Chairman: The Earl of Lytton; Hon. Secretary: Mrs. S. A. Barnett, C.B.E.; Secretary: F. Penrose Philp.

The S.C.A. seeks to secure individual treatment for all children who come under the care of the State. Its main principle is that a home, and not an institution, is the right place in which to rear any normal child.

CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOLIDAY FUND, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.—President: The Earl of Athlone; Secretary: Geoffrey Marchand.

To provide a fortnight's country holiday during the summer school holiday for children attending the elementary schools of London.

COAL SMOKE ABATEMENT SOCIETY, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: Sir William Richmond, K.C.B., R.A.; Treasurer: Dr. H. A. Des Vœux; Secretary: Lawrence W. Chubb.

This society exists to secure the observance of the existing law in regard to smoke nuisances emanating from factories and industrial concerns; to improve that law, and to promote and encourage all voluntary efforts to abolish coal smoke from dwelling-houses.

COMMITTEE ON WAGE-EARNING CHILDREN, 53, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: A. J. Mundella; Hon. Secretaries: Miss N. Adler, L.C.C., and Miss H. W. Jevons.

COMMONS AND FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: Lord Eversley; Secretary: Lawrence W. Chubb.

The principal objects of the society are to secure and maintain the free and uninterrupted use of all public rights of way (by land and water) and to preserve all commons, village greens, roadside wastes, and ferries. The society acts as a free centre for advice for local authorities and private individuals on all questions in connection with the protection of public rights.

CREMATION SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, 32A, Regent Street, W.1.—President: Sir Charles Cameron, Bart.; Hon. Secretary: J. C. Swinburne-Harham.

The society was founded in 1874 by the late Sir Henry Thompson, Bart., to promote cremation as a method of disposing of the dead in a sanitary, reverent, and innocuous manner without danger to the living.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS, ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF, 105, Jermyn Street, S.W.1.—President: H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, K.G.; Chairman of Council: Col. Sir E. W. D. Ward, Bart., G.B.E., K.C.B., K.C.V.O.; Secretary: Captain E. G. Fairholme, O.B.E.

The R.S.P.C.A. has 1,214 branches and auxiliaries in England and Wales, and 1,000 Bands of Mercy--the latter being organisations instructing children

how to treat animals. The society cautions and gives advice in 25,000 cases annually, and obtains about 5,000 convictions every year. It was the pioneer of humane slaughtering, and 3,000 of its special patent humane appliances for the killing of cattle are in regular use all over the country.

**CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF,** 40, Leicester Square, W.C.2.—Chairman of Executive Committee: Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke; Vice-Chairman: F. P. Whitbread; Deputy Vice-Chairman: C. H. St. John Hornby; Director: Robert J. Parr, O.B.E.

During 1918-19 the society dealt with 34,397 cases, involving 96,854 children.

**EARLY CLOSING ASSOCIATION,** 34-40, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4.—President: The Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P.; Secretary: Captain Albert Larking, F.C.I.S.

Objects: Permanent compulsory closing of shops and abolition of Sunday trading. Supported by voluntary contributions.

**HEALTH SOCIETY, NATIONAL,** 53, Berners Street, W.1.—Chairman of Committee: Sir James Crichton Browne, M.D., F.R.S.; Secretary: Miss F. Lankester.

For the training and education of women in the laws of health, &c.

**HEALTH, MATERNITY, AND CHILD WELFARE, NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR,** 4, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.—Hon. Secretary: Dr. Eric Pritchard; Secretary: Miss J. Halford.

This league includes the National Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality, the Association of Infant Welfare and Maternity Centres, the National League for Physical Education and Improvement, the Mansion House Council on Health and Housing, the National Baby Week Council and Children's Jewel Fund, the Women's Imperial Health Association, the National Society of Day Nurseries, and the National Council for the Unmarried Woman and her Child.

**HOLIDAYS ASSOCIATION, CO-OPERATIVE,** 225, Brunswick Street, Manchester.—President: Right Hon. Sir Wm. Mather, P.C.; Secretary: H. P. Weston, M.A.

Exists to apply the principle of co-operation to holiday making, and to promote rational enjoyment in a healthy atmosphere by means of holiday guest houses, rambling clubs, &c.

**HOLIDAY FELLOWSHIP LTD., THE,** "Bryn Corach," Conway, North Wales.—President: Arnold S. Rowntree, M.P.; Secretary: T. A. Leonard.

Aims to organise holiday making, provide for the healthy enjoyment of leisure, encourage the love of the open air, and to promote social and international friendship.

**HOWARD ASSOCIATION, THE,** 43, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.—Chairman: Henry Gurney; Secretary: Cecil Leeson.

Objects: To promote efficient methods for the prevention and treatment of crime and juvenile delinquency by securing better application of the Probation Act, establishment of certified schools for physically defective offenders, more thorough classification of prisoners, medical—not penal—treatment for epileptic and mentally defective offenders, establishment of police court clinics, adoption of the indeterminate sentence and the parole system.

**HUMANE SOCIETY, THE ROYAL,** 4, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Admiral Sir G. D. Morant, K.C.B.; Secretary: Major F. A. C. Claughton.

Rewards those who have bravely saved or attempted to save life from drowning, or from asphyxia, in all British possessions. Encourages swimming.

exercises at public schools and on training ships, and makes known the best methods of restoring the apparently drowned.

INVALID CHILDREN'S AID ASSOCIATION, THE, 69, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: The Marquis of Aberdeen, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.; Secretary: Mrs. Munro.

To help, supervise, and, if possible, cure seriously invalided and crippled children of the London poor; to give them personal service, convalescent treatment, surgical instruments, and loan of special carriages.

LIFEBOAT INSTITUTION, ROYAL NATIONAL, 22, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Right Hon. the Earl of Waldegrave, P.C., V.P.; Secretary: G. F. Shee, M.A.

MENTAL AFTER-CARE ASSOCIATION, THE, for poor persons convalescent or recovered from institutions for the insane, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: The Earl of Meath, K.P.; Secretary: Miss E. D. Viekers.

Objects: To facilitate the re-admission into social life of persons recovered from mental illness and discharged from institutions for the insane, by finding them employment, tools, clothing, and temporary maintenance or convalescence (if required) until self-supporting.

NATIONAL FOOD EDUCATION SOCIETY, Danes Inn House, 265, Strand, W.C.2.—Chairman: H. Beckett-Overy, M.D.; Hon. Secretary: Charles E. Hecht, M.A., M.C.A.

Founded in 1908 to advocate food, cookery, and health reform. It conducts its campaigns by literature, practical demonstrations, and lectures.

PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE, 20, Hanover Square, W.1.—Patron: H.M. the King; Chairman of Council: Hon. Sir Arthur Stanley, G.B.E., C.B., G.C.V.O.; Treasurers: The Lord Glenconner and J. Francis Mason, M.P.; Hon. Secretary: J. J. Perkins, M.B., F.R.C.P.

Object: The prevention of tuberculosis.

PUBLIC MORALS, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF, FOR GREAT AND GREATER BRITAIN, 20, Bedford Square, W.C.1.—President: The Lord Bishop of Birmingham; Chairman: Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D.; Director and Secretary: Rev. James Marchant, F.R.S., Ed.

Object: The promotion of race regeneration—physical, moral, spiritual.

RURAL ORGANISATION COUNCIL, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Chairman: Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Hills, M.P.; Treasurer: Sir Owen Philipps, K.C.M.G., M.P.; Hon. Secretaries: L. W. Chubb, H. R. Aldridge, Ewart G. Culpin.

This council is composed of delegates appointed by numerous organisations interested in various rural problems, and its object is to improve the conditions of rural life and to promote agricultural prosperity. It holds conferences and arranges deputations in furtherance of its objects.

VEGETARIAN SOCIETY (NATIONAL), THE, 257, Deansgate, Manchester.—President: Ernest Bell, M.A.; Secretary: James Hough.

The Vegetarian Society was founded in 1847. It aims to induce habits of abstinence from fish, flesh, and fowl as food.

VIVISECTION, BRITISH UNION FOR ABOLITION OF, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.1.—President and Hon. Secretary: Walter R. Hadwen, M.D., J.P.; Treasurer: Viscount Harberton; Secretary: Miss B. E. Kidd.

The Union, being under medical guidance, deals with the anti-vivisection standpoint from the scientific as well as the humanitarian aspect, and gives information on all controversial points. It has over 70 branches, and about 5,000 members. Monthly periodical, *The Abolitionist*, 2d.

## INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL BODIES.

---

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY, THE, 19, Buckingham Street, S.W. Chairman: W. H. Watkins; Secretary: S. F. Perry, J.P.

This is the political organisation for the co-operative movement—organising and moulding opinion for the expression of co-operative views in Parliamentary and local government elections.

LABOUR PARTY, THE, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.—Secretary: Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

The objects of the Labour Party are: To organise and maintain a political Labour Party and to co-operate with the Trade Unions Congress and kindred organisations in joint political or other action; to secure for the producers, by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service, and generally to promote the political, social, and economic emancipation of the people; to take common action with the Labour organisations in the British Dominions and Dependencies, and with the Labour organisations in other countries; and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of freedom and peace.

TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P.; Vice-Chairman: G. H. Stuart-Bunning, J.P.; Secretary: Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.

The object of the Congress and Parliamentary Committee is to watch all legislation affecting labour, and initiate such legislation as Congress directs.

At the Congress held at Glasgow in September, 1919, there were 851 delegates, representing 5,283,676 members.

LABOUR LEGISLATION, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR (BRITISH SECTION), 45, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.—President: Sir Thomas Oliver, M.D., F.R.C.P.; Hon. Treasurer: The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Secretary: Miss S. Sanger.

TRADE UNIONS, GENERAL FEDERATION OF, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.1.—Chairman: J. Cross, J.P.; Secretary: W. A. Appleton.

Objects: To uphold the right of combination; to promote just and equitable settlement of industrial disputes; to establish central financial reserves for mutual support.

LABOUR COPARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.—Hon. Sec.: Aneurin Williams, M.P.; Sec.: Ernest W. Mundy, B.A.

The object of the association is to bring about an organisation of industry based on the principle of labour copartnership—that is to say, a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profit, capital, control, and responsibility. With this view it seeks (1) in the co-operative movement to aid by its propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle; (2) in other businesses to induce employers and employed to adopt schemes of profit-sharing and investment tending in the same direction.

For work in connection with the Copartnership Productive Societies, the association works with the Co-operative Productive Federation (q.v.), and a joint committee called the Co-operative Copartnership Propaganda Committee has been established to foster all forms of educational work within the movement. The chairman of this is Mr. H. Daniels, Messrs. R. Halstead and E. W. Mundy being the secretaries.

INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE AND COUNCIL, THE, 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

This council is a propagandist body for the awakening of national interest to the need for a system of industrial self-government along the lines of the Whitley Report. The goal is nothing less than the complete organisation of every trade—every man in his union, every employer in his association—and from the two an elected trade parliament in each industry, with proper official status and endowed with a full measure of responsibility for the promotion of its common interest.

FABIAN SOCIETY, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Hon. Secretary: Edward R. Pease; Secretary: W. S. Sanders.

The object of the society is the advocacy of the principles of Socialism, largely by educational methods. It publishes its own works, chiefly in a series of Fabian tracts, and it also provides boxes of books on political and social subjects from any standpoint for any organisation, such as a co-operative society or trade union branch. It also supplies lecturers on economic subjects.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, 8-9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.—Chairman: Philip Snowden; Secretary: Francis Johnson.

The I.L.P. is a political organisation, whose object is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth. Towards this end it seeks to spread a knowledge of Socialist principles, and to educate the people in the duties and responsibilities of self-government. In particular it works for the unity of the organised workers, together with men and women of all classes who believe in Socialism, in an independent political party.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.2.—General Secretary: Albert Inkpin.

The object of the party is the socialisation of the means of production and distribution, and the education of the people in the principles of Socialism.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY, 160, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: T. Kennedy.

NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE, THE, 39, Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: M. B. Reckitt.

Objects: The abolition of the wage system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry through a democratic system of National Guilds working in conjunction with a democratic State.

RECONSTRUCTION SOCIETY, THE, 58 and 60, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: Colonel W. W. Ashley, M.P.; Secretary: C. H. Dant.

A propagandist society, until recently known as the Anti-Socialist Union. Speakers and literature expose the fallacies of Socialism. Reconstruction of the State and the encouragement of harmonious relations between employers and employed are prime objects.

---

## SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

---

ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE, Burlington House, London, W.1.—President: Hon. Sir Charles A. Parsons, K.C.B., Sc.D., F.R.S.; President-Elect: Professor W. A. Herdman, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.; Secretaries: Professor H. H. Turner, D.Sc., D.C.L., F.R.S., and Professor J. L. Myres, M.A.

The association was founded in 1831 to give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry; to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of the British Empire with one another and with foreign philosophers; to obtain more general attention

for the objects of science and the removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which impede its progress. It has since then held successive annual meetings in great provincial centres in the United Kingdom, or in overseas dominions of the Empire. In 1920 it will meet at Cardiff.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, ROYAL, 16, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.—President: Sir J. B. Bowen-Jones, Bart.; Secretary: Thos. Mc. Row.

The society was founded in 1838, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1840. It was formed for the general advancement of English agriculture, and has two sides to its work—the practical and the scientific. The chief feature of the former is the annual show of pedigree live stock and agricultural implements, &c. On the scientific side the services of chemical, botanical, zoological, and veterinary experts are retained for providing the best scientific advice to its members. There is also an experimental farm and pot culture station at Woburn, where investigations to crops, soils, feeding stuffs, and various other matters connected with agriculture are carried on.

ASTRONOMICAL ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 136, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W.4.—President: Harold Thomson, F.R.A.S.; Secretaries: Major Stanley Maxwell, M.A., LL B., F.R.A.S., and P. J. Melotte, F.R.A.S.

Objects: The association of observers, especially the possessors of small telescopes, for mutual help, and their organisation in the work of astronomical observation. The circulation of current astronomical information. The encouragement of a proper interest in astronomy.

ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, Burlington House, W.1.—President: Alfred Fowler, F.R.S.; Secretaries: A. C. D. Crommelin, B.A., D.Sc., and Rev. T. E. R. Phillips, M.A.; Foreign Secretary: H. H. Turner, D.Sc., D.C.L.

The society was instituted for the encouragement and promotion of astronomy.

FIRE PREVENTION COMMITTEE, THE BRITISH, 8, Waterloo Place, S.W.1.—Hon. General Secretary: Ellis Marslard.

Objects: The protection of life and property from fire by the adoption of preventive measures; the investigation of materials, systems of construction and appliances, with the aid of which the annual fire loss can be reduced; the conduct of an inquiry office that provides gratuitous technical information regarding fire safeguards; the establishment of a service of "warnings" for the adoption of simple precautionary measures against fire by the public.

METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, 70, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Sir Napier Shaw, F.R.S.; Secretaries: W. W. Bryant, B.A., and J. S. Dines, M.A.; Foreign Secretary: R. G. K. Lempfert, M.A., C.B.E.; Assistant Secretary: A. Hampton Brown.

Exists for the promotion of the science of meteorology in all its branches.

PLACES OF HISTORIC INTEREST OR NATURAL BEAUTY, THE NATIONAL TRUST FOR, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll; Chairman: The Right Hon. the Earl of Plymouth; Secretary: S. H. Hamer.

The trust endeavours to promote the preservation of, and particularly to acquire, by gift or purchase, places of historic interest or natural beauty, and to hold them in trust for the nation.

---

## EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

---

ARTS, ROYAL SOCIETY OF, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—President: H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G.; Chairman



of Council: Sir Henry Trueman Wood; Secretary: G. K. Menzies, M.A.; Secretary of Indian and Colonial Sections: S. Digby, C.I.E.

The society was founded in 1754, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1847, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. The Fellows now number about 3,000.

**BOTANIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, ROYAL**, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.—President: The Marquess of Cambridge; Secretary: Henry W. Woodford.

Incorporated by Royal Charter in 1839, for the promotion of Botany in all its branches, and its application to Medicine, Arts, and Manufactures; also for the formation of Botanical and Ornamental Gardens in the Metropolis.

**CLUB AND INSTITUTE UNION, WORKING MEN'S**, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.1.—President: J. J. Dent, C.M.G.; Secretary: B. T. Hall.

A federation of 1,730 working men's clubs and institutes, with 690,000 members, throughout the country.

**ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, THE LONDON SCHOOL OF (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)**, Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C.2.—Chairman of Governors: Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Bart., M.P.; Director: Sir Wm. Beveridge, K.C.B., M.A., B.C.L.; Secretary: Miss C. S. Mactaggart.

Offers full curricula for the degrees of B.Sc., M.Sc., and D.Sc. in Economics, also for the Academic Diplomas in Geography and in Sociology and Social Administration. It also provides scientific training for those engaged in (1) different branches of public administration, central and local; (2) trade and commerce; (3) railways; (4) accounting; (5) library administration.

The Ratan Tata Department of Social Science and Administration of the University of London is one of the departments of the London School of Economics and Political Science. It gives a sound training in all forms of social work. Head of the Department: Professor E. J. Urwick, M.A.

The British Library of Political Science attached to the school is open, under certain conditions, free to the public.

**EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL**, Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—President: Right Hon. Lord Sheffield; Secretary: A. J. Mundella.

To promote and defend the principles of national education, which shall be efficient, progressive, free, unsectarian, and under proper control.

**EUGENICS EDUCATION SOCIETY**, 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.—President: Major Leonard Darwin; Hon. Secretary: Miss Constance Brown.

Deals with problems of racial betterment, racial deterioration, heredity, marriage of the unfit, infant mortality, &c.

**FOLK-LORE SOCIETY, THE**, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.—President: A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S.; Secretary: F. A. Milne, M.A.

For the study of folk-lore.

**HODGSON PRATT MEMORIAL**, 60, Knatchbull Road, Camberwell, S.E.5.—President: Sir Henry J. Vansittart Neale, K.C.B.; Hon. Sec.: J. J. Dent, C.M.G.

The memorial is a society registered to administer the fund raised by co-operative and peace societies, workmen's clubs, and personal friends, with the object of keeping alive the memory of the late Mr. Hodgson Pratt.

**HOME-READING UNION, NATIONAL**, 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—President: H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll; Chairman of Executive Committee: J. W. Mackail, M.A., LL.D.; Secretary: Miss Swanson.

Formed to guide readers in the use of books; to direct self-education, and to unite readers in circles for mutual stimulus and help.



THE CURRENT PRICES FOR

# PELAW POLISHES ARE

Boot Polish  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., 5d.,  
and  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. Tins.

Liquid Metal Polish  $3$ d.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., and  
 $9$ d. Tins.



These are the Polishes that shine Efficiently and Economically.  
Sold at all Stores that are Co-operative.

PARENTS' NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION, 26, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Presidents: The Marquess and Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair; Chairman: The Right Hon. Sir Charles Swinfen Eady; Secretary: Miss E. A. Parish.

The Parents' National Educational Union was founded in 1887. It aims at giving opportunity for study of educational problems, and offers a unique theory and practice of education, which have proved very successful in families and schools of all kinds. The House of Education, Ambleside, trains ladies in the art of teaching in P.N.E.U. methods and principles. The *Parents' Review* is the monthly organ of the Union.

RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD.—Chairman of the Governing Council: Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.; Principal: H. Sanderson Furniss, M.A.; Secretary: F. Smith.

Stands for education in the broadest sense of the word, and for the Labour movement, and provides courses of study for residential working-class students, as well as tuition by correspondence.

SCIENCE GUILD, BRITISH, 199, Piccadilly, W.1.—President: The Right Hon. Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., &c.; Hon. Secretary: Lieut.-Colonel W. A. J. O'Meara, C.M.G., R.E.; Secretary: Miss A. D. L. Laeey.

Exists for furthering the application of science in national affairs generally, but especially in industry and education.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE, 23, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.—President: Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, P.C., M.P.; Hon. Secretary: J. F. Green, 45, Outer Temple, Strand, London, W.C.; Organising Secretary: A. H. Reed, 23, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.

Founded 40 years ago by the late Sir J. R. Seeley for providing non-partisan lectures and addresses on social, economic, political, and historical subjects.

STATISTICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, 9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London, W.C.2.—President: The Right Hon. Herbert Samuel; Librarian: J. A. P. Mackenzie; Chief Clerk: L. Catherine Thorburn.

The objects of this society, which was founded 1834, are the collection, arrangement, discussion, and publication of facts bearing on the complex relations of modern society in its social, economic, and political aspects, especially facts which can be stated numerically and arranged in tables.

VICTORIA LEAGUE, THE, 22, Eccleston Square, S.W.—President: The Dowager Countess of Jersey; Secretary: Miss Drayton, O.B.E.

A non-party Association of British men and women, founded in 1901 in memory of Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria, for the purpose of promoting closer union between British subjects living in different parts of the world.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, 16, Harpur Street, Holborn, London, W.C.1.—President: Canon William Temple, M.A.; Secretary: J. M. Mactavish.

A federation of 2,526 working-class, educational, and other organisations. It is unsectarian, non-political, and democratic. Its aim is to stimulate and satisfy the demand for higher education among working people, and to promote the improvement of the educational system from the nursery school to the University.

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE, Crowndale Road, London, N.W.1.—Principal: Sir Charles Lucas, M.A., K.C.B.; Superintendent and Secretary: E. C. Duchesne.

The students are for the most part working men, and the teachers are, in general, members of the Universities and of the different professions, or those who have themselves been students in the College. Its purpose is to unite these classes together by associating them in the common work of teaching and learning. It provides instruction at the smallest possible cost

{the teaching being for the most part unpaid) in the subjects with which it most concerns English citizens to be acquainted, and thus tries to place a liberal education within the reach of working men. The College was founded in 1854.

---

## CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

---

ARBITRATION LEAGUE, INTERNATIONAL, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Right Hon. Thomas Burt; Chairman: John Morgan; Secretary: F. Maddison.

For nearly half a century the League has been at work organising meetings, distributing leaflets and pamphlets, publishing its monthly organ, *The Arbitrator*, and playing a leading part in the long battle against those forces of militarism which, by preserving the institution of war and armaments, demoralise the peoples and at the same time waste their very means of subsistence.

BRITISH CONSTITUTION ASSOCIATION, THE, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Sir Martin Conway, M.P.; Hon. Secretary: W. V. Cooper.

Objects: To resist Socialism; to uphold the fundamental principles of the British Constitution—personal liberty and personal responsibility; and to limit the functions of governing bodies accordingly.

COBDEN CLUB, Broadway Court, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.—Chairman of Committee: Right Hon. Sir Francis Mowatt, G.C.B.; Hon. Secretary: Right Hon. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P.; Secretary: F. J. Shaw.

This club exists for the defence of those principles of Free Trade as a means for promoting international peace and goodwill, of which Cobden was the greatest exponent.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM UNION, THE, 9, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Sir Arthur Conan Doyle; Organising Secretary: Mrs. M. L. Seaton-Tiedeman.

Object: To promote the reform and amendment of the laws relating to marriage, divorce, and separation.

LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION, 8, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—President: J. Martin White, J.P.; Hon. Secretary: James Rowlands, M.P.

The object of the society is to promote measures for the reform of the land laws by, *inter alia*, securing to tenants in town and country compensation for unexhausted improvements, and generally protecting the just rights and interests of leaseholders; by making adequate provisions for small holdings; by abolishing antiquated and cumbersome legislation; by facilitating the transfer of land by means of a simple and economical system of registration; by dealing with the housing question; and by readjustment of the rating and taxation of land.

LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL, SOCIETY FOR, 30 and 31, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: John Massie, Esq., M.A.; Chairman of Executive: David Caird, Esq.; Secretary: Alfred Howe, Esq.

LONDON PROGRESSIVE UNION, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, W.C.2.—Chairman: Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, L.C.C.; Hon. Secretary: G. M. Gillett, J.P., L.C.C.

Established in 1892 to promote the reform of London government. It has issued many publications on municipal questions.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL, Avenue Chambers, Vernon Place, Southampton Row, W.C.1.—Chairman: Charles P. Trevelyan; General Secretary: C. R. Heath.

Founded in 1904. The Council is a joint committee of pacifist associations and of organisations of various kinds in sympathy with the international peace movement. It numbers about 70 delegate members, and for purposes of joint executive action maintains an office and secretariat.

PEACE SOCIETY, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.2.—Secretary: Rev Herbert Dunnico.

This society was founded in 1816 "to diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind." It has agencies and branches in France, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, Switzerland, India, China, Canada, Australia, South and West Africa.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SOCIETY, 82, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Earl Grey; Secretary: John H. Humphreys.

Aims: To secure an electoral system which will reproduce the opinions of the electors in Parliament and other public bodies in their true proportions. To secure that the majority of electors shall rule, and all considerable minorities shall be heard.

RAILWAY NATIONALISATION SOCIETY, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Ald. Emil Davies, L.C.C.; Secretary, F. W. Galton.

Established January, 1912, to advocate and promote the nationalisation of the railways of the United Kingdom. Is supported by nearly 1,000 trade unions, co-operative societies, &c., as well as by individual members.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.C.2.—President: Alderman P. Wilson Raffan, M.P., C.C.; Secretary: Frederick Verinder.

The objects are indicated in the title of the League, the official organ of which is *Land and Liberty*. Lectures, books, pamphlets, and leaflets on land question supplied.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.—Treasurer: W. R. Lester, M.A.; Secretary: John Paul.

Object: To overthrow land monopoly and secure the people's rights to the land by means of the taxation of land values and the untaxing of industry. Monthly journal, *Land Values*.

WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, THE, 37, Newhall Street, Birmingham.—Chairman: Neville Chamberlain; Secretary: Frank Impey.

The objects of this association are to generally promote the development of Inland Water Transport, and particularly to induce the Government to give effect to the report of the Royal Commission on canals, which advocated nationalisation and development by the State, leaving the provision of boats and the business of conveyance to private enterprise, as in France and Belgium.

---

## COMMERCIAL.

---

BRIBERY AND SECRET COMMISSIONS PREVENTION LEAGUE, 9, Queen Street, Place, E.C.4.—President: Lord Lambourne; Chairman: Stanley Machin; Secretary: R. M. Leonard.

The objects of the League are to secure the observance of the Prevention of Corruption Act; to educate public opinion on the subject; to warn, and, when necessary, prosecute offenders; and to advise members. The latter number upwards of 800.

COMMERCE. ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH CHAMBERS OF, Parliamentary Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: E. Manville, M.P.; Secretary: R. B. Dunwoody, A.M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S.

The central organisation of the Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom and of British Chambers of Commerce abroad. The channel by which the interests of trade and commerce are made known to the Government.

COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 333-350, The Royal Exchange, Manchester.—President: The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.; Secretary: E. H. Oldfield, F.C.I.S.

Formed with the object of promoting the development of cotton cultivation within the British Empire; granted Royal Charter August, 1904. Capital, £500,000.

DECIMAL ASSOCIATION. THE, 229-231, Finsbury Pavement House, E.C.2.—President: The Right Hon. the Lord Belhaven and Stenton; Secretary: G. E. M. Johnson; Assistant Secretary: E. Merry.

The Decimal Association advocates that the coinage should be decimalised, and the Metric System should be substituted for the Imperial Weights and Measures throughout the British Empire.

---

## TEMPERANCE.

---

BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED). NATIONAL, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—President: Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle; Office Secretary: Miss G. Hunt.

An organisation of women's temperance societies formed to promote personal total abstinence and the control and ultimate suppression of the liquor traffic. The official organ is the *White Ribbon*.

CENTRAL SUNDAY CLOSING ASSOCIATION, 146, Denmark Hill, London, S.E.5.—President: Sir Robert W. Perks, Bart.; Chairman and Treasurer: T. Rowbotham, J.P.; Secretary: J. Woodford Causer.

The association aims at stopping the *Sale* of alcoholic liquors on *Sunday*, thus putting the liquor trade on an equality with other trades with regard to Sunday.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (INCORPORATED), 50, Marsham Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Presidents: The Archbishops of Canterbury and York; Chairman: The Lord Bishop of London; Secretary: Dr. Charles F. Harford.

The objects of the Society are: (1) The promotion of habits of temperance; (2) the reformation of the intemperate; (3) the removal of the causes which lead to intemperance; (4) the provision of counter-attractions to the public house.

LABOUR CAMPAIGN FOR THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE, 45, Meeklenburgh Square, W.C.1.—Chairman: Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P.; Hon. Secretaries: Arthur Greenwood, and J. J. Mallon.

To realise the policy of the Labour Party with regard to the Liquor Trade in taking the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. This is essentially a case in which the people, as a whole, must assert its right to full and unfettered power for dealing with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion.

SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, 234, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.—President: Sir Joseph P. Maclay, Bart.; Chairman of Directors: Rev. John T. Burton, M.A.; Secretary: James Gillies.

The object of the League is the entire abolition of the drink system. By means of pulpit, platform, and press, it seeks to educate the people regarding the nature of alcoholic liquors and urges them to abstain therefrom. The League also seeks the entire legislative prohibition of the traffic, and favours every restriction of the same whether secured through means of licensing courts or legislature.

STUDY OF INEBRIETY, SOCIETY FOR THE, 139, Harley Street, London, W.1.—President: Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, K.C.V.O., M.S.; Hon. Secretary: T. N. Kelynack, M.D., M.R.C.P.

This society is a scientific body having for its objects the systematic study of inebriety and the investigation of all form of alcoholism. The society does not seek to exercise any control over the opinions or practice of its members and associates in regard to the use of alcoholic preparations or intoxicating drinks. Qualified medical practitioners are admitted to the society as members, and other men and women interested in the scientific work of the society are eligible for election as associates.

TEMPERANCE COUNCIL, NATIONAL UNITED, 27, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4.—President: J. G. Hobbs, F.R.G.S.; Secretary: C. Piahorn.

This council labours to secure the full administration of the Licensing Acts, giving legal aid and free legal advice. It also seeks to obtain drastic amendments of the licensing laws.

TEMPERANCE FELLOWSHIP, THE TRADE UNION AND LABOUR OFFICIALS', 213, Brixton Road, London, S.W.9.—President: The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Hon. Secretary: Harry Gosling, L.C.C., J.P.

The Fellowship was formed from inside the Trade Unions Congress at Leeds in 1904, with a view to promoting personal abstinence among Labour officials, and the removal of trade society meetings from licensed premises. The annual meeting takes place at the Trade Unions Congress each year, and there are occasional meetings at the Labour Congress.

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL, Paternoster House, London, E.C.4.—President: The Dean of Hereford; Secretary: John Turner Rae. Official Magazine: *The National Temperance Quarterly*, 1s.

The League was established in 1856, and the chief feature of its specialised operations has been to arrest thought in the learned professions and among leaders in religious and social movements, as well as to impress upon all classes of the community the importance of the temperance enterprise and of the study of the alcohol problem.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION LEAGUE, THE, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Chairman: Joseph Rowntree; Hon. Secretary: Arthur Sherwell, M.P.; Secretary: A. F. Harvey.

Object: To promote temperance reform by legislation and the effective administration of the licensing laws. Policy: State purchase of the liquor trade with local option.

UNITED KINGDOM BAND OF HOPE UNION, 59 and 60, Old Buley, London, E.C.4.—President: The Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke; Secretary: G. Avery Roff, L.C.P.

A union of juvenile temperance societies to further the welfare of the child-life of the nation by many varied activities based upon the principle of total abstinence. There are 416 unions and 30,000 societies, with 3,061,777 members affiliated with the union.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

ALLOTMENT HOLDERS, NATIONAL UNION OF, 22, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: J. Forbes.

A federation of allotment societies having, approximately, 180,000 members.

BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 23, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: W. Herrod-Hempsall.

To advocate the humane and intelligent treatment of the bee, and to better the condition of the cottagers of the United Kingdom by the encouragement, improvement, and advancement of bee culture.

DISCHARGED AND DEMOBILISED SAILORS AND SOLDIERS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF, 2, Westminster Palace Gardens, Artillery Row, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: T. F. Lister; General Secretary: F. W. Jackson.

This is a federation formed to watch over and promote the interests of discharged sailors and soldiers. It is controlled solely by discharged men for discharged men; its chief object is justice, not charity.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (London Central), Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.—President: Lord Kinnaid; Chairman: T. W. H. Inskip, K.C., M.P.; Secretary: Frank Carter, M.B.E.

The Association provides a full programme to meet the needs of men for body, mind, and spirit.

---

# ANTELOPE CREAM POWDER

BRITISH MADE.



TRADE MARK.  
(Registered)

REPLACES CREAM OF TARTAR.  
FULLY GUARANTEED TO PASS  
THE FOOD AND DRUGS ACTS  
IN ALL RESPECTS.

Prices and Supplies can be obtained from the  
C.W.S., Manchester and London.

Co-operative Societies are being supplied in 5-cwt., 1-cwt., 56-lb., and 28-lb. parcels, and the ANTELOPE CREAM POWDER is giving satisfaction to all who use it.

MANUFACTURED BY THE

## ANTELOPE CREAM POWDER CO.

Phone: AVENUE 3220. Wires: "EPOLETNA, LONDON."

6, LLOYD'S AVENUE, LONDON, E.C.3.



**INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITIES IN CANADA.**

BY LLOYD HARRIS, CHAIRMAN, CANADIAN MISSION IN LONDON.

**T**HE war has not only established the right of Canada to be considered a nation, but it has brought into existence what has been called a "new Canada." Hitherto Canada has been regarded as an essentially agricultural country mainly dependent on her wonderful capacity for producing wheat. Peace has come, and Canada to-day finds herself taking her place among the industrial nations of the world.



LLOYD HARRIS.

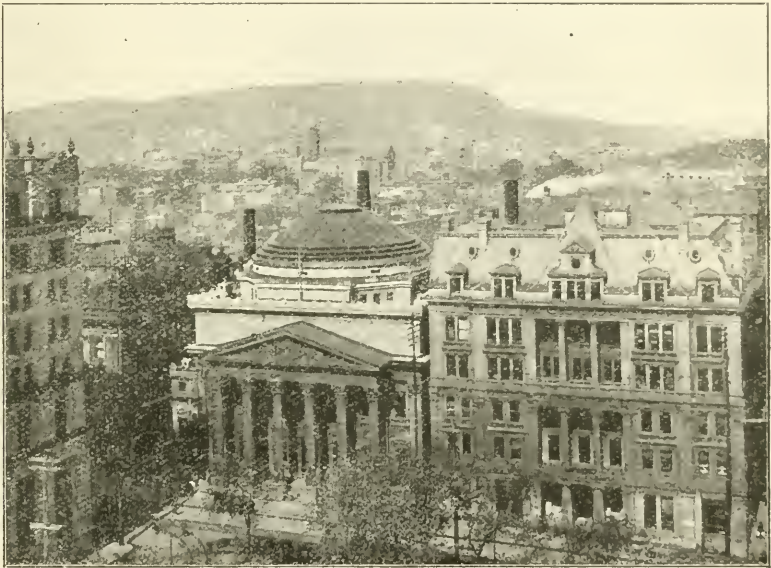
In Canada, when war was declared, we were going through rather trying times. Business had been poor, and we had a serious "unemployed" problem on our hands. Thirty thousand of our men, on the declaration of war, immediately volunteered for service, and that, of course, relieved the situation a little; but still, we were far from flourishing. Then the British Ministry of Munitions asked us to assist in producing munitions. We immediately got our manufacturers together and organised them. We formed the Imperial Munitions Board as a branch of the Ministry of Munitions, and we

were able to render great service to the Empire in supplying large quantities of munitions. The work we did in this way gave us a new idea of our capacity and ability, and we began to feel a confidence in ourselves that we never had before. We had had to put together very large plants for the manufacture of war materials of all kinds, and the way we did it was a surprise even to ourselves. Before the war was over we were making munitions not only for Great Britain, but also for the Allies, and even for the United States.

**CANADIAN ENTERPRISE DURING THE WAR PERIOD.**

The result of this enterprise was soon seen in the change that came over Canadian trade statistics. With the exception of the two years 1880 and 1881, the balance of trade was unfavourable to Canada from 1868 to 1893. From 1894 to 1903 the value of exports exceeded that of imports, though, with the exception of the two years 1897 and 1898, not to any great extent. From 1904 to the outbreak of the war—a period marked by large introductions of British capital—the imports exceeded the exports, and in 1913 the ratio was as low as 56.27 per cent. In 1915 the balance was turned in favour of Canada by the large exportation of munitions and other war material, and from being against Canada to the extent of over 50 per cent in 1913, the

balance became favourable to the extent of 53 per cent in 1916. The actual figures, showing the change in the position of Canada's trade, are briefly as follows: In 1913, the year before the war, Canada's imports were valued at \$670,089,066, and the exports of her own produce at \$355,754,600. In 1916, for the first time for many years, the balance of trade became favourable, the imports being valued at \$507,817,159, and the exports at \$741,610,638. In 1917 there was an even greater improvement. The imports for that year were valued at \$845,330,903, and the exports at \$1,151,375,768. No wonder, then, that we felt a new confidence in ourselves, and that we felt stirred to further efforts.



MONTREAL: THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF CANADA.

#### THE OBJECT OF THE CANADIAN MISSION.

Canadians, having become exporters in a large way, are now naturally anxious to keep at least some of the trade they have been enjoying. Mainly with this object the Canadian Mission in London was established. But the aims of the Mission are not entirely for Canada's good alone, but also to be of service to the Empire in promoting inter-Imperial trade. The Canadian Mission is not over here asking for favours. We merely ask to be treated as British. We are here for the purpose of advising our Government as to the best method of working out the great business problems before us. What we must strive after is a closer co-operation between this country

and Canada. The Canadian Mission's idea is that trade held by Germany before the war should come to the British Empire.

When referring to Canada's trade before the war with Germany, it must not be forgotten that in 1903 Germany declared a small economic war by contesting the right of Canada to grant a preference to the Mother country, and imposed maximum duties as a penalty, thereby bringing into operation the Canadian surtax by way of retort, and cutting down German trade by one-half during a period of Canadian extension. But in 1910 Germany admitted defeat by withdrawing from the arbitrary position she had taken up in 1903. During those seven years of economic hostilities the fact was clearly shown that Canadian trade was far more valuable to Germany than German trade to Canada, because the former consisted of manufactured goods, and the latter was largely composed of foodstuffs which Germany, in common with the rest of the world, must have. The industrial development of Germany compelled purchase of wheat, and it did not matter to Canada to whom she sold it, for wheat, like water, finds its level.

Germany had also to consider the loss of trade with Canada, which was not inconsiderable and was growing. In 1913 Germany's trade with Canada outstripped that of France with the Dominion, and as a result she ranked third among the countries with which Canada carried on trade, coming after the United States and the United Kingdom. In the year ended March 31st, 1914, Canada imported from Germany goods worth \$14,686,069, and she exported to Germany goods to the value of \$4,433,736, thus giving a total trade with Germany of the value of \$19,119,806. It will thus be seen that Germany, up to the outbreak of war, had obtained a material foothold in the Canadian market. Only a small proportion of Canada's purchases from Germany consisted of raw materials or foodstuffs, the great bulk being comprised of finished manufactured products. It was this fact which caused Germany's trade with Canada to be considered so lucrative. For the most part Germany sent to Canada quantities of iron and steel goods, such as tubing, steel tyres, cutlery, machinery, wire, &c., also a great variety of hardware, lamps, clocks, jewellery, electrical apparatus, scientific instruments, musical instruments, earthenware, and glassware. All kinds of dry goods, cotton and woollen goods, hosiery, gloves, fancy goods, toys, buttons, combs, &c., were also imported from Germany. Drugs, chemicals, paper, paints, furs, tobacco, and sugar also accounted for a considerable portion of our purchases from Germany.

#### CANADA AND EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION.

There is no doubt that much that we took from Germany we now know we could make ourselves, and for the rest there is the British manufacturer who can supply us with all we want. Then, too, we have to consider that Germany was supplying the world with the same class

of articles as she was sending into Canada. Here was an opportunity for Canadian manufacturers who, after supplying home needs, could well begin to think of exporting some of her goods. To find markets for these goods has been the task of the Canadian Mission. We looked around, and the thought came to us that we might well be of assistance to the devastated parts of Europe. The desolation of the devastated areas of France and Belgium has often been described, and photographs have brought home to the world the ruthless destruction of towns and villages by the Germans. Serbia and Roumania are in much the same plight. In these countries the work of reconstruction, without help from outside, would take many years to complete. In the meantime there are large populations waiting for homes. There is, too, need for machinery for factories, railway material, machinery for mines, &c. These unhappy countries look to the Allies for help in rehabilitating their devastated areas. They need not only material, but also credit. Until they are in a position to set their population to work on the land, in factories and mines, they cannot be expected to find all the money necessary for the great work of reconstruction that must be done. Canada has offered credit to all these suffering countries, and is ready to do her share in the reconstruction work by providing material of all kinds.

#### THE RESOURCES OF CANADA.

It may be asked, What can Canada offer to these desolate countries? The resources of Canada are so great and so varied that one might almost reply by asking, What can she not supply? All the world knows that Canada is a great wheat-producing country, but few realise that she has other natural resources of immense value, and that she is rapidly developing manufactures of all kinds, so much so that in the year 1914, when her exports were of the value of £94,883,000 (not including bullion and specie), the export of grain only accounted for £35,313,600 out of the total value of exports.

It is only possible in a short space to glance at the resources of the Dominion, and in giving a summary of the chief of these I should say that only a fringe of these resources has been touched. Canada has at present only a small population to deal with vast areas. Population and capital are necessary to deal with the almost boundless natural resources of the country. Canada has an area as large as thirty United Kingdoms or eighteen Germanys, and is almost as large as Europe, and her population is only about equal to that of London. At present she leads all nations in production of food *per capita* of population. Her mineral wealth is at present unknown, since there are nearly a million square miles of absolutely unexplored territory. All we can do is to point to known facts as to mineral production. The total mineral production of Canada in 1917 amounted in value to \$189,646,821. The principal items making up this total were: Gold, \$15,272,992; silver, \$18,091,895; copper, \$29,687,989;

nickel, \$33,732,112; lead, \$3,628,020; zinc, \$2,640,817; coal, \$43,199,831; natural gas, \$5,045,298; asbestos, \$7,183,099; Portland cement, \$724,246. In regard to these figures I may add that Canada produces 85 per cent of the world's supply of nickel, and also 80 to 85 per cent of the world's supply of asbestos. A natural resource of untold value is water power. It has been estimated that Canada possesses water power to the amount of 23,000,000 h.p., of which only 2,300,000 is at present developed, and which, if entirely utilised, would represent an equivalent of 360,000,000 tons of coal per annum. In forestry resources Canada possesses one of the most valuable assets of the Empire. The extent of the timber lands of the Dominion is so vast and so varied in character that no adequate survey of their area and commercial value has yet been undertaken. The Minister of the Interior estimates the area covered with the tree that could be sawn into timber at 250,000,000 acres. To-day, Canada, possessing the world's greatest supply of spruce, stands second to the United States in the production of wood pulp and paper.

With all these natural resources—of which I have only given a glance at the principal—Canada is increasing her manufacturing industries rapidly. In 1915 there were over half a million hands employed in factories. In a small population such as ours skilled labour, being scarce, is highly paid. One trouble we have is that the skilled mechanics and workmen do so well that their sons will not follow their fathers' calling, but become doctors or lawyers, or go into business. This makes it necessary for us to import skilled labour. The opportunities in Canada are so many that skilled workmen are attracted to the country and are well satisfied with their rate of pay and prospects.

---

## WAGES IN GERMANY, 1914-1918.

---

ACCORDING to the *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt* (the official journal of the German Department of Labour Statistics), the average money wage of the industrial adult male worker rose between March, 1914, and September, 1918, from 5.17 to 12.46 marks, and that of industrial women workers from 2.28 to 6.01 marks: the average rise having thus amounted to 141 per cent for men and 164 per cent for women. Individual trades have as usual shown considerable departures from the average. In the electrical trade, for example, men's wages during the period stated rose from 4.52 to 13.46 marks, or by 198 per cent; in the

engineering trade wages rose from 5.32 to 13.04 marks, or 145 per cent. Women's wages in the metal industry rose from 2.05 to 6.65 marks, or 224 per cent; in the engineering trade from 2.28 to 6.26 marks, or 175 per cent; in the woodworking trade from 1.99 to 5.45 marks, or 174 per cent; and in the electrical industry from 2.75 to 7.35 marks, or 167 per cent. On the other hand the increase in various other trades was below the average. In the food preparing trade, for instance, men's wages rose from 5.69 to 8.52 marks, or 50 per cent; and those of women in the leather and rubber trades from 2.82 to 4.82 marks, or 71 per cent.

## THE AERONAUTIC EXPLOITS OF 1919.

---

THE bridging of the Atlantic by aerial flight figures among the most dramatic events of the year 1919. As all are aware, it had become a question as to whether the distinction of winning the race would be gained by British or American airmen, between whom there existed a spirit of generous rivalry for the honour of achieving the first pioneering Transatlantic exploit. As things turned out, it was the Americans who were the first to succeed in the attempt—the success being due to a felicitous combination of luck and plentiful preparation for the task as indicated by the equipment of giant aeroplanes, driven each by four engines, manned by a crew of five men, and weighing, fully loaded, nearly thirteen tons, while the further fact that no fewer than thirty destroyers were stationed on the route between America and the Azores, and five battleships, five cruisers, and two tank steamers between the Azores and the Portuguese coast, pointed conclusively to the amplitude of the measures taken by the American naval authorities to safeguard against casualties. Leaving Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland, on Friday evening, May 16th, three giant seaplanes, NC1, NC3, and NC4, officered respectively by Lieutenant-Commander Bellinger, Commander Towers, and Lieutenant-Commander Read, set off on the Newfoundland-Azores-Lisbon-Plymouth journey; but only one of them, the NC4, succeeded in traversing the first stage without mishap, the other two being forced by the stress of events to alight in the open sea, the NC1 200 miles from Fayal in the Azores, her crew being rescued by a steamer; and the NC3 seventy-three miles west of Pico Island, after which, in a damaged condition, it managed to proceed on to Ponta Delgada, receiving assistance from an American destroyer on the way.

Meantime the auspicious flight of the NC4 is shown by the covering of the distance between Trepassey Bay and Horta in the Azores, a distance of 1,380 miles, in thirteen hours eighteen minutes. Three days later it made the journey between Horta and Ponta Delgada, a distance of 170 miles, in one hour and forty-four minutes. A week later (Tuesday, May 27th) saw the flight to Lisbon in 9½ hours. Three days later the machine started on its journey to England, but, owing to a combination of circumstances, contrived only to reach Ferrol on the North-West Spanish coast the same day, after a stop on the route for the sake of repairs. Leaving Ferrol the next morning, Commander Read succeeded in completing the last stage of his journey without further misadventure, Plymouth being reached shortly after 1 o'clock in the afternoon of May 31st, the journey thus having covered a fortnight from start to finish, including five stops on the way.

## THE FIRST BRITISH ATTEMPT.

Meanwhile the British attempt to fly direct from Newfoundland to Ireland meant a non-stop flight some 500 miles longer than the American flight to the Azores, besides the further risk attendant on light single-engined aeroplanes as compared with the massive American machines. The attempt, as all are aware, met with disaster. At the very outset Mr. Raynham's Martinsyde machine was smashed in the attempt to start; while Mr. H. G. Hawker and Commander Mackenzie Grieve, setting off on their perilous adventure on May 18th from St. John's, Newfoundland, to the Irish coast (*i.e.*, two days after the American departure from Trepassey Bay) on their Sopwith machine, and after traversing 1,000 miles of the 1,800 miles journey were brought to grief by engine trouble, and were ultimately rescued from the uttermost peril in Mid-Atlantic on May 19th by the Danish steamer *Mary*, bound from New Orleans to Jutland. Apart from the *Daily Mail* consolation prize of £5,000, the splendid ovation accorded to the two aeroplanists by the London populace served to indicate the public appreciation of a gallant though unavailing exploit.

## THE DIRECT FLIGHT ACHIEVED.

So little, however, did the hazards and difficulties of North-Atlantic air navigation prove a deterrent, that in less than three weeks from the rescue of Hawker and Grieve the attempt was made over again, and this time with complete success, the honour of the achievement being won by Captain Alcock, D.S.C., and Lieutenant Brown, R.A.F. (two Manchester men by the way), who on a Vickers-Vimy-Rolls aeroplane left the Newfoundland coast on Saturday, June 14th, and arrived at Clifden, in Galway, the next morning, the passage of 1,880 miles having been made in the record time of sixteen hours twelve minutes, and at an average speed of 116 miles per hour.

The flight gained the *Daily Mail* prize of £10,000, which, in view of the experiences of the two air navigators (too long to relate here), must be considered well earned.

## THE ATLANTIC PASSAGE BY AIRSHIP.

After the exploits of the aeroplanes came that of the airship R 34, which by its negotiation of the passage to New York and back created a new record in long-distance air navigation. Setting forth from East Fortune, near Edinburgh, on July 2nd, the R 34 (commanded by Major G. H. Scott, and carrying a crew of thirty), despite the adverse meteorological conditions encountered on the way, succeeded in landing at Hazlehurst Field, Mineola, Long Island, on July 6th, having traversed the distance of 3,100 nautical miles (or 3,570 geographical miles) in 108 hours twelve minutes, and almost consumed her store of petrol (4,900 gallons, weighing 5·8 tons), a ninety minutes supply being all that was left when she landed.

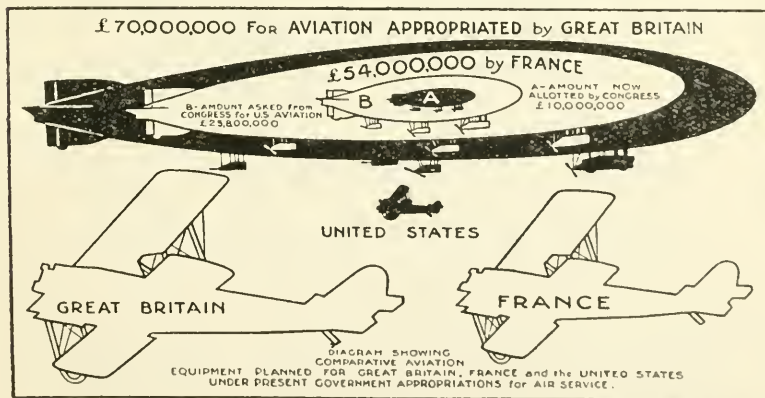
On the 10th the R 34 started off on the homeward journey and

landed at Pulham, in Norfolk, in the early morning of July 13th, thus having accomplished the air voyage in seventy-five hours (or thirty-three hours less than the time occupied on the outward journey), and under conditions indicated by Colonel Hensley, the U.S.A. representative on board the airship:—

With the exception of the fact that we could not get any hot water to shave, life on board was most comfortable. Each man on board had a hammock, and the food was wonderful. We had boiled eggs, cold ham, coffee, bread and butter, jam, pickles, tea, and cocoa. We spoke to two ships, the *San Flarino* bound for Mexico, and H.M.S. *Cumberland*. When we told them we were a British airship bound from New York to Europe, they apparently could not grasp the message at first, and thought they were dreaming.

### THE AUSTRALIAN FLIGHT.

The subsequent accomplishment of the Australian Flight by Captain Ross Smith, M.C., D.F.C. (an Australian born), brings the historic aviation achievements of 1919 to an appropriate close. With a crew of three (Lieutenant K. M. Smith, R.A.F., second pilot, and Sergeants Bennet and Shiers, mechanics), Captain Ross Smith, on a machine similar to that used by Captain Alcock on the Atlantic Flight, left Hounslow on November 12th, and reached Port Darwin in Northern Australia on December 10th, after an eventful journey of nearly 11,000 miles, accomplished in 28 days—a feat by which Captain Ross Smith succeeded in gaining the prize of £10,000 offered by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth. The following list of places indicates the line of route: Paris, Lyons, Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad, Basra, Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta, Rangoon, Bangkok, Singapore, Java, &c., Port Darwin. The journey to Melbourne followed.



From Literary Digest

HOW NATIONS RANK IN THE AIR.



# C.W.S. Standard Corn

QUALITY  
ALWAYS COUNTS!

And it is just this fact that makes our

# PIGEON CORN

so absolutely dependable in flying contests. It develops the stamina of the birds, and increases their powers of endurance, which is so necessary to success. ¶ It is scientifically blended, all dust extracted, highly polished, and shines like ebony.

*Can only be obtained at REGISTERED  
CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.*

CLEANED, BLENDED, AND POLISHED AT OUR OWN . C.W.S. MILLS,

QUAYSIDE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS.

Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE BRANCH.

## POULTRY AND CHICKS



If you are interested in the breeding, rearing, and exhibition of the above, might we draw your attention to . . .

C.W.S.

“Standard” Brands  
of Corn and Meal

SEND YOUR  
ORDERS  
TO THE  
NEAREST  
STORE.

*These Brands can only  
be obtained from  
CO-OPERATIVE  
SOCIETIES.*

**Poultry** do exceedingly well on these Foods, as the mixtures contain just the things necessary to keep the fowls healthy and in good laying condition, and costs no more than ordinary Grain.

**Chick Feed and Meal.**—The success of our brands has been phenomenal, breeders being rewarded by having **STRONG, HEALTHY, VIGOROUS** birds.

## THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

THE Workers' Educational Association was founded in 1903 by Mr. Albert Mansbridge and a group of co-operators and trade unionists. The aim of the founders was to create an organisation which should be mainly representative of working-class and educational bodies, and should be strictly unsectarian and non-party in politics, thus providing an opportunity for individuals and bodies of all parties and creeds to co-operate for common educational ends without violating their opinions on religious, political, or economic matters. How successful the association has been in achieving this aim may be seen in the list of affiliated societies. These number 2,526, of which 1,455 are trade union and co-operative bodies, 100 working men's clubs, 115 university bodies and local education authorities, and 176 teachers' organisations. The affiliated societies include such representative bodies as the Co-operative Union, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress, and the Club and Institute Union.

The association is pledged to a far-reaching scheme for the reform of the national system of education, which has as its goal the creation of a highway right from the elementary school to the university, and for such provision of scholarships and grants for maintenance and for books as will make it possible for any child to pass along it if he or she has the capacity.

The aim of the association is not, however, limited to the securing for the more brilliant children of the workers an equal educational opportunity with those of the rich; its great purpose is to provide educational opportunities for working men and women who have already entered industry and desire education either for the enrichment of their own lives or to equip themselves to play their part in their trade union, co-operative society, and as citizens. The W.E.A. has made university education accessible to these through its tutorial classes. Thanks to the efforts of the association, most of the universities and university colleges in the United Kingdom have formed joint committees to provide these classes, which committees consist of an equal number of university representatives and representatives of working-class organisations nominated by the W.E.A.

A tutorial class consists of not fewer than 18 nor more than 32 working men or women, who undertake to attend the class throughout three winter sessions of 24 weekly class meetings each and to do essay work. The tutor (who must be of university standing) is appointed by the joint committee, subject to the approval of the students, and the class is open to inspection so that the committee may satisfy itself that the work done reaches the required standard. The general regulations laid down by the Board of Education must be observed, but beyond this the control of the class lies in the hands of the students:

they decide the hour and evening of meeting, select the subject, and approve the syllabus. Any subject may be chosen, provided it is non-vocational in character and can be pursued to a university standard. The most popular subjects are economics, history, and political science; but literature, sociology, psychology, natural science, and music also have their place. The fees paid by the students range from 2s. to 5s. per session; the major portion of the cost of the class is met by subsidies from the universities and grants from the Board of Education and local education authorities. The number of students in tutorial classes during the present session is not less than 4,000.

In addition to tutorial classes the association arranges one-year classes, study groups, and short courses of lectures, in which the tuition is less advanced in character. The powers of self-government in these are similar to those which are enjoyed in tutorial classes, and in all cases an equal amount of time is devoted to questions and discussion as to the lecture.

The association has no regular system of tuition by correspondence, which is at once the most expensive and least efficient form of education; but assistance and advice as to reading are given to isolated students who for any reason are not able to join classes.

The W.E.A. publishes a monthly magazine, *The Highway*, the annual subscription to which is 1s., or by post, 2s.

The association consists of the central authority, twelve districts and two sub-districts, and 230 branches. The branches fix their own scale of subscriptions, but the minimum affiliation subscription of a society is usually 2s. 6d. to 5s., and the minimum annual subscription of an individual member, 1s. The minimum annual membership subscription to a district is 2s. 6d. (except in Scotland, where it is 5s.), and the affiliation fee of a society £1. 1s. National bodies affiliate to the central authority, and the minimum fee is £2. 2s. The central authority also accepts honorary members at a minimum annual subscription of 10s. 6d.

Affiliation carries with it representation upon the governing council of the branch, district, or central authority, and individual subscribers also have representation upon the branch or district council; the central council, however, consists only of the officers and representatives of the districts and the national affiliated societies, the honorary members exercising their rights of membership in the districts in which they live.

The central office of the association is 16, Harpur Street, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.1, and inquirers communicating with that address will be put into touch with the nearest branch or with the district.

Workers' Educational Associations have been formed in Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, and it is proposed to call a convention at an early date of all these associations, together with similar working-class educational bodies in other countries.

## THE WORLD'S HARVESTS IN 1919.

---

**T**HE Board of Agriculture and Fisheries have received the following information from the International Agricultural Institute at Rome:—

The production of wheat in Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Roumania, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, British India, Japan, and Tunis, in 1919, is estimated at 1,093,130,000 cwts., or 6·5 per cent below last year's production, and 3·5 per cent below the average production of the five years 1913-17.

The production of rye in Spain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Roumania, Switzerland, Canada, and the United States is estimated at 84,707,000 cwts., or 4·1 per cent below last year's production, but 24 per cent above the average production of the years 1913-17.

The production of barley in Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Roumania, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, Japan, and Tunis is estimated at 235,753,000 cwts., or 10·7 per cent below the 1918 production, and 1·8 per cent above the average production of the years 1913-17.

The production of oats in Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Roumania, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, Japan, and Tunis is estimated at 595,939,000 cwts., or 16·2 per cent below the 1918 production, and 9·7 per cent below the average production of the five years 1913-17.

The production of maize in Spain, Italy, Roumania, Switzerland, Canada, and the United States, is estimated at 1,563,097,000 cwts., or 14·8 per cent above last year's production, and 4·4 per cent above the average production of the years 1913-17.

The production of linseed in Italy, Roumania, Canada, the United States, British India, Japan, and Tunis is estimated at 13,246,000 cwts., or 38·1 per cent below last year's production, and 39·1 per cent below the average production of the years 1913-17.

The potato crop in Scotland, Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada, and the United States is estimated at 325,517,000 cwts., or 12·1 per cent below last year's production, and 1·2 per cent above the average production of the years 1913-17.

The production of sugar beet in Spain, Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada, and the United States is estimated at 184,710,000 cwts., or 25·9 per cent above last year's production, and 14·8 per cent above the average production of the years 1913-17.

The production of rice (rough) in Japan is estimated at 170,106,000 cwts., or 12·1 per cent below last year's production, and 16·2 per cent below the average of the years 1913-17; and in Corea it is estimated at 33,030,000 cwts., or 14 per cent below last year's production, but 2·1 per cent above the average of the years 1913-17.

## AGRICULTURAL RETURNS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1919.

### PRODUCE OF CROPS.

ESTIMATED TOTAL PRODUCE AND YIELD PER ACRE OF THE CORN, PULSE, AND HAY CROPS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE YEAR 1919.

Crops.	Estimated Total Produce.		Acreage.		Average Estimated Yield per Acre.	
	1919.	1918.	1919.	1918.	1919.	1918.
	Quarters.	Quarters.	Acres.	Acres.	Bushels	Bushels
Wheat.....	7,979,000	10,530,000	2,220,921	2,556,661	28·7	32·9
Barley.....	5,476,000	6,080,000	1,509,588	1,500,809	29·0	32·4
Oats.....	11,383,000	14,339,000	2,563,628	2,780,061	35·5	41·3
Mixed Corn..	623,000	620,000	142,423	139,077	35·0	35·7
Beans.....	854,000	889,000	273,841	242,097	24·9	29·4
Peas.....	441,000	439,000	132,212	127,857	26·7	27·5
	Tons.	Tons.			Cwts.	Cwts.
Seeds' Hay...	1,770,000	2,098,000	1,500,933	1,446,504	23·6	29·0
Meadow Hay	3,425,000	4,688,000	4,170,616	4,298,498	16·4	21·8

ESTIMATE OF ACREAGE UNDER CROPS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1919.

Distribution.	1919.	1918.	Decrease.	
	Acres. ...	Acres.	Acres.	Per Cent.
Arable Land.....	12,308,540	12,398,640	90,100	0·7
Permanent Grass.....	14,441,430	14,588,870	147,440	1·0
Total Acreage under all Crops and Grass.....	26,749,970	26,987,510	237,540	0·9

The estimated wheat acreage in 1919 was 2,221,160, as compared with 2,556,660 acres in 1918.

The potato acreage, as estimated, was 476,050, as compared with 633,830 acres for the previous year.

ESTIMATE OF LIVE STOCK IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1919.

	1919.	1918.	
Horses .....	1,386,810	1,375,830	10,980 Increase.
Cattle .....	6,194,590	6,200,490	5,900 Decrease.
Sheep .....	15,123,220	16,475,180	1,351,960 ..
Pigs .....	1,799,560	1,697,070	102,490 Increase.



*20 H.P. Van Model.*

## Low cost of maintenance

**I**N low cost of maintenance Albions show their superiority over all other makes. Simple in design, sound in construction, Albion vehicles are essential when economy in delivery and reliability are the desiderata.

Load capacity, 30, 50, 60 and 80 cwt.

Decide on the vehicle that daily shows its saving in low running cost.

*Order an Albion.*

# ALBION

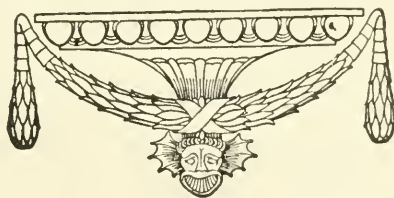
**COMMERCIAL MOTORS.**  
ALBION MOTOR CAR CO., LTD.,  
SCOTSTOUN, GLASGOW.

London Office and Repair Depot:  
21-22, Upper Rathbone Place, Oxford St., W. 1.  
Also at Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham.



# The C.W.S. Drapery Department

is enabling RETAIL STORES to supply all the Clothing requirements of the People. & It is supplied with the productions of the score of textile works owned by the C.W.S., and Members of Societies should always ask for C.W.S. productions.



---

---

## The People's Drapery Stores

ARE CATERING  
FOR THE NEW  
DAYS OF PEACE  
— THANKS to The

# C.W.S.



## WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT IN ITALY.

In September, 1919, the Italian Chamber of Deputies passed a law granting the franchise to women on the same basis as for men, except for the fact that women of loose life are excluded. In the Chamber of Deputies the Premier announced that the number of women to gain the suffrage would number 11,000,000. The law for women's enfranchisement will come into operation at the general administration elections at the end of July, 1920.

## THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.

THE wealth and income of nations in the outbreak-of-war year (1914) is indicated by the table on the next page, which is reproduced from the Royal Statistical Society's brochure, *The Wealth and Income of the Chief Powers*, written by Dr. J. C. Stamp, whose reputation as a statistician has been enhanced by a booklet in which critical estimates and comprehensiveness go hand in hand. The following is Dr. Stamp's detailed estimate of the wealth of the United Kingdom for 1914.

### THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	Capital Value, £ millions.
1. Lands.....	1,155
2. Houses, &c. ....	3,330
3. Other Profits (Schedule A) .....	22
4. Farmers' Capital .....	340
5. National Debt, &c. (Schedule C) .....	1,148
6. Railways in the United Kingdom .....	1,143
7. Railways out of the United Kingdom.....	655
8. Coal and Other Mines.....	179
9. Ironworks .....	37
10. Gasworks .....	182
11. Waterworks, Canals, and other concerns (Sch. A.) .....	278
12. Indian, Colonial, and Foreign Securities.....	621
13. Coupons.....	383
14. Other Profits and Interests .....	276
15. Businesses not otherwise detailed .....	2,770
16. Income Accruing Abroad and not Remitted...	400
17. Income of Non-income Tax Payable Classes Derived from Capital .....	200
18. Movable Property, &c., not paying Income (Furniture, &c.).....	800
19. Government and Local Property .....	400
Total Valuation.....	£14,319

or, in round figures, 14,300 million pounds.



## BIRTHS AND BIRTH-RATES.

THE following is the official record of births for the period 1911-17:—

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911.....	881,138	121,850	101,758	1,104,746
1912.....	872,737	122,790	101,035	1,096,562
1913.....	881,890	120,516	100,094	1,102,500
1914.....	879,096	123,934	98,806	1,101,836
1915.....	814,014	114,181	95,583	1,024,378
1916.....	785,520	109,935	91,437	986,892
1917.....	668,340	97,482	86,405	852,157

The great reduction of births since 1913 points to the effects of the war on the natality of the United Kingdom. But, apart from the war, the gradual reduction in the number of births is indicated by statistics. Thus the period 1906-10 shows 104,665 fewer births in the United Kingdom than the period 1901-5, and the 1911-15 period 331,892 fewer than in the preceding quinquennium—altogether a diminution to the number of 436,557 births in the course of ten years. Needless to say, there is a lessening number of deaths to be placed in the scale, but a lessening to a smaller extent than the births. Meantime, the birth-rates per 1,000 of the population during the period 1911-17 provide a comparison between the different parts of the kingdom as well as with a former period (1901-5), when the birth-rate in England and Wales averaged 28·1, in Scotland 29·2, in Ireland 23·2, and in the United Kingdom as a whole 27·8.

### BIRTH-RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911.....	24·3	25·6	23·2	24·4
1912.....	23·9	25·9	23·0	24·1
1913.....	24·1	25·5	22·8	24·1
1914.....	23·8	26·1	22·6	23·9
1915.....	21·9*	23·9	22·0	22·1*
1916.....	20·9*	22·8	21·1	21·1*
1917.....	17·8*	20·1	19·9	18·2*

\*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

Meanwhile, it may be noted that the decline of the birth-rate, normally speaking, is an international feature.

◆◆◆

For the last five years the numbers of notified insane persons under care in England and Wales have been as follows:—1915 (January 1st), 140,466; 1916 (January 1st), 137,188; 1917 (January 1st), 134,029; 1918 (January 1st), 125,841; 1919 (January 1st), 116,703. The total decrease thus amounts to 23,763, a figure standing in contrast with the average annual increase for the ten years ended December 31st, 1914, amounting to 2,251.

## MARRIAGES.

HEREWITH are the figures denoting the number of marriages each year, along with the rate per 1,000 of the population, during the period 1911-17:—

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1911 .....	274,943	15·2	31,844	13·4	23,473	10·7	330,260	14·6
1912 .....	283,834	15·6	32,506	13·7	23,283	10·6	339,623	14·9
1913 .....	286,583	15·7	33,691	14·3	22,266	10·2	342,540	15·0
1914 .....	294,401	15·9	35,049	14·8	23,695	10·8	353,145	15·3
1915 .....	360,885	*19·4	36,272	15·2	24,154	11·1	421,311	*18·3
1916 .....	279,846	*14·9	31,479	13·1	22,245	10·3	333,570	*14·2
1917 .....	258,360	*13·8	30,486	12·6	21,105	9·7	310,410	*13·3

\*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

In England and Wales the year 1915 was characterised by an enormous increase in marriages, and the years 1916 and 1917 by an abnormal decrease.

## DEATHS AND DEATH-RATES.

THE total deaths, along with the death-rates per 1,000 of the population, for each year during the period 1911-17 are officially recorded as follows:—

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.
1911...	527,810	14·6	71,732	15·1	72,475	16·5	672,017	14·8
1912...	486,939	13·3	72,340	15·3	72,187	16·5	631,466	13·9
1913...	504,975	13·8	73,069	15·5	74,694	17·1	652,738	14·3
1914...	516,742	14·0	73,557	15·5	71,345	16·3	661,644	14·4
1915...	*562,253	†15·7	81,631	17·1	76,151	17·6	720,035	‡15·6
1916...	*508,217	†14·4	70,642	14·6	71,391	16·5	650,250	‡14·6
1917...	*498,955	†14·4	69,481	14·0	72,770	16·7	641,129	‡14·7

\* Including deaths of non-civilians.

† Based upon civil deaths and civil population.

‡ Including only civil deaths and population as regards England and Wales.

In the House of Commons on May 29th, 1918, General Seely (Under-Secretary for Air) announced the following fatal casualties as having taken place in the Air Force since the Armistice:—

Officers .....	374
Other ranks .....	848

1,222

**INFANT MORTALITY.**

**C**ONTEMPORANEOUSLY with the abnormally low birth-rate during the war period there has been an abnormally low infantile death-rate, as shown by the following figures for England and Wales for the pre-war year and thereafter:—

Year.	Deaths of infants under one year.	Proportion per 1,000 births.	Percentage of total births.
1913 .....	95,608	108	18·9
1914 .....	91,971	105	17·8
1915 .....	89,380	110	15·9
1916 .....	71,646	91	14·1
1917 .....	64,483	96	13·0

The infantile death-rate in 1916 was the lowest on record, the circumstance being in part due to a low rate of diarrhoeal mortality. As for the infantile mortality in 1917, its exceptional character is shown by the fact that there are only two years in the record of England and Wales which have witnessed a lower rate.

**LANCASHIRE'S BLACK RECORD.**

That the Ministry of Health has not been established a moment too soon is revealed by the Parliamentary return issued in August, 1918, in which is recorded the official figures of infantile mortality in the Lancashire County Boroughs during the five years 1913 to 1917 inclusive:—

	Total infant deaths, 1913 to 1917 (five years).	Average rate of infantile mortality per per 1,000 births (five years).
Barrow .....	1,060	105
Blackburn.....	1,546	128
Blackpool .....	506	107
Bolton .....	2,119	119
Bootle.....	1,308	124
Burnley .....	1,671	158
Bury .....	652	122
Liverpool .....	13,635	128
Manchester .....	10,154	121
Oldham .....	1,905	128
Preston .....	1,762	138
Rochdale .....	941	113
St. Helens .....	1,907	131
Salford .....	3,542	127
Southport .....	443	89
Warrington .....	1,057	108
Wigan.....	1,713	143
	<b>45,901</b>	

# C·W·S in INDUSTRY



MAKING  
MINERS'  
TINS.

MANUFACTURE  
OF  
CORSETS.



CO-OPERATIVE  
BOOTMAKERS.

MAKING  
SHOPFITTINGS.



## INSOLVENCY.

**I**N the period of 15 years between 1900 and 1914 the bankruptcies in England and Wales totalled up to 60,799, and the number of administration orders made by County Courts to 83,384. In the same period the total liabilities in bankruptcy cases amounted to £88,901,998, and the assets to £35,599,243, signifying a total deficiency of £53,302,755. As will be seen from the following figures, the proportion of assets to liabilities has shown a marked tendency to decrease, and the higher proportion of 1917 is quite abnormal.

	Average Annual Liabilities in Bankruptcy Cases.	Average Annual Assets.	Assets in Proportion to Liabilities.
	£	£	
1900-4 .....	5,825,221	2,781,118	47·7 per cent.
1905-9 .....	5,772,956	2,241,022	38·8 per cent.
1910-14 .....	6,222,202	2,147,608	34·5 per cent.
1914 .....	5,052,648	2,073,031	34·2 per cent.
1915 .....	3,731,280	1,136,450	30·4 per cent.
1916 .....	2,731,959	1,005,914	36·8 per cent.
1917 .....	1,933,329	1,230,429	63·6 per cent.



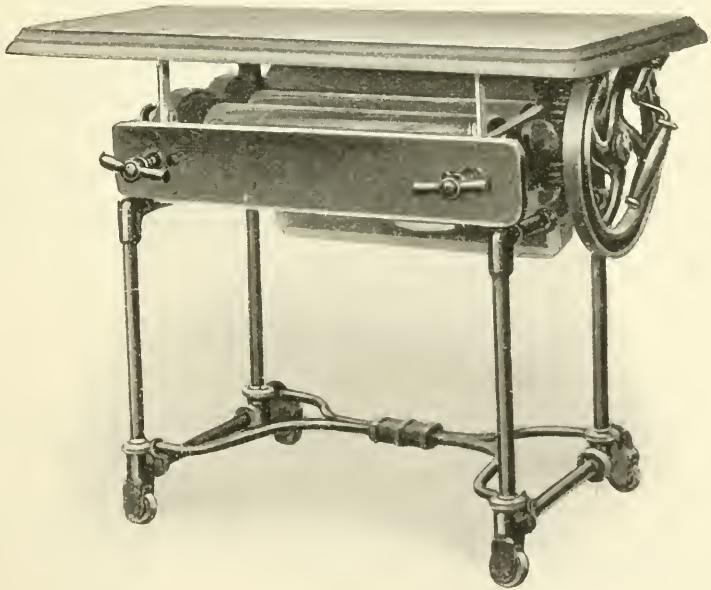
**THE BEE CORN MILL. LIVERPOOL.**

Recently purchased by the C.W.S.

# The C.W.S. Ironworks

GOULBOURNE STREET  
KEIGHLEY

**M**AKERS of all classes of Washing, Wringing, and Mangling Machines. Also Bedsteads in Iron and Brass, Wire Mattresses, and other household requisites.



The Patent Compact Table Wringer, here illustrated, is the best on the market, and is in good demand.

---

MANUFACTURED SPECIALLY FOR CO-OPERATORS WITH THEIR OWN CAPITAL, AND IN PERFECT SYMPATHY WITH THEIR AIMS AND DESIRES.



## POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

**A**S the Post Office Savings Bank is very largely the working-man's savings bank, the question as to the trend of affairs is one of no little interest. The following figures for the United Kingdom throw a light on the subject:

Year.	Number of Accounts Remaining Open at the End of the Year.	Balance Due to Depositors.	Average per Depositor.		
1899.....	8,046,680	£ 130,118,605	£	s.	d.
1913.....	13,198,609	187,248,167	16	3	8
1914.....	13,514,814	190,533,208	14	1	11
1915.....	14,180,086	186,327,584	13	2	9
1916.....	14,746,821	196,655,159	13	6	8
1917.....	*15,155,000	203,250,000	13	8	3

\* Approximate.

The figures show that the average amount per depositor diminished by £3. 0s. 7d. between the years 1899 and 1915, and that, despite a slight increase since 1915, the average per depositor in 1917 was £2. 15s. 1d. less than in 1899.

An estimate for 1919 places the deposits at £250,000,000 in round figures. As regards the Trustee Savings Bank, the deposits in September, 1919, amounted to £69,567,780 as compared with £52,979,462 in August, 1914.

## THE PUBLIC TRUSTEESHIP.

**T**HE growth of affairs in charge of the Public Trustee (whose office was opened for business on January 1st, 1908) is shown by the following paragraph from the Majority Report of the Committee of Inquiry which was appointed last April:—

In the first fifteen months the number of cases accepted represented approximately a value of £3,517,840. In 1913-14, the last complete year before the war, the value was £13,425,343. In 1918-19 the value was £17,191,413. The total number of cases accepted up to March 31st, 1919, was 14,522, valued at £129,917,983. There can consequently be no question that the department is meeting an extensive and growing demand for its services.

In the Majority Report it is pointed out that from 1909-10 to 1915-16 the Trustee's office was self-supporting and showed an annual surplus on the conduct of affairs, and since then there has been a deficit which has increased from £3,092 in 1916-17 to £52,990 in 1918-19, and in the current year, 1919-20, the deficit will be much larger.

Co-operative  
Society



Wholesale  
Limited

---

---

Share Capital (<sup>PAID</sup> UP) £3,770,000

Reserve Insurance and  
Depreciation Funds } £7,000,000

Total Funds - - - £34,000,000

---

---

***Banking Department :***

Annual Movement of Funds £460,000,000  
*Deposits and Withdrawals - - -*

*Head Office :*

1, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER.

London Office - - - - LEMAN STREET, E.1.

Newcastle Office - WEST BLANDFORD STREET.


BRANCHES AT BRISTOL, CARDIFF,  
and other CO-OPERATIVE CENTRES.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS. Over 3,500 Accounts are operated for Co-operative, Trade Union, and Friendly Societies, Clubs, and other mutual organisations.


DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened for Trade Unions and Friendly Societies.

INDIVIDUAL DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS can be opened with the C.W.S. Bank through any Distributive Co-operative Society at liberal rates of interest.

**SPECIAL FACILITIES** are provided for Co-operative and kindred Organisations to invest their Funds in Co-operative Enterprises.



Buy  
Crumpsall's  
Excellent  
Slab and  
Fairy Cakes



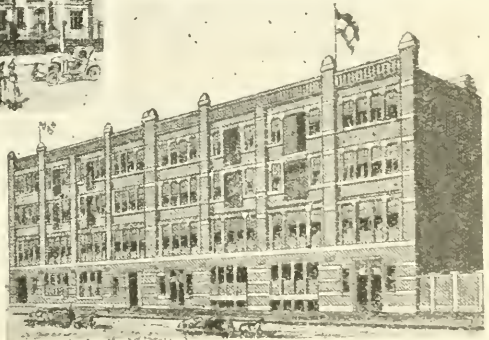
# FOREIGN CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE PREMISES



CENTRAL PREMISES  
IN BASLE, OF THE  
SWISS CO-OPERATIVE  
UNION.



THE  
DUTCH CO-OPERATIVE  
WHOLESALE SOCIETY'S  
ESTABLISHMENT AT  
ROTTERDAM.



HEADQUARTERS OF THE NORWEGIAN  
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.  
CHRISTIANIA.

C.W.S.

CABINET  
UPHOLSTERY &  
BEDDING  
DEPARTMENTS

PELAW

MADE UNDER  
TRADE UNION  
CONDITIONS

Our Productions  
SECOND TO  
NONE in Quality  
and Design

C.W.S.

PELAW  
DOWN  
QUILT  
DEPARTMENT

A GOOD ARTICLE  
ADVERTISES ITSELF

NUFF SED.

## THE BY-ELECTIONS, 1919.

OF the thirteen by-elections that took place in 1919 (up to the middle of December), the Labour Party contested nine, viz.: West Derby, Central Aberdeen, East Swansea, Bothwell, Widnes, Pontefract, Rusholme, Chester-le-Street, and Plymouth, and won three—viz., at Bothwell and Widnes, which were gains, and at Chester-le-Street, where the Labour candidate was returned with a greatly increased majority.

### LABOUR VICTORIES.

The details of the three elections won are as follows:—

BOTHWELL.			
By-election.		Gen. election	
Labour.....	13,135	.....	9,027
Coalition .....	5,967	.....	9,359
Lab. maj. ....	7,168	Co. U. maj....	332
WIDNES.			
Labour.....	11,101	.....	7,821
Coalition Unionist .....	10,117	.....	11,515
Lab. maj. ....	987	Co. U. maj....	3,694
CHESTER-LE-STREET.			
Labour.....	17,838	.....	12,681
National Democrat .....	5,313	.....	6,891
Lab. maj. ....	12,525	Lab. maj. ....	5,793

### REDUCED COALITION MAJORITIES.

The results of the other six elections show greatly increased Labour polls and a great reduction in the Coalition vote:—

WEST DERBY (LIVERPOOL).			
By-election.		Gen. election.	
Coalition Unionist .....	6,062	.....	11,622
Labour.....	1,670	.....	5,618
Co. U. maj. ....	1,392	Co. U. maj....	6,001
CENTRAL ABERDEEN.			
Liberal .....	1,959	.....	5,908
Coalition Unionist .....	1,761	.....	6,516
Labour.....	3,182	.....	—
Lib. maj. ....	186	Co. U. maj....	638
EAST SWANSEA.			
Coalition Liberal .....	9,250	.....	11,071
Labour.....	8,158	.....	6,341
Co. Lib. maj. ...	1,092	Co. Lib. maj....	1,730
PONTEFRACT.			
Coalition Liberal .....	9,929	.....	8,561
Labour.....	8,115	.....	5,017
Co. Lib. maj. ....	1,175	Co. Lib. maj....	3,511
RUSHOLME.			
Coalition Unionist .....	9,391	.....	12,147
Labour.....	6,112	.....	2,985
Liberal .....	3,923	.....	3,699
National Party.....	815	.....	—
Co. U. maj. over Lab. ...	2,982	Co. U. maj. over Lib.	8,718
PLYMOUTH.			
Coalition Unionist .....	14,915	.....	17,091
Labour.....	9,292	.....	5,331
Independent Liberal .....	1,139	.....	3,188
Co. U. maj. over Lab. ...	5,653	Co. U. maj....	11,757

## THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1919.

THE distinguishing characteristic of the November elections of 1919 was the sweeping Labour victories and the marked co-operative successes, which may be said to constitute a new record in the annals of British democracy.

As regards the co-operative movement, the plain, unadorned figures suffice to commemorate the results, all the more phenomenal for the first municipal campaign of a newly-established party—a party whose list of successes includes such industrial centres as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Leeds.

	Nominated.	Elected.
Persons nominated as "co-operative" candidates only.....	197	133
Persons as "Labour and co-operative" candidates.....	241	141
Persons nominated as "Labour" candidates and supported by local co-operative societies or parties .....	321	180

Thus the figures indicate that the proportion of co-operative candidates elected amounted to 67½ per cent, and of Labour and co-operative candidates elected to 58½ per cent. Whilst as 56 per cent of the above number of Labour candidates were elected with the support of co-operative organisations, the significance of this fact calls for no elaboration.

Meanwhile, the election results bear witness to the sweeping character of the Labour tide, as testified by the gains from one end of the country to the other, and, above all, in the Metropolitan boroughs, where Labour gained a spectacular success by the election of a Labour majority in 13 out of 28 borough councils. In Bradford the gain of 10 seats has also made Labour predominant on the borough council, whilst in Manchester and Liverpool the gain of 15 seats in the one case and 11 in the other has raised the numbers on the two councils to 31 and 21 respectively. For the rest a list such as the following may be allowed to speak for itself: Swindon, 10 gains; nine each at Gateshead, the Potteries, and Plymouth; eight each at Derby and Crewe; seven each at Birmingham, Coventry, and Nottingham; six each at Leeds, Sheffield, Salford, Preston, Burnley, Bootle, Worcester, and Bristol; five each at Blackburn, Bolton, Accrington, Stockport, Ashton, and Norwich; four each at Hull, Bath, and Portsmouth; three each at Dukinfield, Colne, Warrington, Wakefield, Doncaster, Chester, Macclesfield, Newcastle, Dover, Brighton, Southampton, and Southend-on-Sea; two each at Heywood, St. Helens, Burton-on-Trent, Cambridge, Dudley, Exeter, Gillingham, Grimsby, Ipswich, Merthyr, Northampton, Gloucester, Rotherham, Wolverhampton, Yarmouth, and York; and one each at Nelson, Blackpool, Southport, Todmorden, Barrow, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, Darlington, Stockton, Middlesbrough, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Oxford, and Swansea.



## THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.

The following is the official list of members for the House of Commons:—

- ABRAHAM, Rt. Hon. W. (Rhondda, West), Pentre, Rhondda, Glam.  
 ADAMSON, Rt. Hon. W. (Fife, Western), 6, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.  
 BELL, J. (Lancaster, Ormskirk), Weavers' Office, Bartlam Place, Oldham.  
 BOWERMAN, Rt. Hon. C. W. (Deptford), 4, Battledan Road, Highbury, N.5.  
 BRACE, Rt. Hon. W. (Monmouth, Abertillery), Devonfield, Fields Park Road, Newport, Mon.  
 BROMFIELD, W. (Stafford, Leek), Co-operative Buildings, Field Street, Leek, Staffs.  
 BROWN, JAMES (Ayr and Bute, S. Ayrshire), 56, Ambank-by-Ayr, Scotland.  
 CAIRNS, JOHN (Morpeeth), 16, The Drive, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 CAPE, THOMAS (Cumberland, Workington), Miners' Offices, Workington.  
 CARTER, WILLIAM (Nottingham, Mansfield), 119, Foxhall Road, Sherwood Rise, Nottingham.  
 CLYBES, Rt. Hon. J. R. (Manchester, Plating), 41, St. John's Road, Putney, London, S.W.15.  
 CROOKS, Rt. Hon. W. (Woolwich, East), 81, Gough Street, Poplar, E.14.  
 DAVIES, A. (Lancashire, Clitheroe), Moorfield Terrace, Hollingworth, near Manchester.  
 DAVISON, J. E. (Smethwick), 32, Cottingham Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.  
 EDWARDS, CHARLES (Monmouth, Bedwellty), Miners' Office, Blackwood, Mon.  
 FINNEY, S. (Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem), Miners' Office, Burslem, Staffs.  
 GRAHAM, DUNCAN (Lanark, Hamilton), 9, Low Waters, Hamilton, N.B.  
 GRAHAM, WILLIAM (Edinburgh, Central), 9, Victoria Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.  
 GRIFFITHS, THOMAS (Monmouth, Pontypool), 8, New Street, Neath.  
 GRINDY, T. W. (York, W.R., Rother Valley), 15, Clifton Bank, Rotherham.  
 GUEST, J. (York, W.R., Hemsworth), South Heindley, Barnsley.  
 HALL, FREDERICK (York, W.R., Normanton), 26, Victoria Road, Barnsley.  
 HALLAS, ELDRED (Birmingham, Duddeston), 16-18, County Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.  
 HARTSHORN, VERNON (Glamorgan, Ogmere), Miners' Office, Maesteg, Glam.  
 HAYDAY, ARTHUR (Nottingham, West), 1, St. James, Nottingham.  
 HENDERSON, Rt. Hon. A. (Lancs., Widnes), 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.  
 HIRST, G. H. (York, W.R., Wentworth), Church Street, Darfield, near Barnsley.  
 HODGE, Rt. Hon. J. (Manchester, Gorton), 76, Swinton Street, W.C.1.  
 IRVING, DAN (Burnley), Sunbrilo, 80, Glen View Road, Burnley.  
 JONES, J. J. (West Ham, Silvertown), 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.  
 LAWSON, JOHN J. (Durham, Chester-le-Street).  
 LUNN, W. (York, W.R., Rothwell), 22, Carlton Lane, Rothwell, Leeds, Yorks.  
 MACLEAN, NEIL (Glasgow, Govan), 181, St. Andrew's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.  
 MORGAN, Major D. WATTS (Rhondda, East), 22, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.  
 O'GRADY, Capt. J. (Leeds, South-East), 60, Cavendish Road, Clapham Common, S.W.13.  
 ONIONS, A. (Glamorgan, Cierphilly), Miners' Agent, Tredegar.  
 PARKINSON, J. A. (Wigan), 116, Prescott Road, St. Helens.  
 RICHARDS, Rt. Hon. T. (Monmouth, Ebbw Vale), 22, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.  
 RICHARDSON, R. (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring), Miners' Office, Ryhope, Co. Durham.  
 ROBERTS, F. O. (West Bromwich), 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton.  
 ROBERTSON, J. (Bothwell, Lanark), Miners' Agent, Hamilton, Scotland.  
 ROYCE, W. S. (Holland with Boston), Pinchbank Hall, Spalding.  
 SEXTON, JAMES (St. Helens), 17, Norton Street, Liverpool.  
 SHAW, THOMAS (Preston), 243, Keighley Road, Colne, Lancs.  
 SHORT, A. (Wednesbury), 43, Brinsworth Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.

- SITCH, C. H. (Stafford, Kingswinford). Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath.  
 SMITH, Capt. ALBERT (Nelson and Colne). 41, Hibson Road, Nelson, Lancs.  
 SMITH, W. R. (Northampton, Wellingborough). Belle Vue, St. Clement's Hill, Norwich.  
 SPENCER, G. (Nottingham, Broxtowe). Miners' Offices, New Basford, Nottingham.  
 SPOOR, B. C. (Durham, Bishop Auckland). 46, North End Road, Golders Green.  
 SWAN, J. E. C. (Durham, Barnard Castle). Dipton, S.O., Co. Durham.  
 THOMAS, Rt. Hon. J. H. (Derby). Unity House, Euston Road, N.W.1.  
 THORNE, W. (West Ham, Plaistow). 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.  
 TILLET, B. (Salford, North). Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.2.  
 TOOTHILL, R. (Bolton). Westward House, Tonge, Bolton.  
 WALSH, STEPHEN (Lancaster, Ince). 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.  
 WATERSON, A. E. (Northampton, Kettering). 46, Roman Road, Derby.  
 WEDGWOOD, Col. J. C. (Newcastle-under-Lyme). 12, Beaufort House, Beaufort Street, London, S.W.3.  
 WIGNALL, J. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean). 56, Cromwell Street, Swansea.  
 WILKIE, A. (Dundee). 36, Lesbury Road, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 WILLIAMS, J. (Glamorgan, Gower). Godrer Bryn, Sketty, Swansea.  
 WILSON, W. TYSON (Lancaster, Westhoughton). 98, Mornington Road, Bolton.  
 YOUNG, ROBERT (Lancaster, Newton). 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, London, S.E.

OFFICERS:

- Chairman* : Rt. Hon. W. ADAMSON, M.P.  
*Vice-Chairman* : Rt. Hon. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.  
*Chief Whip* : W. TYSON WILSON, M.P.  
*Junior Whips* : F. HALL, M.P., Capt. A. SMITH, M.P.,  
 T. GRIFFITHS, M.P., NEIL MACLEAN, M.P.  
*Secretary* : H. S. LINDSAY, Labour Party, House of Commons.

The Party meets every Tuesday at 1-45 p.m. The Policy Committee meets every day. Telegraphic Address: "Labour Party, Commons, London." Telephone No.: 6240 Victoria, Extension 151.

LABOUR PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

The growth of the Labour Party since its formation is indicated as follows:—

Year.	Trade Unions.		Trades	Socialist Societies.		Total.
	No.	Membership.	Councils and Local Labour Parties.	No.	Membership.	
1900-1.....	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1904-5.....	158	855,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1910.....	151	1,394,402	148	2	31,377	1,430,539
1912.....	130	1,858,178	146	2	31,237	1,895,498
1913.....	—	—	158	2	33,304	—
1914.....	101	1,572,391	179	2	33,230	1,612,147
1915.....	111	2,053,735	177	2	32,838	2,093,365
1916.....	119	2,170,782	199	3	42,190	2,219,764
1917.....	123	2,415,383	239	3	47,140	2,465,131
1918.....	131	* —	389	4	52,720	3,013,129

The four affiliated Socialist Parties are the I.L.P., the British Socialist Party, the National Socialist Party (which affiliated in 1918), and the Fabian Society. The Women's Labour League and the Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society have also continued their membership.

\*The trade union membership in 1918 reached over 2,960,000.

## THE FIRST PEACE CABINET.

—

The following is the list of members of the first Peace Cabinet, as announced in the House of Commons on October 27th, 1919:—

First Lord of the Treasury (£5,000) .....	Mr. LLOYD GEORGE.
Lord President of the Council (£2,000) .....	Mr. A. J. BALFOUR.
Lord Privy Seal.....	Mr. BONAR LAW.
Lord Chancellor (£10,000) .....	Lord BIRKENHEAD.
Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000).....	Mr. A. CHAMBERLAIN.
Minister without Portfolio (£5,000) .....	Mr. G. N. BARNES.
Home Secretary (£5,000) .....	Mr. E. SHORREFF, K.C.
Foreign Secretary (£5,000) .....	Lord CURZON.
Colonial Secretary (£5,000) .....	Viscount MILNER.
Secretary for India (£5,000).....	Mr. E. S. MONTAGU.
Secretary for War and Air (£5,000) .....	Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (£20,000) .....	Viscount FRENCH.
(or Chief Secretary for Ireland (£1,125).....)	Mr. J. I. MACPHERSON.)
First Lord of the Admiralty (£1,500).....	Mr. WALTER LONG.
Secretary for Scotland (£2,000) .....	Mr. R. MUNRO, K.C.
President of the Board of Agriculture (£2,000)...	Lord LEE.
President of the Board of Trade (£5,000) .....	Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES.
President of the Board of Education (£2,000) ...	Mr. H. A. L. FISHER.
Minister of Labour (£2,000) .....	Sir R. S. HORNE.
Minister of Transport. (£5,000) .....	Sir ERIC GEDDES.
Minister of Health (£5,000) .....	Dr. C. ADDISON.

## OTHER CHIEF OFFICERS OF STATE.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£2,000)...	Earl of CRAWFORD.
First Commissioner of Works (£2,000) .....	Sir ALFRED MOND, Bart.
Attorney-General (£6,000).....	Sir GORDON HEAVART, K.C.
Solicitor-General (£5,000) .....	Sir ERNEST POLLOCK, K.C.
Lord Advocate for Scotland (£5,000) .....	J. A. CLYDE, K.C.
Minister of Munitions (£5,000) .....	Lord INVERFORTH.
Postmaster-General (£2,500) .....	ALBERT H. HILGORTH.
Food Controller (£5,000) .....	G. H. ROBERTS.
Shipping Controller (£2,000) .....	Sir JOS. MACLAY, Bart.
Paymaster-General (unpaid) .....	Sir J. TUDOR WALTERS.
Minister of Pensions (£2,000) .....	Sir I. WORTHINGTON-EVANS, Bart.
Admiralty, Parly. and Financial Sec. (£2,000)...	T. J. MACNAMARA.
Admiralty, Civil Lord of (£1,000) .....	The EARL of LYTTON.
Home Department, Under-Secretary for (£1,500)	Major J. L. BAIRD.
Foreign Office, Under-Secretaries (£2,000).....	Cecil HARMSWORTH, and Sir HAMAR GREENWOOD, Bart., K.C.
War, Under-Secretary for (£2,000) .....	Viscount PEEL.
War Office, Financial Secretary (£1,500) .....	H. W. FORSTER (resigned).
Colonies, Under-Secretary for (£1,500).....	L. C. M. S. AMERY.
India, Under-Secretary for (£1,500) .....	Lord SINHA.
Agriculture, Parly. Sec. to Board of (£1,200)...	Sir A. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN.
Board of Trade, Parly. Sec. to (£1,500).....	W. C. BRIDGEMAN.
Ministry of Munitions, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)...	F. G. KELLAWAY.
Ministry of Munitions, Parly. and Financial Sec. to (£1,200).....	JAMES F. HOPE.
Board of Education, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200) ...	J. HERBERT LEWIS.
Ministry of Pensions, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)...	Col. Sir JAMES CRAIG.
Ministry of Shipping, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)...	Col. LESLIE WILSON.
Ministry of Labour, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200).....	Captain W. EDGE.
Treasury, Financial Secretaries to (£2,000) .....	Sir HARDMAN LEVER and S. BALDWIN.
Treasury, Joint Parliamentary Secs. to (£2,000)..	Lord EDMUND TALBOT, and Capt. The Hon. FREDERICK GUEST.
Treasury, Lords of the .....	Sir G. P. COLLINS (£1,000); JAS. PARKER (£1,000); TOWNS JONES (unpaid).
Air Board, Under-Secretary to (£1,200) .....	J. E. B. SEELY (resigned).
Ministry of Food, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200) .....	C. A. MCCURDY.
Assistant Postmaster-General (£1,200).....	H. PIKE PEASE.
Ministry of Nat. Service, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)..	A. C. T. BECK.
Vice-Pres. of Dept. of Agriculture, Ireland (£1,350)	HUGH T. BARRIE.

## GERMANY AND THE ALLIED POWERS.

## NOVEMBER.

1918.  
 11. Armistice signed.  
 11. German republic proclaimed, and in the component States the potentates are then dethroned.  
 13. New German Government announced, representing both wings of the German Social Democracy.  
 16. The Allied armies of occupation begin their march to the Rhine.  
 20-22. Surrender of the German fleet.  
 24. Germany temporarily under Soviet rule. Northern Germany proclaimed an independent republic, with Hamburg as capital.  
 28. The ex-Kaiser at Amerongen, in Holland, signs the Act of Abdication.

## DECEMBER.

17. National Conference of Soviets opens in Berlin; moderate Socialists predominant.  
 20. National Soviet Conference decides for elections to the National Assembly to take place on January 19th, 1919.  
 24. Street fighting in Berlin.  
 29. Political crisis in Berlin. The independent Socialists withdraw from the Government.

## JANUARY.

1919.  
 4. Death of Count von Hertling, formerly Imperial Chancellor.  
 6-12. Spartacist rising in Berlin ends in suppression after a sanguinary struggle.  
 8. Martial law proclaimed in Berlin.  
 15. Arrest and murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; the latter killed by the mob, and the former shot while trying to escape.  
 16. The Armistice prolonged for a month on new conditions imposed by the Allies.  
 19. German elections for the National Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage for both sexes from 20 years and upwards, result as follows: Majority Socialists, 161; Christian People's Party (Centre), 88; German Democratic Party (composed of Progressives and the left wing of the National Liberals), 77; National People's Party (composed of Pan-Germans and Conservatives), 34; Independent Socialists, 24; German People's Party (formerly National Liberal), 23; other parties, 11.  
 22-23. Spartacist fight at Wilhelmshaven.  
 27. Spartacist rising in Wilhelmshaven.

## FEBRUARY.

6. The German National Assembly is opened at Weimar.  
 11. The National Assembly elects Herr Ebert as president of the German State; Herr Scheidemann becomes Prime Minister of a coalition government, representative of the Majority Socialists, the Democrats, and Centre Party.

17. Official announcement of the signing of the new armistice conditions, which include the demolition of the Heligoland forts and the throwing open of the Kiel Canal.  
 21. Assassinations in Munich; the Bavarian Premier (Kurt Eisner) shot dead in street, and a deputy killed and two cabinet ministers wounded in the Diet.  
 21. Spartacist rising in Munich; Bavaria proclaimed a Soviet republic by the Munich workers and soldiers' council.  
 23. General Ludendorff returns to Germany from Sweden, where the Government refuses his request for a longer stay.  
 24. Fighting in the Rhineland. Sanguinary disturbance in Düsseldorf, Mannheim, and Essen. General strike in the Ruhr district.  
 25. State of seige raised in Hamburg.  
 28. Abortive attempt to suppress the Spartacists in Munich.

## MARCH.

1. Spartacists in Düsseldorf suppressed.  
 4-16. General strike in Berlin; desperate fighting; over 1,000 persons killed. Spartacists ultimately defeated by reinforcements of government troops.  
 11. More Spartacist outbreaks in Westphalia reported.  
 18. Announcement of the election results for the Prussian Constituent Assembly: Socialists secure 81 seats, and Democrats 33, as against 16 seats obtained by all other parties.  
 18. The Bavarian Diet abolishes aristocracy in sixty seconds.  
 26. Germany's Minister of Finance announces that the debt incurred by the State during the war amounts to 157,700 million marks (£7,885,000,000).  
 29. Food riots and bloodshed in Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

## APRIL.

1. Great coal strike in course in Westphalia. Government decides to proclaim martial law in the mining area.  
 3. First consignment of food reaches the Ruhr district (Westphalia).  
 5. Spartacists in Munich again proclaim a Bavarian Soviet republic; the official Government retires to Nuremberg.  
 8. General strike in Magdeburg, where the garrison joins the Spartacists. Street fighting and bloodshed. Government troops take possession of the town.  
 8. Martial law in Essen and Düsseldorf.  
 9. Fierce fighting in Würzburg.  
 10. Revolutionist discussions in Munich.  
 12. Saxon war-minister killed in Dresden by discontented soldiers.  
 23. State of siege in Bremen proclaimed.

## MAY.

3. More fighting in Munich.
  7. Preliminary Peace Treaty handed to the German delegation at Versailles. Germany to pay 5,000 million pounds during the next thirty years; repay all Belgium's war debt to the Allies; to make good all merchant shipping and fishing boats destroyed, to renounce her oversea possessions, to abolish compulsory military service, to limit her production of war material and her army to 100,000, to reduce her navy proportionately, to abandon all military and naval aircraft, to abandon fourteen cables, to throw open the Kiel Canal, to destroy all military and naval works in Heligland, to cede Alsace-Lorraine and the Sarre mines to France, to cede to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen, and the provinces of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula, &c., &c. The left bank of the Rhine to be garrisoned by the Allies for a period of 15 years (if necessary) as a guarantee of the German fulfilment of the treaty, which also pledges Germany to abstain from discriminating directly or indirectly against the trade of Allied and associated countries.
  8. Vehement disapproval of the treaty by the German Press.
  9. The German President issues a proclamation of protest against the terms of the treaty, and by decision of the government the various German States are requested to have all public amusements suspended for a week in token of the national grief.
  12. In the National Assembly the German Premier declares the treaty unacceptable in its present form.
  11. Official announcement in Paris of plans for a closer blockade in case of Germany's refusal to sign the treaty.
  21. Expiration of time limit for the submission of German proposals: a further seven days' grace granted.
  28. German counter-proposals concerning territorial demands, and concerning the war indemnity (£5,000,000,000 to be the limit). Willingness to reduce the army to the treaty limits declared.
18. Allied ultimatum to Germany in response to Germany's counter-proposals: British navy in readiness for emergencies, and for a renewal of the blockade in case of Germany's refusal to accept the Allies terms.
  21. Scuttling of the interned German fleet at Scapa Flow by the German Admiral's orders.
  21. Political crisis in Germany. The Scheidemann cabinet resigns, and a new one is formed with Herr Bauer as premier. Futile militarist plot.
  22. The National Assembly at Weimar decides, by 237 votes to 138, for the signing of the Peace Treaty.
  23. Official announcement in Paris of Germany's decision to sign the Peace Treaty without reservations.
  23. Food riots in Berlin, Hamburg, and other places.
  24. Marshal Hindenburg resigns.
  27. German railwaymen resolve to continue on strike, despite the Government's promise of concessions in the matter of food prices. Popular riots in Bochum and elsewhere.
  28. PEACE AT LAST! Peace Treaty signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles (where the German Empire was proclaimed), the day being the fifth anniversary of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo—the event which was made the pretext for the Austrian military operations which culminated in the European war. The decree for the recognition of Poland also signed by the representatives of the five great powers.
  29. The German reactionary party's press in mourning. Paris illuminated, and in the Allied countries general rejoicing.

## JULY.

1. Obscure proclamation of an independent Rhenish republic.
3. The German Government declares the above proclamation to be null and void, and charges the French military occupational authorities with supporting a treasonable movement.
1. Meeting of the new Rhenish Government in Wiesbaden; ministers battered by the populace have to be carried to the hospital. Dr. Dorten, the president, escapes to Bielbrich.
10. Majority Socialist National Congress opens at Weimar.
15. Announcement of food riots in Lubeck.
1. Noske's troops occupy Hamburg.
2. Arrest and imprisonment of the Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Herald* (Mr. Phillips Price) by the military authorities.
3. Noske's troops occupy Berlin.
3. German railway strike ends.
3. Mr. H. George explains, in Parliament, and defends the terms of the Peace Treaty.
3. Text of the Franco-British American Alliance Treaty published.
4. The Executive Committee of the German Conservative Party demands the restoration of the Monarchy.
9. Ratification of the Peace Treaty by the German Government.
12. The Supreme Allied Council in Paris announces its decision to raise the blockade against Germany.
15. Announcement that the provinces of Pomerania and East Prussia have been placed under a state of siege by the military authorities, and that all land workers are forbidden to strike.
17. General Smuts, in a farewell message to England, pleads for support for the German Republic, for friendly neutrality as regards Russia, and for justice to Ireland; and declares

that he sees salvation for us and the world only in a more human spirit and outlook all round.

17. Martial law in Westphalia.
19. National peace celebration in Great Britain.
21. Second reading of the Peace Treaty Bill in the House of Commons. The terms criticised.
21. General strike in Berlin for 24 hours.
21. Inter-Allied Commission to proceed to Upper Silesia to report on the situation and the causes of insurgence amongst the Polish population.
31. The German National Assembly at Weimar passes the German Constitution Bill by 262 votes to 75, the German National, People's, and Independent Socialist Parties voting against the measure.

#### AUGUST.

5. The British Premier (Mr. Lloyd George) receives the Order of Merit.
5. Announcement of the grant of seven peerages and eight baronetcies, and money grants amounting to £585,000 to leading commanders of the British army and navy in recognition of services rendered during the war. The grants include earldoms for Sir D. Beatty and Sir Douglas Haig and £100,000 each.
6. In the House of Commons the money grants to leading commanders are passed by 272 votes to 63; and a Labour proposal to reduce the total to £200,000 is negatived by 288 votes to 66.
8. The Belgian Chamber ratifies the Peace Treaty.
9. Disturbances at Chemnitz. The hungry mob attacks the soldiery, kills 80, wounds 200, and disarms the rest and slaughter their horses, the flesh of which is distributed amongst the crowd. The Government orders fresh troops to blockade the town, and the Spartacists proclaim a general strike.
15. By order of General Foch, the German governor of the Palatinate is dismissed and another governor installed in his place. The German Government protests and demands the cancelling of the order.
18. General strike in progress in Upper Silesia of an insurrection character.
21. Herr Ebert takes the oath as President of the German Empire.

#### SEPTEMBER.

1. The Supreme Allied Council reduces the demand from Germany of 43 million tons of coal per annum (as provided by the Peace Treaty) to 20 millions.
2. The Supreme Council demands the erasure of Article 61 of the new German Constitution (making provision for the reception in the German Parliament of deputies from German Austria) in view of its conflicting with Article 8 of the Peace Treaty.
7. In the French Chamber of Deputies

- M. Klotz announces that the total amount (including interest) to be paid by Germany during the course of 36 years would be £18,520,000,000.
10. Renewal of food riots in Silesia.
10. Germany protests to the Supreme Council against Polish agitation in Upper Silesia.
10. The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, in its Majority Report on the Peace Treaty, declares the Covenant to be "an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the Treaty with Germany, which vests all essential power in five great nations: these same nations, the principal Allied and Associated Powers, also dominate the league through the Council."
22. In accordance with the demand of the Supreme Allied Council, Germany signs the protocol to the Peace Treaty declaring Article 61 of the German Constitution (admitting Austria to the German Empire) null and void.
27. The Supreme Council "invites" the German Government to withdraw Von der Goltz's army from the Baltic Provinces, failing which the blockade of Germany will again be re-established.

#### OCTOBER.

1. The French Chamber of Deputies ratifies the Peace Treaty by 372 votes to 83 after six weeks of discussion.
7. In response to the German Government's request for the appointment of an Allied and German Commission to take the necessary measures for the withdrawal of Von der Goltz's troops from the Baltic States, the Supreme Allied Council decides to accede thereto; but the threat of coercion not to be withdrawn till the Council's demand be complied with.
8. Attempted assassination of Herr Haase (leader of the Independent Socialists).
9. The Allied powers request the collaboration of Germany and the Scandinavian powers in the blockade of Russia.
10. The Supreme Council receives news of the renewed refusal of General Von der Goltz to stop the attack on Riga.
10. Uproar in the German National Assembly consequent on the speech of the Independent Socialist, Herr Henke, who declares that the "bourgeoisie" is receiving arms in large numbers, and that this constitutes a violation of the Peace Treaty. Another member of the Assembly (Herr Heinz, of the National Party) avowed that his party was striving for the re-establishment of the monarchy.
13. The Lettish Foreign Office issues a communication that the German army has been bombarding Riga for five days, and that Allied cruisers are participating in the defence of the town.

16. Germany's reply to the Allied Note points to the conflicting requests made to Germany, which in May was instructed not to withdraw the German troops from the Baltic provinces and Lithuania, and yet on June 18th was requested to evacuate these provinces. In the reply the German Government further declares that it has done all that it could, that General Von der Goltz has been recalled, that German soldiers have been strictly forbidden to enlist in Russian formations, and that General Avaloff Bermondts' designs are disapproved of. It is also requested that the projected Inter-Allied Mission to the

Baltic States shall be despatched as soon as possible, and call at Berlin on the way.

16. Stokers and engineers strike in Berlin.  
19. State of siege proclaimed in Berlin by Herr Noske (Minister of Defence), and all public meetings and demonstrations of strikers prohibited.  
25. In France this date marks the end of the war, according to official decree.

#### NOVEMBER.

11. First anniversary of the armistice celebrated in Great Britain by a two-minute silent tribute to the dead (in accordance with the King's suggestion).

## AUSTRIA.

#### JUNE.

15. Communist demonstrations in Vienna fired on by the police: several killed and over three score wounded.

#### JULY.

20. Austrian Peace Treaty handed to the Austrian delegation at St. Germain; ten days allowed for reply.  
27. Austria asks for an extension of time.

#### AUGUST.

7. Austria protests against the clauses of the Peace Treaty showing a burden of debt for Austria of some £2,000,000,000 and imposing two-thirds of the entire debt of the Austrian state on the shoulders of one-fifth of the former population.

#### SEPTEMBER.

6. On the advice of Dr. Renner (Austrian Chancellor), the Austrian National Assembly votes (by 97 to 23) for the signing of the Peace Treaty, and unanimously protests against the prevention of the Union of Germany and Austria.

11. Peace Treaty with Austria signed at St. Germain by the representatives of the Austrian Republic and all the Allied and Associated Powers, except Roumania and Jugo-Slavia.  
16. Reported Austrian order for the quitance of war refugees (mostly Jews) and the expulsion of those who fail to leave Austria by September 20th.

27. The Austrian Council of Ministers decides to sell the State objects of art (worth £10,000,000 at the pre-war rate of exchange) in order to obtain money to feed the people.

#### OCTOBER.

11. In the Austrian National Assembly the Food Minister reports the imminent danger of an impending collapse of the food supply.  
17. The Austrian National Assembly adopts (without debate) the Bill for the ratification of the Peace Treaty. The Assembly then re-elected Dr. Renner as State Chancellor and ratified his new Cabinet list.

## HUNGARY.

#### MARCH.

22. Revolution in Hungary. The Károlyi Government resigns, and a Soviet Government takes control in the name of the proletariat and decrees the socialisation of large estates, mines, big industries, banks, and the transport system.

#### MAY.

1. The new Government addresses a Note to the Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slav, and Roumanian Governments, demanding the stoppage of their invasion and the suspension of the hostilities, and recognising the territorial national claims put forward.

#### JUNE.

7. Peasant counter-revolutionary outbreak in West Hungary suppressed.  
16. The Hungarian Soviet Government informs the Allies of its willingness to discontinue hostilities, and suggests that the Roumanian and Czecho-Slovakian Governments should be asked to do the same.  
21. Counter-revolutionary outbreak in Budapest suppressed.

#### JULY.

26. The Supreme Council in Paris, in a wireless note to Bela Kun, assuages its anxiety to arrange a peace with the Hungarian people, but cannot

- do so till Hungary possesses a representative Government.
30. The Hungarian Soviet Government issues a proclamation to "all the proletarians of the world," and invites them to send delegates to see the work accomplished.
  31. Bela Kun's representatives offer to make concessions to the Allies if the Soviet Government is not interfered with. On behalf of the Allies, the abolition of the Soviet system and the abdication of Bela Kun is demanded.
  31. The Soviet Government resigns, and Bela Kun is afterwards interned.

## AUGUST.

1. New Socialist Government (consisting of trade union representatives) established, with Julius Peidl as Premier. The new Government pledges itself to conform to the conditions of the armistice.
4. Roumanian army occupies Budapest.
4. The Supreme Council in Paris adopts Mr. Hoover's suggestion and raises the Hungarian blockade.
5. Roumanian ultimatum to Hungary making demands against which the Hungarian Government appeals to the Allied Powers. The Supreme Council thereon telegraphs to the Roumanian Government refusing to recognise the validity of the ultimatum.
6. *Coup d'état* in Budapest carried out by monarchists. Archduke Joseph made President.
7. The Supreme Allied Council records the outrages committed by the Roumanian army in Hungary, issues a strong warning to the Roumanian Government, and requests it to order the Roumanian military command in Budapest to obey the orders of the Inter-Allied Commission of Generals.
8. Mr. Hoover orders the stoppage of supplies to Budapest.
9. The new Hungarian Government, with the Archduke as President, annuls the land nationalisation law of the late Soviet Government. Socialists are hunted down and the White Terror begins.
13. The Roumanian Government professes its willingness to comply with the requests of the Supreme Council, and the Supreme Council awaits the fulfilment of the promise.
15. Czech occupation of Pressburg as counter-blow to the Roumanian occupation of Budapest.
15. British monitors arrive at Budapest.
15. A new Cabinet formed—"nakedly reactionary, clerical, and anti-Semitic."
20. Martial law declared throughout Hungary.
21. Mr. Hoover reports on the situation on Hungary to the Supreme Allied Council in Paris: details the systematic pillaging of Hungary by the Roumanian troops; declares that the Roumanian command has no intention of obeying the instructions of the Inter-Allied Commission of Generals in Budapest; states that the Arch-ducal *coup d'état* was made with Roumanian support, and that it was unthinkable that the Supreme Council should recognise the Archduke.
23. The Supreme Allied Council refuse to recognise the Government of the Archduke, who thereon resigns. The Premier (M. Friedrich) was then charged (by the Allied Missions at Budapest) with the formation of a Ministry representing all classes.
25. The Supreme Allied Council expresses its "painful astonishment" at the continued requisitions in Hungary, and requests the Roumanian Government to put an end to the state of affairs, failing which Roumania will expose herself to the most serious consequences.
28. New Hungarian Cabinet announced, with M. Friedrich (the deposed Archduke's Premier) as Prime Minister.
29. Issue of reactionary decrees. Regime of terrorism.

## SEPTEMBER.

10. Roumanians dismantling the newspaper establishments in Budapest.

## OCTOBER.

12. Roumanian evacuation of Hungarian territories west of the Danube commenced.
16. The Inter-Allied Military Mission at Budapest complains to the Supreme Allied Council of the action of the Roumanians in Hungary, and declares that the Roumanians should be compelled to evacuate Hungary and make restitution. The Supreme Council agrees that the Mission must have satisfaction.

## BRITISH TRADE STATISTICS.

The following figures show the commerce of the United Kingdom for the war period. Total imports in 1914 of principal articles: Articles of food, drink, and tobacco; raw materials, &c.; and articles wholly or mainly manufactured, £696,635,000; 1915, £851,893,000; 1916, £948,503,000; 1917, £1,064,164,000; 1918, £1,316,150,000. Total exports of the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom: 1914, £430,721,000; 1915, £381,868,000; 1916, £506,279,000; 1917, £527,079,000; 1918, £504,418,000



## WAR CASUALTIES OF THE ALLIES.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Russian.....	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000
French .....	1,071,300	3,000,000	760,300	4,831,600
British.....	*762,749	2,110,650	275,301	3,148,700
Italian .....	467,934	962,196	?	?
Belgian .....	13,706	44,686	24,659	93,061
Roumanian .....	.....	.....	.....	335,706
Serbian .....	45,000	133,148	152,958	331,116
American.....	40,464	189,955	16,565	246,984
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>4,101,153</b>	<b>11,390,635</b>	<b>3,729,783</b>	<b>18,137,167</b>

\* Inclusive of casualties amongst the forces of the Overseas Dominions, but exclusive of those amongst the Indian troops.

## BRITISH NAVAL WAR LOSSES.

According to the Admiralty's statistics, 1,069 naval vessels were lost during the war; that is to say, 254 warships and 815 auxiliary vessels. The warships lost comprised 13 battleships, three battle cruisers, 13 cruisers, 12 light cruisers (including six sunk as blockships at Zeebrugge and Ostend), five monitors, three flotilla leaders, 64 torpedo-boat destroyers, and 54 submarines (including seven destroyed at Helsingfors to avoid capture). As to the manner of loss, it is stated that 42 warships were lost in action, 62 were lost through enemy submarines, and 44 by mines, whereas

11 were destroyed to avoid capture; 28 were lost in collision, 22 were wrecked, five were lost by internal explosion, and seven by accident. In 26 cases the cause of the loss was never discovered.

As regards the auxiliary vessels, 289 were lost through submarine attacks, 225 were destroyed by mines, 43 were lost in action, 93 were lost through collisions, 77 were wrecked, 18 were destroyed by fire, one was destroyed to avoid capture, and in 31 cases the cause of the loss is not known.

## ALLIED MERCHANT SHIPPING LOSSES.

As announced by the Ministry of Shipping in May last, the Allied losses of merchant vessels resultant from enemy action have been as follows:—

	Merchant			Merchant			
	Ships.	Tonnage.		Ships.	Tonnage.		
Great Britain ...	2,197	...	7,638,020	United States...	80	...	341,512
France .....	238	...	696,845	Japan.....	29	...	120,176
Italy .....	230	...	742,365		2,774	...	9,538,918

In addition to the above, twenty British vessels, totalling 95,292 gross tons, were lost while on Admiralty service as commissioned vessels.

## NATIONAL SCHEME FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED EX-SERVICE MEN.

THE following summary of returns furnished by the various works and departments, in England and Wales, of the Co-operative Wholesale Society shows the Society's position in regard to the National Scheme. The total number of employees in England and Wales was 31,080, comprising:—

Males—18 years of age and over.....	15,621
Under 18 years .....	1,385
Females .....	13,683
Serving with H.M. Forces.....	391
Total (as above) .....	31,080

As regards disabled men, the figures are as follows:—

Ex-service men at present in the employ of the Society...	1,391
Other disabled men .....	30
Disabled—Waiting discharge from H.M. Forces .....	27
Total .....	1,448

The number of disabled employees compared with—

(a) Total Male staff only .....	8.3 per cent.
(b) Total staff (male and female) .....	4.6 „

Bearing in mind the fact that of the total number of employees referred to (31,080), no fewer than 13,683, or 44 per cent. of the total, are females employed chiefly in the productive works or food, &c., packing factories, it will be seen how the requirements of the Government scheme have been met.

It may also be added that at the outbreak of the war, the C.W.S. Directors gave an undertaking to their employees of re-engagement when their services with the Colours expired, and also during their period of service to pay the difference between their wages and army pay and allowances. In connection with the discharge of obligations, the following particulars may be of interest:—

(1) Total number of employees enlisted.....	5,996
(2) Number reported "killed" or "missing" .....	680
(3) Approximate cost in C.W.S. allowance up to October 25th, 1919 .....	£560,000

---

## FRENCH FLYING CORPS CASUALTIES.

According to official statistics, the losses sustained by the French Flying Corps in army zones from August 4th, 1914, to November 11th, 1918, were as follows: Pilots and observers killed, 1,945; 1,451 missing (whose death is pretty certain), and 2,922 wounded,

Outside the army zone there were also 1,927 pilots and observers killed, so that the total number of killed and wounded amounted to 7,757, a figure which may be estimated at 61 per cent. of the full strength, which consisted of 12,919 men on December 1st, 1918.



**JOSEPH BAKER & SONS**  
AND LIMITED  
**PERKINS ENGINEERS**  
LIMITED

*Joint Bakery Engineering  
Department.*



**I**F you are thinking of extending your Bakery, or are faced with the problem of maintaining output with reduced hours of labour, we can help you.

No bakery problem is too large or too small.

We only supply the best Ovens and Machinery, but the best is cheapest in the end.

Our joint technical experience and works facilities are at your disposal.

All transactions with affiliated Societies are passed through Co-operative Wholesale Society.



ENGINEERING WORKS, WILLESDEN JUNCTION,  
LONDON, N.W.10.

WESTWOOD WORKS, PETERBOROUGH.



# PELAW-ON-TYNE

IS A CO-OPERATIVE  
INDUSTRIAL COLONY  
DEVELOPED BY THE

**CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE  
SOCIETY LIMITED.**

IT MAKES  
**POLISH**

Polish for  
**METALS.**

Polish for  
**BOOTS.**



ASK FOR

**PELAW  
POLISHES**

AT ANY  
CO-OPERATIVE  
STORE.



